April 24, 1962

Rev. Will D. Campbell
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

Confirming our telephone conversation of last week, our position is that we are interested in placing in the field a minister whose primary and indeed almost sole assignment would be to work with the rural ministers of the Deep South states, and that we are willing and desirous that this man be associated with you. We may have to talk out the arrangements further, but off-hand I would say that we would pay the salary and travel expenses. The initial commitment could not extend beyond May 31, 1964 and the wise course probably would be to go into the thing on something of an experimental basis.

As you have already talked with your New York people, the next step probably is for you, Ben Muse, and me to get together soon and talk. I shall let you know if Ben can come down and join us.

Call me if you need to talk further about this.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Benjamin Muse

B.M. file

TRV
PA ✓
MT file

Dr. Boggs is, or was, moderator of the Presbyterian church in the United States.

April 28, 1962

Dr. Marion A. Boggs
Second Presbyterian Church
Third and Gaines Streets
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Boggs:

I hope you will be coming this way soon. I am anxious to discuss with you a matter which has been on my heart for some time, and with which I have been actively concerned in recent months -- the need to embolden the Southern clergy to raise their voices in forthright Christian witness against the evil of race discrimination.

A specific step, which is under discussion now, is that of engaging a Protestant minister to travel in the Deep South, quietly visiting clergymen, especially in the rural districts, in the hope of bringing comfort and fortitude to the hard-pressed and encouraging efforts among others to break down race prejudice among their people. Dr. Leslie Dunbar, our executive director, and I plan to discuss this with Will Campbell, of the National Council of Churches next Friday.

As you may recall, I am a Catholic. I have been active among the Catholic clergy and the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Although the Catholic field is very limited, the latter has been moving aggressively in the South during the past year. My work brings me into contact and collaboration with even more Protestant clergy, and I particularly value my friendships among them. I have been struck by the number of Presbyterian ministers who are leading moves toward interracial understanding in many places.

There are, of course, heroic and saintly examples in all denominations, but I feel also that too many in all denominations are delinquent in this urgent Christian duty. As official resistance to desegregation begins to lessen, the opportunity and the job of preparing the people for acceptance of it, in my opinion, falls more and more heavily upon the Christian clergy.

Very sincerely yours,

Ben Muse

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 7, 1962

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Attached Memo

Murray Cox is doing effective and useful work in Mississippi and we could easily justify some funds allocated to him from Ben's project. My only question would be the matter of priorities. It would be better to add the sort of minister we have discussed, who could work the total South. Gene Cox is already doing much the same sort of work in Mississippi, whereas little or none is being done in other Deep South states. The infant Mississippi Council may need some funds, et cetera.

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

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PRV
VP

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date April 26, 1962

To: Dr. Dunbar From: Ben Muse BM

Subject: Chattanooga trip

I shall meet you at the National Airport in Washington 10:30 A.M., May 4, and join you in taking United 325, etc. at 11:20 A.M. for Chattanooga.

Our conference can be at the time and place of your and Will's convenience, (although driving back from Monteagle "early Saturday morning" suggests a mild disturbance of my senile regime. Could we spend the night in Monteagle and drive back Saturday morning?)

I would like to see Murray Cox continue and expand his work in Mississippi. He is a native Mississippian and is, among other things, the very active chairman of the Mississippi advisory committee to the Commission on Civil Rights. I believe $1,000 a year allocated to him on some basis would enable him to do considerably more traveling and visiting among Mississippi clergy.

Comment, please
Attached

May 8, 1962

BMuse LWDunbar

It may be that you have already written to Murray Cox. If not, I have some further thoughts which I would like for you to consider.

Would it be desirable for us to discuss the subsidization of his travel with Gene Cox? I am inclined to think not, but I raise the point for your consideration. Certainly there should be no working at cross purposes.

More importantly, could we tie this in with the nascent effort to organize a Mississippi Council? You will soon be getting a copy of a memorandum that Paul Rilling is writing regarding the meeting held at Tougaloo last week, where a decision was reached to form a Council under the chairmanship of Dr. Beittel. Paul, on the whole, feels that things went well though not as well as he and we had hoped. I don't have in mind that Mr. Cox would in any way act as an organizer for the Mississippi Council. It would seem to me, however, that he could very appropriately try to interpret the Council to those with whom he talked with the objective of gaining their understanding for it, as a new and hopeful viewpoint in the state rather than necessarily getting their membership or support.

Finally, would it be prudent to delay action on this question until we have reached a final decision regarding the larger project we have discussed with Will Campbell? My only concern here is with money and whether, until we know definitely what the larger project may cost, we should commit ourselves to this.

As I said, these are after thoughts and if you have already moved, well and good.

-:-

Cr. ref. Dorie Freeman
Rocky Bros:
See ltr of May 25,
1962

May 14, 1962

BMuse LWDunbar

I must not have been clear. I did not have any intention of offering a subsidy to Gene Cox. My question was whether we should go further with Murray Cox without first talking with Gene Cox and I went on to say that I did not think this necessary. There are too many Coxes.

I'm afraid our weekend must have been to strenuous. I read Beatrice's letter to Peggy with deep regrets that I had encouraged you to take the trip. Please take it easy.

-:-

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 10, 1962

To: Dr. Leslie Dunbar From: B. Muse

Subject: Murray Cox

I had not written Murray Cox, or rather I am holding up an unfinished letter to him.

I would not favor offering a subsidy to Gene Cox without discussing the idea with Rabbi Mantinband, Dr. Beittel, Murray Cox, and others.

We might hold the Murray Cox subsidy in abeyance until the financial implications of the larger project discussed with Will Campbell are clear.

An early report on the status of the RBF would be pertinent to these calculations.

PRV
PAV
MJ file — COPY

Rec'd 6/8/62

June 7, 1962

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Dave:

Our plan to put a Methodist preacher on the road to try to fortify and stimulate liberal Southern clergy is one which I have urged for a long time.

One of the greatest disappointments in this post-Brown decision era has been the failure of the Southern clergy to speak out clearly on this issue. This has been the subject of numerous articles, some of which you no doubt have read. I am enclosing a reprint of one which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post of May 13, 1961, entitled, "Are Southern Ministers Failing the South?"

I have been closely associated with Protestant ministers in my work and have conceived a high admiration for many of them. Some are of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are made. Others have felt obliged for the sake of the stability, or even the survival, of their churches to remain silent on the race question. Some have openly joined the ranks of those who defend segregation and defy the law of the land; but I am sure that these are a small minority. It is my impression that the great majority of the Southern clergy feel painfully inhibited and are going through much inner travail.

Yet the clergy are the leaders with the greatest potential influence in conditioning the public for desegregation. Their influence is greatest in the rural areas, and it is precisely the rural areas which will present the gravest problem as school desegregation advances. In the rural counties of heavy Negro population race prejudice is massive and seemingly unyielding. How to bring a liberal message to these people of the rural Deep South is a problem with which Les Dunbar and I have wrestled a great deal.

As you know, we are experimenting with a radio approach by helping a remarkable broadcasting idealist, and we have hopes that this project will more than justify the small investment in it.

In my opinion, however, this job is mainly one for the clergy. A patient appeal must be made to conscience and Christian principles. These rural Southerners are generally religious, church-going people who are more likely to get the new concept of human equality and dignity and brotherhood from their preachers than from any other quarter.

How can we light a fire under the preachers? I don't think we can exactly light a fire now, but I am confident that a knowledgeable and sympathetic visiting preacher can bring comfort and fortitude and encouragement to many of his fellow clergymen. Many embattled pastors are anxious to have some one to whom to tell their troubles. I have run into this situation personally on several occasions. Rev. A. J. Yunker, Presbyterian minister in Huntsville, Alabama, talked with me for several hours, almost in tears, about the opposition and harassment which his liberal attitude was causing. After he had gotten things off his chest, he was ready to joke and was, I believe, the more determined to "stick to his guns."

Our itinerant clergyman will find all shades of opinion and various degrees of moral courage among his contacts, but excepting unfriendly characters whom he will know how to avoid, he can help them all. I don't think any heart-to-heart talk with a rural pastor will be wasted.

Our preacher will be identified with the National Council of Churches, which will share in sponsoring him. The man whom we have chosen, on the recommendation of Will Campbell, is Rev. Elbert B. Jean, heretofore pastor of the First Methodist Church in Mena, Arkansas. He impressed both Les and me as having a personality which should make him particularly congenial with rural ministers and to be admirably suited for this assignment. Mr. Jean, moreover, is enthusiastic about the undertaking.

I can think of no better way to advance our cause than this.

With best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Muse

June 7, 1962

The Rev. Elbert Jean
First Methodist Church
Mena, Arkansas

Dear Elbert:

I am sure by this time you and Will Campbell have got some, at least, of the details worked out. I want to tell you that I have had few more pleasant duties than that of calling Will last week to confirm our agreement in the program and our enthusiastic belief that you are the best person for the job. I can only hope that you will find the appointment a deeply satisfying one and a meritorious calling.

Sometime soon I hope you can stop by Atlanta to meet others on the staff.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Benjamin Muse

Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1962
EXECUTIVE

June 11, 1962.

Dear Ben:

Many thanks for yours of June 7 describing the background of the proposal to add a minister to the Southern Leadership Project. By now you will have heard from Les Dunbar of our luncheon meeting with him on this same topic.

I agree entirely as to the importance of doing something in the rural areas of the South and can readily understand that the Protestant clergy appear to be the strategic group with which to work. However, as Les will have reported, my own vicarious experience with this sort of undertaking over the last few years makes me somewhat skeptical as to what one more person, no matter how effective and dedicated, can do in this situation, given the complication of denominational affiliation, the relative isolation of the individual rural ministers, etc. This does not mean that the effort is not well worth a try, and we wish you and Mr. Jean every success in the undertaking.

Meanwhile, all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Post Office Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Cr. ref
W. Campbell
Dave Jackson
Rich Bass

June 12, 1962

Mr. Will D. Campbell
Race Relations Division
National Council of Churches
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

Confirming many conversations, we would like to cooperate with the National Council of the Churches of Christ in strengthening the service of the rural church of the Deep South.

As discussed, the program would include regular visitation and other service of ministers in the rural areas of, chiefly, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, or of such portion of this area as can be well served. We heartily concur with you in the selection of the Rev. Elbert Jean to do this work. While we wish to keep closely informed and to consult frequently about program progress, we believe that the day-to-day planning of program should be the responsibility of you and Mr. Jean. I believe you understand that we look upon our contribution to this activity as part of a new concentration of our Southern Leadership Project, whose purpose is, generally, to encourage community leadership in recalcitrant areas to fill its responsibilities. Mr. Benjamin Muse, Director of the Leadership Project, will,

therefore, especially wish to consult with you and Mr. Jean.

We recommend to Mr. Jean that he regularly call upon the officers and staff of state and local Councils on Human Relations for help in his ministry. When Mr. Jean next visits Atlanta we shall give him names and addresses.

If convenient, we ask that Mr. Jean submit to us a quarterly report. I also suggest that he attend our Annual Meeting, which this year will be November 19 and 20.

As we have discussed, we strongly believe, however, that Mr. Jean should spend the smallest possible portion of his time in organizational affairs or conferences generally, unless the latter have directly to do with the rural church.

As agreed, we shall contribute up to $10,000 to this work for the period June 1, 1962 - May 31, 1963, and we hope and expect that the program will justify its continuation for a second year at the same rate of contribution. As Mr. Jean will not be engaged full time for several months, we need word from you as to what amount will be required from us this year. Please advise also to whom and by what schedule our payment should be made.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mr. John Wheeler
Mr. David Freeman
Mr. Elbert Jean
Mr. Benjamin Muse

file
Rural Church

RESIDENCE PHONE 283 STUDY PHONE 410

First Methodist Church

Mena, Arkansas

RECEIVED JUN 18 1962

June 16, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street
N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank your for your letter of June 7th., and the carbon of your letter to Will confirming my appointment. Everything is exactly as I remember our conversation at Atlanta, with this exception: I do not recall any mention of the tenative nature of the $10,000.00 grant for the second year, but rather remember discussing the fact that I would not be interested in undertaking the venture of this sort unless we were committed to seeing it through; to which you replied, ' I think it fair to tell you, that I do not expect the grant at the end of two years to be renewed'. Perhaps I have over-read or misread your last paragraph, or perhaps the letter has some signifiance to other readers that I am not aware of, or maybe I went to sleep at Atlanta.... leastwise, I want to make it clear that as far as I am concerned, I have set aside two very precious years of my fleeting life (at least) to attempt to labor in a field that I believe to be important and vital. Furthermore, I think it would be a serious error of judgment to say that we have even investigated the possibilities in this area, until we have at least labored diligently for two years.

I am pleased to report that we plan to be in Nashville to live on or before Sept. 1, 1962. I expect to be in Little Rock to hear Margret Long on June 23rd., and at Fisk the following week. I have made some helpful contacts with Town and Country leaders, religious and secular, and especially among the negroes. I am astounded at some of the conditions; sometimes I am elated and sometimes appalled. As a matter of fact I have already written a digest of my pre-conceived conceptions and mis-conceptions at this juncture about the total prespective as I now see it and had intended to send it to you, but lost my nerve, for this was too much like trying to teach grandma to knit. Anyhow, we need to be face to face to do this sort of thing. The substance of the whole matter is this... In a strangly savage way, I do believe that there is a God, and that this God has established communication that is a vital possibility for man, through his son Jesus Christ. And it is in this wavering faith I have some hope, and seek to invest my life, the only life I have, convienced that God will use it for good.

Sincerely yours,

Elbert B. Jean

Fine Rural Church

June 21, 1962

The Rev. Elbert Jean
First Methodist Church
Mena, Arkansas

Dear Elbert:

I suppose that all of us, try as we may to be immune, are infected in some measure by the blight of organizational thinking. Sometimes I have wondered if you theologians are right when you say that pride is the cardinal sin; could it be wariness, failure of trust, a closeness of heart, or whatever the precise term may be. I cannot match the elan of your "wavering faith" but my reason for being in this affair is a studied conviction that the aim of any civil order is to increase the area of trust among the members of a society and my observation that without civil rights and liberties there can be no trust and with diluted civil rights and liberties there can be only shallow trust.

Which means that what you wrote on June 16 was particularly good and chastening for me. Let me assure you that we are in this with you for two years.

A letter from Will tells me that you will be at Fisk for at least one week. I am due up there on July 3 and perhaps we shall see each other.then.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

Executive Director

LWD/mmj

cc: Mr. Will Campbell

file
Elbert Jean
Rural Church
Proj.

June 21, 1962

Mr. Will D. Campbell
Director
Southern Project
National Council of the Churches of Christ,U.S.A.
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Enclosed is the Council's check for $2,500, representing the first quarterly payment of the Council's commitment of $10,000 to enable the Rev. Elbert Jean to work with rural ministers in the South under your supervision, and out of your Nashville Office.

It is our understanding that this project will cover a period of one year, beginning June 1, 1962 and ending May 31, 1963. Accordingly, quarterly payments will be made to you on/or about September 1 and December 1, 1962, and March 1, 1963.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm
Enclosure
1. Check - $2,500

cc: Benjamin Muse

FILE COPY

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

Southern Project
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee
June 19, 1962

RECEIVED
JUN 18 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have been in touch with Elbert Jean several times each week since our conversation in Atlanta. He was placed on our staff effective June 4, 1962, and we consider him a full time employee of the Council, although he will continue to preach in Mena through August.

He is to move to Nashville no later than September 1. I hope that housing accommodations will be found so that he will be in this office even earlier.

2500

If it is agreeable with you and Mr. Muse, 7/12 of the amount that you intend to contribute to this work should be sent to the National Council of Churches designated for the Southern Project, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations. If you so desire, this can be sent on a monthly or a quarterly basis.

I will spend a considerable amount of time with Mr. Jean within the next two weeks, and I have suggested that he attend a t least one week of the Fisk Race Relations Institute.

I am in the process of preparing a brief job description of this work, and I will send you a copy of it as soon as it is complete.

If there are any further questions, let me know.

Cordially yours,

Will/sg

Will D. Campbell
Director

WDC:sg
Dictated by Mr. Campbell
but signed in his absence

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, s. garry oniki, assoc. executive directors

a unit of the division of christian life and work

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SD-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

FY AUG 3 AM 8 04

AA156

A AYA020 RX PD ALBANY GA 3 743A EST

1962 AUG 3 AM 8 02

Wrong nbr

LES DUNBAR, ~~PHONE 522876~~

ROOM 201 5 FORSYTH ST ATLA

DEAR LES. WEATHER WILL NOT PERMIT US TO LAND IN ATLANTA STOP.

HAD A GOOD VISIT WITH MR HOLMES AND ASSOCIATES STOP.

SORRY I MISSED YOU. SEE YOU ON NEXT TRIP. SINCERELY

ELBERT JEAN.

file

see - S.L. Project - Rural Church Prog.

No.		To	
By	At	To be	Del

413a

SLP
Rural Church Prog.

August 24, 1962

Rev. Elbert Jean
First Methodist Church
9th at Port Arthur
Mena, Arkansas

Dear Elbert:

I was glad to get your letter of August 5, with comments on Albany.

You are undoubtedly right that James Gray is an aggravating influence, and right too in urging white ministers to initiate communication with their Negro colleagues.

Because of a new and all-absorbing assignment, Ben Muse probably will not get to Albany. Frances Pauley, director of the Georgia Council, has been there pretty steadily, and now that Paul Rilling is home (he is our field director), he may go down if there seems to be use.

What the Negroes of Albany should do - either from the standpoint of duty or of strategy - I confess I don't know; I never do. They are people using such opportunities as they find, such widsom as they can summon, such numbers and resources as they can muster, such idealism as they can sustain, and such personal ambition as they must contend with. In a situation such as Albany, we can, I think, do little except to interpret their cause to the white folks, urge and demand responsible action by officials, and search for ways to minimize the bitterness without reducing the strength of the Negroes' protest. I often have misgivings (usually do, as a matter of fact), but tend to withhold the advice I might like to give the Negroes until it is asked for, which is seldom. Others may have better luck than I.

FILE COPY

Ltr. - Rev. Elbert Jean
August 24, 1962

I don't want this to be bothersome, but it will soon be time for your first quarterly report. We realize that since June 1 you have been finishing up in Mena, and will have little to report. But such as it is, we would appreciate receiving it, if possible by September 15.

All the best,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

cc: Rev. Will Campbell
Mr. Ben Muse

RESIDENCE PHONE 283 STUDY PHONE 410

First Methodist Church
9th at Port Arthur
Mena, Arkansas

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1962

August 5, 1962

Dear Les:

According to reliable sources both white and colored in Albany, a Mr. Gray, who owns controlling interest in the local T.V., Radio and New Paper; and who is also an aspirant for political office, probably governor, is using these forms of media to aggravate the situation and at the same time draw personal support. From what I read and heard from these sources of media while in Albany there seems to be a good deal of truth in this analysis.

Could it be that Mr. Ben Muse could be of help in this situation? Just a thought.

I am likewise urging certain of the white ministers in Albany to establish communication with the Negro group, so that each will know what is happening in the other camp.

I believe that the Negro group would be entirely wise to stop all demonstrations now! They are such a chore that division is beginning to set in among the Negro group. Second, as far as affecting conscience, someone must die to keep the whole thing from being an anti-climax if this thing is prolonged much further. I don't think it is time to go to Jerusalem, in fact I don't see Albany as Jerusalem. I have not shared this thinking with anyone else, for I feel my judgment too pre-mature on the matter to venture such a bold assertion.

It seems to me that the same kind of situation exists in Albany that you see on Western T.V. where the two gun-slingers are at a stand-off, but because of pride neither will let both live, by walking away. I simply do not trust the emotional fervor that is at a high pitch, even if I agree with its goals. I think they should ease off and start again nearer election time.

Sincerely,

Ellis A.

Make Folder

P.R.

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

Nashville, Tennessee
September 4, 1962

First Quarter Report

To: Will Campbell and Les Dunbar

1. Attended first week at Fisk.

2. Spent three days at Albany

3. Made numerous contacts upon church and secular leaders who are interested and have responsibilities in the area of human and social relations and rural work. Most of this has been confined to the area in and adjacent to Arkansas.

4. I have spent considerable time trying to visualize the scope and mission of my work. As to date I conceive it to be, being a Christian. I am convinced that the area of race relations affords an important area to proclaim the Christian witness. Although crucial, I do not conceive the race issue, or any other issue, to be of first importance, but rather the Kingdom of God to be of first importance; therefore, I want to give such energies as I have to working in and through all channels to express the love and hope that I have come to know in and through Jesus Christ.

5. The family and I are now settled in our new home at Pine Circle Road, Rt. 5, Franklin, Tennessee, Ph. 794-2211.

Sincerely,

Elbert B. Jean

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, s. garry oniki, assoc. executive directors

a unit of the division of christian life and work

PAV
MA file

Dr. Alfred Kramer

November 26, 1962

Elbert B. Jean

The intensified interest in the long range planning has caused me to give considerable thought to how this would effect the work in the South and what might be effective. It seems evident to me that the work of Race Relations will be a long range task. It is a good thing that we conserve our energies by each group doing that which it is best fitted to do. It further seems to me that the Southern Regional Council, because of its image and because of its staff, has a much needed service to render, and that many other contingent organizations can find direction and help from their labor.

I believe that it is possible to know beforehand where the buildups of Racial tension are before they erupt into tragic demonstrations that cause the loss of life and greatly damage constructive progress. I think that the Southern Regional Council has a staff that can give us sound information and direction as to where these areas are. I think that there are a number of organizations, Christian and Secular, that can do some" fuse pulling", that can take these explosive situations and direct this energy into constructive energies and make of them an opportunity for good. Therefore, I am suggesting that serious thought be given to: (1) a careful and scientific analysis of our Social buildups, (2) an opportunity for other groups interested in this area to give their services in ministering to these situations.

My hope is that we can have an effective ministry before the riot occurs and perhaps prevent the riot. I believe that many of these situations have occurred because of vacuum and it seems to me that the likeability for future incidents are increasing.

I hope that these rambling thoughts may be accepted as an indication of the need for the future and that we all can give our energies toward a more positive ministry to the entire problem of human in humanity.

cc. Rev. Will Campbell
Dr. J. Oscar Lee
Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Dr. Robert Dodds

EBJ
jr

Nat'l Council of Churches
Jeans

December 19, 1962

The Rev. Elbert Jeans
Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Elbert:

Isn't it a little past time for your quarterly report?

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

P.S. Please include your home address and telephone number for our records.

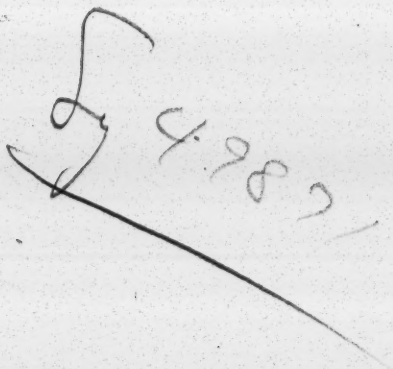
Mk. Foeder

MA - with address bottom last page

TA ✓

MET ✓

MA - file (we should have a separate file for Jean's reports)



December, 1962

OUTLINE OF QUARTERLY REPORT

I. PHASE ONE

Phase One is about completed. This has been a time of orientation and since my first quarterly report, I have attended the following meetings in preparing for my work in Leadership Development:

September 10-14, Tour through Birmingham, Alabama and Albany, Georgia contacting several persons who were involved in the racial crisis in those cities; returned to Atlanta, Georgia and attended the Southern Interracial Agency meeting.

September 17-21, made several contacts in Oxford, Mississippi and Stuttgart, Arkansas in relation to the Oxford Crisis.

September 25-28, attended the annual meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Birmingham, Alabama.

October 2-5, attended a special meeting of the United States Department of Agriculture for church workers in the rural area and an interstaff meeting with the National Council of Churches in Washington, D.C.

October 15-16, attended Land and People Conference of the United States Department of Agriculture, New Orleans, Louisiana. I was able to make several contacts of those giving interracial leadership in that area.

October 30-31, attended the Fellowship of the Concerned, Atlanta, Georgia.

November 1-2, attended staff meeting in New York City.

November 13-16, attended the Southern Conference to Aid Low Income Rural Families, Bricks, North Carolina.

November 26-27, attended the Tennessee Council of Churches annual meeting in Nashville, Tennessee.

December 3-4, attended a meeting concerning the burned churches of Georgia which met in Atlanta and returned by way of Huntsville, Alabama and made contact with interracial leaders.

December 9-14 made a tour of contacts in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi in regard to the possibility of local action groups in the rural area.

My primary purpose for attending these meetings was to inform myself as to what is being done and by whom and where the crucial spots are. In addition to these meetings, I have had several occasions to participate in programs of various kinds to give direction and council to various personnel both secular and religious.

II. PHASE TWO

A. Analysis of Phase One

1. In analyzing Phase One the first thing that occurs is the difficulty of contact and communication, i.e. it is physically impossible for one man to make a door to door campaign calling on the various leaders involved in the rural work. Furthermore, it is noted that in the case of rural pastors they fall into two categories: (a) Those who are in the rural area because of limited abilities (b) those who are in the rural area because of dedication or because of a witness which they have born that has caused the church to assign them there as a punishment. In the first instance, this minister shows very little initative and concern for expanding the implications of the gospel. In the second instance, this minister has more to say to me than I have to say to him; however, it is important that he be supported and encouraged and fellowshipped with.

2. The second aspect of analysis is the image of the National Council of Churches and my own job image.

a. It must be recognized at the beginning that a large proportion of the rural leadership is suspicious of any outside influence and that in the case of the National Council of Churches we have many arduous groups who have zealously saturated the southern mind with the image that the National Council of Churches is thoroughly Communist in nature and essentailly demonic in purpose. While this comes as no surprise to me, I knew this before I took the job, it does add to the difficulty of how one must proceed.

b. In trying to understand my own job and what my primary task is, I am called upon to examine the following: That I am a man called upon by God to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ. That I have accepted a job that will attempt to develop leadership in the south that will proclaim this gospel of good news even at the peril of their lives. That one of the boldest manifestation of sin in our day is the discrimination against Negroes in the south.

III. PHASE THREE

A. How To Proceed

1. Considering the difficulties of which Phases 1 and 2, my calling of God, and my job responsibilities; the question now is how to proceed. First of all I proceed with a conviction and some faith that there is a living God and He will be the determining factor in all that is.

2. Secondly, as to methodology, I believe that Will Campbell has made a sound suggestion. (a) Contact faculty members in Seminaries

throughout the South who would be sympathetic to have me come into their classes of senior students and discuss what some of the situations are that they will face in the rural south or otherwise meet with them.

(b) Arrange for future meetings with those specifically interested and concerned in these areas.

(c) Try to encourage those students who will serve in the same geographic area to keep in contact after graduation in order to have mutual support and guidance.

(d) Be sensitive to any possibility for intergroup meetings that would give opportunities for interracial forums. The purpose is to give opportunity to both races to discuss the deepest problems while they are still in school so that when they go into their field of labor they will not be strangers to one another.

(e) Continue to work in the actual situations in any and every way possible.

The above approach commends itself to me in the following ways: the seminaries provide a favorable group to hear and discuss the potentials for a ministery of the gospel. Within this group in the seminary are those who will serve many of the rural areas and will have the best influence on those rural pastors who do not go to seminaries. Furthermore, I can't think of any other way that is feasible.

How this plan will be implemented has not been fully developed yet, but my thought is to call upon those persons in seminaries whom I know, upon those in our own organization and related organizations who will be able to make proper contact and by this means work up an agenda of Southerm Seminaries to begin the early part of the second semester. I have done some of this already in Nashville and thought I would try to move next to Atlanta, Georgia, and move out from there as opportunity and wisdom directs.

Sincerely yours,

Elbert B. Jean
Director Leadership Development

EBJ/blg

P.S. My address is: Route 5, Pine Circle Road
Franklin, Tennessee
Phone No. 794-2211 Area code 615

Dictated by Elbert B. Jean, but signed by secretary.

bcc: Mr. Will D. Campbell

Elbert Jean
Rural Church Project

Cr. ref w/ Jean

January 10, 1963

Mr. J. Oscar Lee
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Lee:

Enclosed is the Council's check for $5,000 to cover two quarterly payments of the Council's grant to the National Council of Churches, Southern Project, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations. Our first quarterly payment was made in June 1962. Additional payments should have been made in September and December 1962. The final payment of $2,500 will be made during March 1963 to complete the first year grant of $10,000.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Lgt. see mrs.

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
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EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date January 30, 1963

To: LWD From: MM

Subject: Telephone conversation with Elbert Jeans

During the course of a telephone conversation today with Elbert Jeans, in regard to ~~into~~ a different matter, he asked me to report to you some of his observations on Albany, Georgia, where he spent some time last week.

He thinks the situation is taking on an encouraging aspect.

1. Local leadership is beginning to revive itself and take on responsibility. A sizeable group, which prefers to remain anonymous although Jeans knows several members of the ~~gou~~ group, recently went to the City Commissioners stating that they want the ~~libe~~ library open, integrated or not. (I assume that this was an action other than the petition for the library's opening, ~~repte~~ reported in local papers.)

2. White preachers are beginning to feel that they have to preach on constructive race relations again (possibility of federal suit in Dougherty County opened this up, I gathered).

3. There are possibilities that a biracial committee is going to be established. It would be unofficial, and not a ministers' alliance.

Jeans plans to go back to work on this latter possibility if it is necessary.

Also, he was a little disturbed that the ministers of burned churches in the area had not, when he talked with them, been informed of some of the important details of the ground-breaking ceremonies which are to be held this Sunday. They don't know, for example, where the ceremony is to begin. Jeans is going to drop a little note to Walker on this matter and is aware that this is just because of busy schedule or oversight on Walker's part.

cc: Frances Pauley

THIRD QUARTER REPORT
March 13, 1963

I. IMPLEMENTATION OF PHASE THREE OF SECOND QUARTER REPORT

I have made the following contacts and have had the following activities:

December 18,19, 1962, visited with The Rev. V.C. Provitt in Birmingham, Alabama. A large bomb had been exploded in front of his parsonage and church.

I have begun a series of correspondence with seminaries of the South regarding the possibility of having some seminars on their campuses this spring.

January 2-5, 1963, went to Canton and Jackson, Mississippi to talk with a Mr. and Mrs. Tom Johnson, who because of their stand on race have been driven from their church in Canton and are under harassment in Jackson.

January 9-12, 1963, went to Birmingham, Alabama, Jackson, Starksville, and Oxford, Mississippi as well as several rural points in Mississippi primarily in regard to the 28 Methodist preachers who issued a public statement on race relations.

January 18, 1963, met with a class of postgraduate students from Scarritt College to discuss The Church and Race in the South.

January 23-25, 1963, went to Albany, Georgia for the purpose of talking with church leaders, Negro and white in regard to resumed leadership in the area of race relations.

February 24-26, 1963, I spoke to Wesley Foundation at Emory and remained to contace leaders at Emory, I.T.C. and Columbia concerning a seminar during the week following Easter.

March 5-7, 1963, went to Oxford, Greenwood and Jackson, Mississippi. I met primarily with church leaders in regard to increased pressures and violence toward those who are seeking to give leadership in the area of race relations.

In addition to and aside from these activities, I have written an article, which I am trying to get published. I am enclosing a carbon copy, hoping that it may be of some interest to you.

I have made some rather exciting plans for the summer. Most of the churches, either through their seminaries or by having individual retreats, have their rural ministers together each summer. Many of them say that they are interested in having me come and be with their men in an emphasis of race and the rural pastor.

Having followed in the paths of some who have gone before me, I an convinced that one must be faithful in a deliberate and constant contact with as many of the forces as he can. People and organizations are not as permanent as we sometime think. The truth is they change all the time and it is the fellow with the constant witness that will eventually prevail.

March 25, 1963

The Rev. Elbert B. Jean
National Council of Churches
Southern Project
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Elbert:

Relative to your March 14 inquiry to Les, the arrangements, costs, and participants sound fine to us.

Travel advances, expenses after the event, etc., will be paid as and when you request with Furr's problem kept in mind.

The Southern Interagency Conference will be meeting in Atlanta on the 18th and 19th. Don't think this makes any difference to you but you should be aware of it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1963

Southern Project
P.O. Box 1083
March 14, 1963

PA -
OK?

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forysth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Everything seems to be in order for the forum on the campuses of Emory, Columbia and I.T.C. on April 16-19. As it has worked out, The Rev. Duncan Gray from Oxford, Mississippi and the Rev. Jerry Furr, Jackson, Mississippi and I will be the participants. The estimated expenses for the week will be as follows:

Air-Travel	$100.00
Honorarium for 2 men	100.00
Room & Board	50.00
Total	$250.00

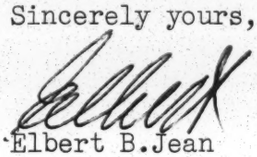
One matter that will need some attention is that The Rev. Jerry Furr has asked that he at this time will not be identified with the Southern Regional Council and reasons are as follows: (1) He himself is the leader of the 28 ministers and is under constant surveillance. Although he favors personally the action taken by the Southern Regional Council in the area of voter registration, he thinks that it would be damaging to their influence for him to be identified in a personal way with the movement. (2) He is already identified with the National Council of Churches since Galloway Memorial has been prominent in this fight for several years. I think there is substance to his reasoning

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

and that a cashier's check should be used in any financial reimbursement that he may get.

I was on the campus of Tuskegee this week and they were elated at the prospect of the Southern Regional Council becoming more of an action group.

Sincerely yours,



Elbert B. Jean
Field Director

EBJ/blg

-file
Elbert Jenn
re Will Campbell
resignation

Southern Project
P.O. Box 1083
April 3, 1963

Mr. R. H. Edwin Espy
Associate General Secretary
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Espy:

I will first attempt to state the reason for and the purpose of this letter. This letter is related to the widespread struggle between institutional religion and a vital faith in Jesus Christ. It is, however, prompted by a division that is in the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches. This division is a result of indecision and incompetence, theologically and administratively. The seriousness of this charge is substantiated by the fact that Dr. Garry S. Oniki several monthsago and Mr. Will D. Campbell recently terminated their services within the same department under the same leadership and for the same reasons. It is important that neither salary nor rebellion against authority, nor personality clashes were the reasons, but a basic structural and content difference. Strong and dangerous allegations have been made privately and publicly against these men. Here is a case where good and effective men have been abused and hurt by the National Council of Churches because of its weak and incompetent leadership. To be explicit, Dr. Kramer has stated to some of our friends that the purpose of his coming back to the department is to get rid of Dr. J. Oscar Lee and Mr. Will D. Campbell. Those who do the hiring and firing say that this is purely a staff matter and must be worked out within the staff. Does not candor compel those in authority to investigate the matter carefully and if the charges are correct, dismiss the men; if they aren't, dismiss those who made the charges. The most serious note of all is that because our leadership is either unable or unwilling to face real issues and make responsible decisions, a hatchet man is hired to do through harassment and intimidation what should have been done in love and faith in Jesus Christ.

Although the above considerations prompted this letter, they do not constitute its purpose. I am dismayed that the National Council of Churches would countenance such irresponsibility in its own ranks. I am anxious to remind you that real people are involved and are being hurt and irreparable damage is being done to the Department; however, this still is not the purpose and most urgent burden of this letter. That is Garry and Will have quit, so their job security is not part of this consideration, but why they quit is.

The purpose of this letter is to discuss the National Council of Churches of Christ in America and the Christian Faith. My point in writing you and relating this whole matter to the schism above mentioned, is because this is no local matter but a concrete one. It is important to keep this event in focus, or else I will get referred to a group of pamphlets, statistics, etc. The Christian Gospel is the word made flesh, so let us keep the conversation in flesh and blood terms.

For over 6 years, Will has gone extensively about the South (and some about the North) preaching, making addresses, personal calls, holding institutes, seminars, acting as a liason between interested persons and groups (secular and religious), consulting and counseling myrids of groups and persons as to strategy, purpose, etc., and as we generally count success, has been exceptionally successful. Mr. Campbell did these things in the name of the living God, the Father of Jesus Christ, or in the language of the New Testament, as a preacher. His program is a response of faith in Jesus Christ and his hope of success depends upon what God has done and will do. His message and program are the redemption of God in Christ for all men. In my presence, Dr. Kramer told Mr. Campbell that a new day had come and the job would have to be structured around Social Action and Community Dynamics, and that the National Council of Churches could no longer pay him to preach. I submit to you that the matter is here clearly cast. Mr. Espy, just what is the difference between the National Council of Churches' program in Race Relations and that of the Southern Regional Council's on Human Relations? Is there anything unique about the Christian Faith?

As one Christian and churchman to another, I submit to you that the decision of whether we will treat Christianity as a philosophical religion or whether the National Council of Churches will accept it as the way of life has presented itself dramatically within our own ranks. I am confident that a competent and unbiased man can by examining the' files of this office and observing the field work establish the fact that the proclamation of the gospel is the most dynamic force in all relations.

I am convinced that when and where the gospel is faithfully preached is where one finds the dynamic community programs of direct action, but this is the fruit of the gospel, not the gospel. I am sure that this office can be justified on the basis of its social actions, but we don't want this kind of justification and to seek it is to deny Jesus Christ. This problem is throughout the organized church, but since our responsibilities lie within a defined area, you at the top and me at the bottom of this structure, must we not view the matter with sensitive scrutiny? Must we not take the program and practice of the National Council of Churches in one hand and the Bible in the other and trusting the Holy Spirit to guide and evaluate the whole being of the National Council of Churches in light of the Bible and the revelation of the Spirit? This event cannot be written off with "yes, we believe in Jesus Christ too, but ..." We are face to face with what is the message of the National Council of Churches to the brokenness caused by hate and prejudice. The agency who has spread about in many lands proclamations for fairness, unity, Christian faith and love, has now within its own self a division. A division of whether the gospel shall be first and foremost in all that it says and is, or will the gospel be used in a utilitarian way, and when it is no longer useful to our goals and aims, disregarded for some more expedient endeavor? Truly a house divided against itself cannot stand, not even the National Council of Churches.

This is no plea for less program; it is a plea for our justification and our hope to be in God. This is no attempt to say that we should disregard sound and reflective planning; it is to insist that until the redemption offered in Jesus Christ is a flesh and blood reality social science is not only ineffective in reconciling the world, it is dangerous. If we believe that Jesus Christ is the answer to life, then let us manifest this in the structure of our program and administration of the National Council of Churches.

I am asking you to take this matter before the General Assembly and ask them before God to deliberate well in what they do. I am further asking the National Council of Churches to declare itself publicly in word and deed in this matter. It may be that the General Assembly will elect to have a Motivational Research Program. If so let them declare it openly before the world and the New Testament. At least we can then disagree in honor.

Sincerely yours,

Elbert B. Jean
Field Director

EBJ/blg

cc. Will Campbell

bl. cc.

April 4, 1963

Reverend Elbert B. Jean
Pine Circle Road
Route 5
Franklin, Tennessee

Dear Elbert:

I read with great interest not only your report of March 13, but also the manuscript of your article.

Will Campbell was recounting to me one of the episodes of the trip you and he made to New York and, in connection with it, I remarked that I did not see how anyone could lie to you. Well, I can't. There is, moreover, the chance that you might be the rare (almost non-existent) man who, after putting pen to paper, can value an honest comment.

Your article is not publishable. It is full of hard thinking: indeed, it almost overflows with things worth saying and worth reflecting on. But it is written far to roughly, and no magazine editor, even if he had the capacity to recognize the intellectual strength of it, would give the time that would have to be given to work it over. This is all the more a pity because in one or two places not only the thinking but the writing is good. Any

man who can get off a metaphor such as the one about the mattress on a narrow stairway -- one of the most brilliant I have seen in a long time -- can write if he will.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

Gilbert Jean

April 8, 1963
Franklin, Tennessee

Dear Les:

Your letter encourages me to discipline mind, body and soul, a difficult task which I have by procrastination and hedonism neglected. My only real hindrance to service and witness is that I am selfish, and although I know how and where to get deliverance from this, I resist.

Your friend,

Gilbert

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

file
SCP - Rural Church
Project

April 16, 1963

Mr. Will D. Campbell
Director
Southern Project
National Council of Churches
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Enclosed is the Council's check for $2,500, representing the fourth and final payment of the Council's commitment of a $10,000. grant for work with rural ministers in the South 1962-1963 on CK.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure(Check #1506)

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. · riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president

rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

MMJ
File

john w. thomas
chairman

j. oscar lee
executive director

May 2, 1963

Mrs. Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

This is to acknowledge with appreciation the Council's check for $2,500.00 representing the fourth and final payment of the Council's commitment of a $10,000 grant for work with rural ministers in the South. We appreciate the check and have been grateful to be able to cooperate with you in this project.

Will Campbell

Enclosed please find your official receipt for the grant.

Sincerely yours,

J. Oscar Lee

J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director

JOL:g
Encl.

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

Gratefully acknowledges your contribution

$ 2500.00 — AMOUNT

4/25/63 — DATE

RECEIPT NO.
1-01853

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECY.-TREAS.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

(CONTRIBUTIONS ARE DEDUCTIBLE FOR INCOME TAX PURPOSES)

PA✓
MJ-file

QUARTERLY REPORT

May 24, 1963

March 11-13--Visited the campus of Tuskegee Institute in a series of meetings with Dr. V. A. Edwards. These meetings were mostly with the rural pastors of that area.

March 14--Met with a group of rural Methodist Church leaders near Franklin, Tennessee, to discuss Leadership Development.

March 19-21--General meeting with the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches, New York City.

April 3--Met with the Directors of Religious Education in Nashville to discuss Religious Education and Race.

April 4--Participated in a panel at Scarritt College with the theme: WHAT SHALL BE THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN RACIAL INTEGRATION.

April 11--Consulted with another rural Methodist Church near Franklin, Tennessee, in regard to developing leadership. It should be pointed out that these invitations were general ones and I turned them into discussions concerning the church and race.

April 16-19--Conducted a seminar on the campuses of Emory, ITC, with Columbia participating some. The Revs. Jerry Furr and Duncan Gray participated in the seminar. I also drove to Griffith, Georgia and consulted Rev. Roy Averett.

April 29-May 3--Assisted Mrs. Ben Russell of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen in a series of inquiries about the Church and Race Relations in the state of Arkansas.

May 6-10--Visited the campuses of Perkins School of Theology, Dallas, Tex., Brite and Southwestern at Fort Worth in a series of dialogues with students and professors, addressing chapel services and class groups with specific emphasis on the task of the minister in the area of Race Relations.

May 21--Columbia, Tennessee, counseling with several ministers in regard to how and when they should try to proceed in desegregation in that town.

In looking over my work for the year, I am impressed with the following:

(1) That it is impossible to have an open and forthright program stressing church leadership in the area of Race Relations within the Church. The Church has its program and is following it. It is a program of high pronouncements on a high level and low performance on a low level and one soon discovers if he tampers with this equilibrium that the Church considers the above strategy desirable.

This attempt of leadership development in the area of Race Relations within the church must fall within this image are be a sabotage movement; for the church is happy with this arrangement it has developed and will resist any and all attempts to increase the tension between what we say and what we do. I believe that this fact needs to be recognized and taken as one's primary reason why "outside" religious movements should try to recruit and send into the church people who will take seriously the church's pronouncement. By and large, the church's pronouncements are very sound.

(2) Most all my ministerial life, I have preached and believed to varying degrees that the gospel of Jesus Christ is a new creation and therefore, the most socially dynamic force in our world. Working in this position has brought me upon this truth from another direction. I am now in somewhat the same position of the Psychiatrist who says that faith and prayer will help ulcers whether there is a God or not. That is, faith and prayer in his judgment are very good emotional therapy. Likewise, faith in Christ and the love which he emulated and expressed are not only the most dynamic forces working in the area of race relations but the only force that can bind up the broken, heal the wounded and give life and strength to those faint and weary. Now, obviously, we cannot begin with saying that we want racial harmony; therefore, we will be Christians. This is the same mistake of those who want peace; therefore, they seek to be Christians. Harmony and peace are the fruits to Christian life and what we must do is preach and be His people not because of what it will bring, but because He is the Son of God and this is right and good.

(3) The work in the seminaries is worthwhile and I hope to continue it on a wider scale. It helps to be from the National Council of Churches in working with seminaries and large churches. I plan to try to capitalize more on this advantage. I am trying to set up some meetings this summer with the rural pastors in various pastors' schools. This will be a very difficult group to talk with in the area of race for a large number of them are confirmed segregationists in the biblical tradition, i.e., the Bible proves it.

(4) There are two things that I can and must do constantly: (a) the first is to be a proclaimer of the gospel. (b) to make special and conscious effort to be a minister to the disinherited. I n addition to these, I have other opportunities to participate in the programs of agencies like SRC to help the cause of Civil Liberties.

Finally, one of the things that disappoints me most about the rural area is that those persons who have been in it the longest and who have had occasion to direct tremendous amounts of money and energy in various programs seem to feel that as rural people the only kind of help to be offered is some sort of relief help. The programs for which they are most optimistic are programs that will change the rural area into a sparsely settled urban community. As contrasted to this the church considers the rural more of a problem than a promise and treats it as a sick situation which could not stand the stress and strain of the Race issue, therefore, I am convinced that anything in the area of leadership development is going to have to originate somewhere behind the Race issue and perhaps outside the church.

June 3, 1963

Reverend Elbert B. Jean
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Elbert:

Great!

No daughter.

Weekend of June 21.

Where?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

Southern Project
P.O. Box 1083
May 22, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Arrangements have already been made for your family and our family to spend a weekend (Friday through Sunday) in a fashionable cottage overlooking a beautiful lake. We can fish, water ski, swim or just be lazy.

The only thing that remains is for you to say when you can come. Just bring your family(your daughter too, if she can come). How about one of the following weekends: June 14th, 21st, 28th--or July 4th but that is not a good one. Please give me two choices.

Sincerely yours,

Elbert B. Jean
Field Director

EBJ/blg

P.S. I have had opportunity to confirm the Camp for the week-end of June 21, 22 + 23. Can you come then? EBJ.

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

bcc: Will D. Campbell

June 13, 1963

Mr. J. Oscar Lee
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Lee:

Enclosed is the Council's check for $2,500. to cover the first quarterly payment of the Council's grant to the National Council of Churches, Southern Project. Additional quarterly payments will be made in September and December, 1963. The final payment of this grant will be made in March, 1964.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure (Check #1697 - $2,500.)

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

Southern Project
P.O. Box 1083
June 18, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Just a note to say that we are truly disappointed that you cannot come; but we really do understand and we will endeavor to work out a later engagement.

I do hope that you have a meaningful vacation for it looks as if your area of work can better increase.

Sincerely yours,

Elbert B. Jean
Field Director

EBJ/blg

Dictated by Elbert B. Jean but signed in his absence.

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

via air mail

June 13, 1963

Reverend Elbert Jean
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Elbert:

I hate awfully much to say this particularly at this late time, but we are not going to be able to come up next week. I am planning to go on vacation June 27, and I have finally and reluctantly realized that it is literally impossible to take time off before then. In fact, to get down to the work that I have to do before going on vacation, I am very sure that I shall need to work the next two weekends.

We are very sorry about this, because we had been truly looking forward to the fishing, swimming, and loafing. If the welcome mat will be out again in late July or early August, let me know.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

Southern Project
P.O. Box 1083
June 7, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

WHERE: My residence which is 5 miles east of Franklin on Highway 431, Pine Circle Road (sign on main highway) turn left, fourth house on the right.(buff brick) If you come through Chattanooga, I suggest that you take Highway 96 at Murfreesboro to Franklin.

It will be helpful if you can arrive for lunch at our house. It is about 2 hours drive on to the cabin. This would give us an opportunity to eat and get to the cabin by early afternoon.

Sincerely yours,

Elbert B. Jean
Field Director

EB/blg

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

June 27, 1963

RHA ✓
7/9/63

Mrs. Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

I want to acknowledge with appreciation the quarterly payment of the Southern Regional Council's grant to the Southern Project of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches.

We appreciate the continuing interest and cooperation of the Council in making the work of this program possible.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. Oscar Lee

J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director

JOL:g

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

Gratefully acknowledges your contribution

$ 2,500.00 — AMOUNT

6/14/63 — DATE

RECEIPT NO.
1-04711

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH ST.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

(CONTRIBUTIONS ARE DEDUCTIBLE FOR INCOME TAX PURPOSES)

July 2, 1963

Mr. Elbert Jean
Pine Circle Road
Route 5
Franklin, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Jean:

Mr. Dunbar will return from vacation on the 15th, and you should hear from him soon thereafter about the "lost weekend." I'm sure he'd like to take you up on it.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1963

Franklin, Tenn.
June 27, 1963

Dear Lee:

1. How would July 26, 27, 28th be for the "last week-end"? I'll check on the availability of the cabin and let you know.

2. Nothing has been done in re-building the burned churches.

Sincerely

Edwin

LWD ✓
MJ

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman

j. oscar lee
executive director

Southern Project
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee
July 3, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your check in the amount of $2,500, representing the first quarterly payment of the grant for the support of the Rev. Elbert Jean through this office.

Mr. Jean will make quarterly reports on his activities directly to the Southern Regional Council with copies coming to this office.

Cordially yours,

Will D. Campbell/sg

Will D. Campbell
Director

WDC:sg
Dictated by Mr. Campbell
but signed in his absence

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, s. garry oniki, assoc. executive directors

a unit of the division of christian life and work

PA ✓
VI ✓
SB ✓
~~HH~~ file
WJ
~~AM~~

QUARTERLY REPORT

August 26, 1963

TO: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

FROM: Elbert B. Jean

May 28-31 -- Little Rock Annual Conference in Hot Springs, Arkansas.

June 3 -- Conference with Dr. J. Oscar Lee in Washington, D. C.

June 10-13 -- Jackson, Mississippi, Monticello and Pine Bluff, Ark. conferring with ministers in trying to get a bi-racial committee for these respective cities.

June 24-26 -- Tuskegee, Alabama to convene some white and Negro ministers and help them get a bi-racial committee among the ministers initiated.

July 1-3 -- Prince Edward County, Virginia to attempt to bring together some white and Negro Ministers to discuss situations in Prince Edward County. Very little response from either group.

July 8-19 -- Spent several days in South Arkansas and North Louisiana in the small towns and countryside contacting the general public and trying to confront them with the Gospel and responsible actions in race relations.

July 25-27 -- Memphis, Tennessee to meet with Dr. Brooks Ramsey and Ed Mathews trying to assist them in drawing up some training schools to help ministers better face the crises areas.

August 8-10 -- Tupelo College, Jackson, Mississippi and Gulfport, Miss. Had retreats for ministers who have been dispossessed by their communions and try to guide the ones under serious pressure to continue an effective witness.

August 22-24 -- Atlanta and Griffin, Georgia; Gadsden, Alabama to confer with the staff of Southern Regional Council and with ministers in Griffin and Gadsden who show desires for responsible leadership.

My evaluations listed in my May 24 report seem to be valid and I have attempted the following approaches in response to these respective situations: (1) I find that it is possible to work with some of the county seat pastors who in turn can work with the rural pastors. I am encouraging the county seat pastors to begin teaching programs that will bring them into close contact with these rural areas. Some of them are doing it and finding it a creative experience. (2) I tried for two weeks to do something of what the early American preachers did by going into the rural areas of South Arkansas and speaking directly to the people of that area wherever I found them gathered. This is a trying experience but I am persuaded it has considerable merit at speaking directly to the very seedbed of the racial problem. (3) With the several Crash programs of the various church agencies being put into effect, the tension upon the local personnel both lay and ministerial--particularly ministerial, increases. That is the segregationists lash out their hostility toward these movements upon the local minister where they think he was the instigator and in some instances the national agencies have likewise inferred that the local pastor is not doing all he should do. I am at somewhat a lost to know how to meet this situation but up to this point I have chosen to identify myself with the local pastor.

My plans for this next quarter are to continue doing the same sort of thing that I have done this summer as long as the National Council will afford me the travel to make the face to face consultations for I think this is the most effective means of witness. I also have in mind editing a letter which will go out as often as I have something to say to responsible persons throughout the South and finally I am trying to take a responsible part in the readily developing plans for desegregation in my own home community.

cc. Will Campbell

August 30, 1963

Mr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Director
National Council of the Churches of
Christ in the U. S. A.
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Lee:

Enclosed is the Council's check for $2,500. to cover the second quarterly payment of the Council's 1963-64 grant to the National Council of Churches, Southern Project.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure (Check #2046 - $2,500.)

File

Franklin, Tenn.
Rt. 5, Pine Circle Rd.
Sept. 29, 1962

Dear Les,

You are a better preacher than you are Social Scientist, and I have regard for your abilities in the latter field.

I am grateful to you for sharing a carbon of Martin Luther King's letter with me, and thank God for the witness.

Something is about to happen in the area of the institutional church, or is happening - too many, too prominent leaders (lay & clergy) have left, in too short a period.

Sincerely

Ed Reed

MA ✓
PWL ✓
MJ-file

P.O. Box 10201
Greenville, S.C.

October 24, 1963

Southern Leadership Conf.

The Reverend Elbert Jean
Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Elbert,

It is good to be counted among your friends. I find in your discipleship something akin to that of John Woolman, the Quaker tailor.

Do look us up when you come to Greenville, and add these names to those I gave you:

The Reverend Barry Carter
154 Capers Street
Greenville, South Carolina

The Reverend James Grant
First Baptist Church
Greenville, South Carolina

There seems to be considerable support for the idea which Les Dumbar framed in a recent letter to me that southern ministers who lose their jobs ought to be enabled to stay on for a time at least in the places where they served. Everybody asks how many of these men there are. I believe you and Will Campbell may be able to compile a list of the men who need help, or may be likely to need it. I would be glad to have names of Baptist ministers who have lost their places because of their attitude on race. Let me hear from you.

Cordially,

Martin

J. Martin England
Southern Representative

cc - Dr. Leslie Dumbar
The Reverend Will D. Campbell

✓ PW -

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman

j. oscar lee
executive director

Southern Project
P.O. Box 1083
November 20, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you for your letter of November 6.

Yes, I do have some information concerning "displaced" ministers. and will be glad to share it with you. I plan to be in Atlanta within the next few days so maybe we can discuss this matter at this time.

Sincerely yours,

EBJ

Elbert B. Jean
Field Director

EBJ/blg

Dictated by Elbert Jean but signed by secretary in his absence.

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

PA PW UJ ML MJ-file

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

Sunday

Dear Lee:

Thought you might be interested in this letter to the Nashville, Tennessee - also, to say I had a report to send to you, but it won't do - I'll try at another budget after Thanksgiving

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

November 24, 1963
Route # 5, Pine Circle Rd.
Franklin, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Editor:

In their around the clock minute by minute coverage of the cowardly and untimely murder of the late President Kennedy the news media have demonstrated a strange demeanor. They have presented the image that to the man our nation is stunned, saddened and shocked by this event. For some reason the news service have not reported that some of our prominent citizenery greeted the news of the President's assination with such comments as: "One less nigger lover to worry about", or "too bad he didn't get her too", or "this is a great day for America". Neither have they taken notice that it is reported in some schools some the pupils cheered when they were told the President was dead. According to columnist Ralph McGill many of the news agencies received calls and comments registering similar attitudes, but for some strange reason he is the only one who saw much connection or news worthiness in this fact.

I would remind the news media that worse than death is a trivial life. Someone asked Helen Keller, what is worse than blindness? She replied, "to have eyes and not be able to see". In spite of the fact that Mr. Oswald has left wing sympathies it cannot be overlooked that those who take pride in the signs, "Save our Republic, Impeach Earl Warren", and those who have been so liberal in their indictment of the President as a Communist and a nigger lover, as well as those public leaders and officials who have blantly advocated the overthrow of federal law and order, directly share in this tragic event. President Kennedy is not the first victim of such leadership and preachments nor will he be the last.

Worse than many deaths is the lack of faithful preachers during this dreadful week-end. Except for a lone voice here and there crying in the wilderness, the preachers have cried peace, peace, when there is no peace. They have spoken of redemption without repentance, while true seekers mourn and despair of hope.

In and hour when the whole world and especially our nation are brought face to face with the fact the the mighty stand with the lowly in the article of death what do we hear? We hear some pious mumblings about what a good guy the President was and what a terrible guy the assian is, and how can this happen amidst so many good and nice people. In an hour when our lives are over run with fear, obcessed with hate and disdraught with sadness, what word have we from those appointed to preach the judgment, the love and the promise of God? Although the vestiges of divinity appear everywhere, it has remained for the afore mentioned clergymen and a newspaper columnist to indicate that God and morality have anything to do with anything that is going on. Where are the champion who can wrestle against the rulers of darkness?

Perhaps it is appropriate to have an hour to cuss and to cry, but let us not be deceived, sin has not been quited by the death of a president. The living cannot survive on his life or his death. How then shall the people hear if their preacher is a teller of cute stories or a solver of non existant problems?

How shall we believe if what we hear is a grand scheme to glorify the institutional church and the preacher who have silently permitted the church to become the last stronghold of injustice?

What is worse than death? TO DENY JESUS CHRIST AS LORD!

Elbert B. Jean

December 12, 1963

Mr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Director
National Council of the Churches of
Christ in the U.S.A.
Department of Racial and Cultural
Relations
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Lee:

Enclosed is the Council's check for $2,500. to cover the third quarterly payment of the 1963-64 grant for work with rural ministers in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure (Check #2453 - $2,500)

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

January 3, 1964

Reverend Elbert B. Jean
Pine Circle Road
Route 5
Franklin, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Jean:

Paul Anthony tells me that you want returned to you your "Protesting Protestants." Enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred M. Johnson

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

January 6, 1964

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Thank you for the carbon, but I had reference to the original copy which I sent to Henry Clark during the evaluation. He was suppose to send it right back. Maybe you could forward a reminder on to him, or send me his address and I will. I do thank you for the carbon, which I will keep until I can get the original back.

Sincerely,

Elbert B. Jean

File
Southern Leadership Project
"Edward Jones"

via air mail January 8, 1964

Dr. Alfred S. Kramer
Staff Consultant
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Dr. Kramer:

It was good talking with you yesterday. I hope that we may have an early occasion to meet.

I hasten to write to you because, on checking our records, I find that they apparently differ from yours on the amount which the Southern Regional Council has paid to the National Council of Churches in accordance with the agreement outlined in my letter of June 12, 1962 to Will Campbell. You said, as I recall, that we had paid to date a total of $15,000, whereas our records indicate that we have paid $17,500, as follows:

June 21, 1962	$ 2,500.00
January 10, 1963	5,000.00
April 16, 1963	2,500.00
June 13, 1963	2,500.00
September 3, 1963	2,500.00
December 12, 1963	2,500.00
Total:	$17,500.00

I regret very much to learn from our conversation that there is some question regarding the continuation of Elbert Jean's ministry through the period ending May 31, 1964.

I share with you a very high regard for this man, and for the work he is doing. Even though, as I indicated to you on the telephone yesterday, and as we had previously made clear both to Will and Elbert, we cannot continue our financial participation beyond May 31, 1964; we had hoped that the National Council would value this ministry sufficiently to continue it. From what you said, I gather that you have the same hope, but are extremely dubious as to the possibility.

It seems to me that this makes it all the more urgent that, in fairness to Elbert, he be advised soon as to his status beyond May 31, 1964 so that he can make necessary plans.

We shall be very appreciative if you will keep us informed regarding this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Reverend Elbert Jean

Memo from **RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER**

~~Southern project~~

June 21, 1962	2,500.00
Jan 10, 1963	5,000.00
April 16, 1963	2,500.00
June 13, 1963	2,500.00
Sept. 3, 1963	2,500.00
Dec. 12, 1963	2,500.00
	17,500.00

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T

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

PA-please see me
VJ
PWL
SB
MH-file

Franklin, Tennessee
Route 5, Pine Circle Rd.
January 10, 1964

MJ
Files
Jean's reports
Southern Leadership Project

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

The work has gone about the same for the period of September 1 through December 31, 1963 with this addition. Preceeding your letter to Martin England in regard to loss of leadership from the church in the south; there were some that were concerned about the quanity and quality of leadership, because of hostility from without and indifference from within the church, were being driven out. Your letter aroused others and caused a few to see that this was more than just instutitional politics, but that it has to do with what it means to be a Christian and bear a faithful witness to Jesus Christ.

In mid-December 63, Martin England and I agreed that we should meet with Will Campbell. We met on January 7, 1964 in Nashville to discuss our responsibilities before God in issuing a "Call" to displaced ministers of the south to return to it as missionaries. Attention was given to what authority, if any, we have to issue such a call. The consensus was that although other persons thought it a good idea and that the need was great, the only authority we have is that obedience to the same gospel that caused these men to be driven from the south requires that they return to it as missionaries.

The following invitation has been sent to the following ministers; Dan Whitsett, Robert McNeill, Paul Stagg, Robert McCann, McRae Works and James Nicholson: We invite you to an expense paid meeting in Nashville, Tennessee February 4 and 5, 1964. This will enable you six to join with us three in a face to face confrontation. If you are convienced that this is of God, other plans could follow, if not the meeting is closed.

If the nine reach a consensus the following are at least possibilities: a) As these six go back to prepare to spend at least the month of July 1964 as missionaries in the south, they could invite fellow

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

ministers to share in this venture of faith. b) That in working out the details for their coming they will have many opportunities to witness to the institutional church. c) That while no publicity is planned, this is a public venture and may have a broader witness than we now expect. d) We understand our responsibilities to be a continuing relationship to work in whatever way we can to facilitate the coming of these men and making possible their best witness if they do come and to join with them in whatever way possible in this proclamation.

Sincerely yours,

Elbert B. Jean

P.S. I have before me letters from Rev. Barry Carter, Mr. Preacher in Greenville, S.C. & Rev. Ray McLamatte, Mr. Preacher at Augusta, S.C. (author of "Shined Glory Jungle") which have many strong suggestions for coordinating the "Voices crying in the wilderness". I am to meet with them the last of this month to see if we might take the commitment of the return missionary call and see if the "7,000 that have not bowed the knee to Baal" can be united in their search for the Word that has been made flesh.

EBJ

Itinerary September 1, 1963
to
December 31, 1963

September 2-5- Datona Beach, Fla. Met with Lou Mitchell, made some recordings to be broadcast and met with some of the pastors' in the area. I came back by way of Columbia, S.C. to meet with Bishop Paul Hardin.

September 17-19 : Birmingham and Tuskeege, Ala. Columbia, Tenn. Attempted to give aid and support to ministers who were being harassed because of their stand on race. Also, called in the homes of those children and youth who were killed by the bombing and shootings in Birmingham.

September 23-26 : Greenville and Frogmore,S.C.. Met with some ~~interested~~ persons that were interested in trying to make the church more effective in race relations. Attended part of the National Share Croppers meeting in Frogmore.

September 30-Oct. 4 : Worked with several Methodist Ministers who were sponsoring a negro student for Hendirx College.

October 8-9 : met with a committee at Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas to discuss the admission of the student. Request refused, but some helpful follow up can be done.

October 22-23 Met two session each with the classes "Church and Society and "Rural Sociology", at Scaritt College. These students were primarily rural workers.

October 25-27 : Oxford, Miss. Stuttgart and Pine Bluff, Arkansas. This was an effort to get some white ministers who would enter into an extended and serious dialogue with negro ministers concerning the opportunities and problems before the church in that immediate area. Not much response, but some.

November 8, 1 Columbia, Tenn. Trying to recruit support of some ministers in that area to help those in the Birmingham and Tuskeege areas.

November 11-14: Vicksburg, Miss. to collect data on the 28 Methodist Ministers and any other ministers that were driven out because of what they preaced. Came back by Jackson, Tenn. to try and encourage liberal leaders.

November 20 : Attended the trial of some demonstrators in Jackson, Tennessee.

Nov. 21-22 : Tuskeege and Auburn, Alabama. Tried to keep several ministers of that area who were giving leadership from leaving.

Continued.....

Continued....

November 24 : Spoke to the Wesley Foundation, Cooksville , Tennessee on Race the Church and Local Leadership.

November 25-26 : West Memphis, Arkansas. Gathered some ministers together (mainly classmates) and asked them to give aid and support to Rev. Bill Holmes in Dallas, Texas, whose life was being threatened because of his proclamation of the gospel in regard to the President's assination.

December 1- 6 : Attended part of the General Assembly of the NCC in Philadelphia, Pa.

December 9-12 : Attended a seminar, Non-Violence, Revolution and the Church. I was the preacher for the morning hour. Black Mt. N.C.

December 12-14 : Greenville, S.C. Columbia, S.C. and Atlanta, Ga. To formulate with leaders in these areas, plans for a return of those who have been driven out because of their proclamation of the gospel.

December 19 : Part of a panel at Vanderbilt discussing the need for leadership.

December 19-21 : Little Rock, Texarkana, Arkansas. Further development of "The Return Missionary Program."

Fire Southern Leadership project - "Jean Elbert" 1964

PA
PW
VJ
MA
MT file

Southern Project
1106--19th Avenue South
January 16, 1964

The Reverend R. H. Edwin Espy
Associate General Secretary
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

This letter is in regard to two incidents in the NCC program. I refer to the meeting sponsored by the NCC in Clarksdale, Mississippi some months ago and the more recent meeting in Nashville, Tennessee on January 6-8, 1964.

The Clarksdale meeting succeeded in intimidating many persons who have risked their lives and suffered privation because of their proclamation of the gospel and their defense of the NCC. It has alienated some of the people through whom I have had a ministry to the point that that ministry is now closed because they cannot take the additional liability of being associated with any one from the NCC.

The enclosed materials will give you some indication of the most recent meeting in Nashville. In addition to this, threats have been made directly to this office and will doubtless increase.

Point No. 1 is this: (1) That this office was not apprised that such meetings were being held. We learned of the meetings only through the press and criticisms made to this office assuming that we were a part of this organization. If those who sponsor such endeavors can and will remain to face the opposition then let them plan whatever kind of program they feel that must, but when they make such entries and then fell to the sanctuary of New York to leave those who reside here to bear the brunt of what they have done and said it is in keeping with the Christian spirit and good sense to consult and plan with those in the area. I am not upset

about the fact that the community is in a great stir nor do I expect to engage in this kind of work without risk but there is a difference in being a fool for Christ sake and being a plain fool. It seems to me that it is time for the Emergency Commission on Religion and Race to square itself with the gospel if it is going to be announced as a program of the Churches of CHRIST in America. The second point is this: In May, 1962, I entered into an agreement with the NCC and the Southern Regional Council on Human Relations to give at least two years of my life in trying to recruit and develop leadership in the South, i.e. , Christian leadership especially in the rural areas and in regard to race. The Southern Regional Council granted my salary and some travel; the NCC was to furnish all administrative services and supplement the travel. Although the NCC has accepted the grant money through the third quarter of the second year, I am told that they cannot afford travel for the remaining months of this tenure. Thus it renders it impossible for me to carry out my part of the agreement since it entails traveling widely through the South. It seems very strange to me that the NCC can appropriate thousands of dollars in Clarksdale, Mississippi and some other odd thousands of dollars in Nashville which may exceed their budget and cannot find $4,000 or $5,000 to meet its committment and keep the only resident man it has in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Elbert B. Jean
Field Director

EBJ/blg

Enclosures 3

cc. Mr. Arild Olsen
Mr. Tom Baker
Mr. Les Dunbar
Mr. John Wood
Mr. Alfred Kramer

Tennessean
1-16-64

Use of Youth In Racial Issue

To the Editor:

To deny the biological and sociological differences between races is unrealistic and ridiculous as an ostrich burying its head in the sand.

But this tactic for the National Council of Churches to usurp parental authority by engaging youth in the racial issue is even more stupid.

To engage youth in such an explosive issue when they have no vote or practical influence in civic affairs is to incite hate and frustration and sure suicide for the churches. This is one pure way of emptying church buildings and leaving them to the Communists and disgruntled Oswalds, who not having found truth themselves, begrudge and hate those who have and now think to elevate themselves and find their own place in the sun by equalizing men through degeneration of the species. Theirs is a vain philosophy capable of destroying the world and mankind, body and soul.

If the churches now intend to hand over religion as a rod to our children with which to force the race issue, in the hope of bringing about justice, righteousness and equality, then it is proof positive that the antichrist have taken their seats in our churches.

The mission of the church is to bear witness to the truth . . . "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free." The church is to teach justice, righteousness and equality, but it is not its job to help make antichrists comfortable by driving Christians into John Birch Societies!

KAY SUTTON

RFD No. 1
Mt. Juliet, Tenn.

Banner

Nashville Banner - 1-10-64

1-10-64

Church Youth Camps Are Urged For Race Mixing

Participation In 'Demonstrations' Proposed At Conference Here

By BOB BELL
Banner Church Editor

Summer church conferences and camps should be a time for racial experiences for high school youth, all the way from simple Negro-white association to participation in "demonstrations," according to some national Protestant youth leaders.

This was one of the major suggestions at the closing session of the Youth Ministry Consultation on Race Wednesday afternoon at the Methodist Boar def Education building, 19th & Grand. Sponsor was the Emergency Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

The meeting was a consultation for discussion and exchange of ideas, not a voting matter; results were in the form of suggestions and representatives of some of the 15 denominations present were clearly not in sympathy with many of the ideas presented, although the entire atmosphere was friendly and professional.

Many of the ideas were plainly only those of the person making the suggestion, but members of the group of 40 were either staffers for the National Council of Churches or denominational youth leaders and editors.

The only outside resources leaders were from the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and its northern counterpart, the Northern Student Movement.

Summer youth conferences came into the discussion when Jay Moore, associate director suggested the use of people who have been directly involved in racial demonstrations as leaders in the camps to acquaint church young people—10th, 11th and 12th graders for this consultation—with what is going on the American race revolution. "Last year we took a group on a speaking tour of the Midwest to stir up votes on civil rights and to influence congressmen in some of the swing (doubtful) areas—got three of them out of jail for the trip just in time to catch the bus."

Pointing out that he is on a phone-call basis with leaders of the racial organizations, John Wood, chairman of the consultation and on the NCC youth department staff in New York City, told the leaders to refer requests for such speakers to his office.

Then Miss Joan Hemenway, associate editor of "Youth" magazine of the United Church of Christ, Philadelphia, suggested that instead of bringing in the demonstrators that the entire camp or conference should be "blooded"—taken to the demonstrations for participation. "The kids owe it to the church to march, to picket in the South, and more so in the North."

The Rev. Theodore McEachern of the Methodist Board of Education staff here asked, "How much can you expect children of mid-adolescence to do?" They're under of the emergency commission, parental care, he continued, have their school duties, can't vote—"why they're as disfranchised as the Negro himself."

"Which is important," he said, "for the youth to work at developing his own identity or to become militant in social action? I think it is asking too much, and I am familiar with what Negro 11th and 12th graders have done in filling jails."

The Rev. Richard Rice, editor of a Methodist publication for senior high, differed. Because of over-protection, youth should be interested in getting freedom, he said. "They acquiesce in their slavery, as it were. I like the idea of giving them contact with SNCC, voter registration and such things."

John Newman, a college student taking a year out to work with the national Methodist youth organization here, declared there is not enough conflict in the church. He suggested that NCC help trigger sympathetic youth demonstrations all over the U.S. when suitable events occur. "It would be good for the kids." Earlier he had told the group of plans for a group of Mississippi young people, white and Negro, to take a joint bus trip to a national Methodist youth meeting [illegible]

issue devoted to race returned by one church in Alabama.

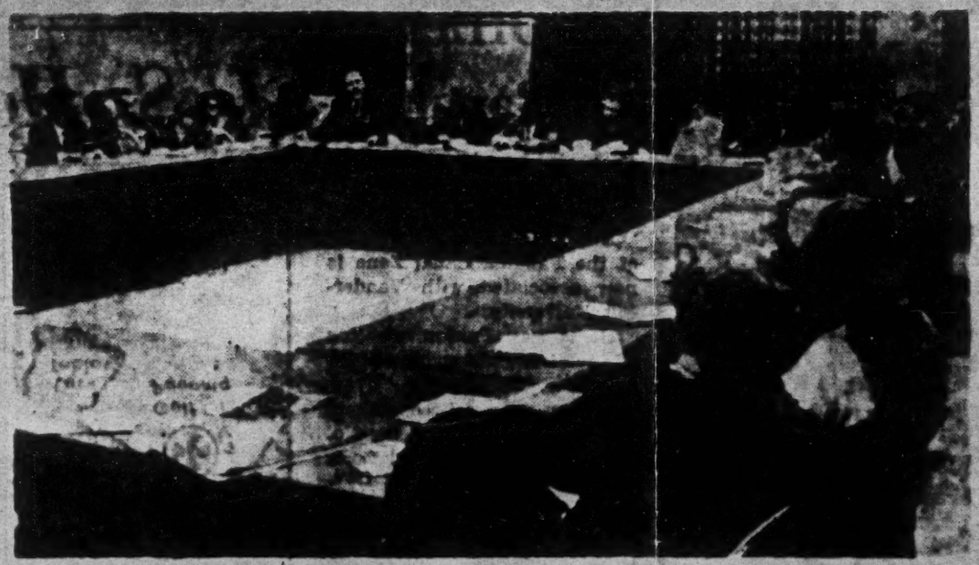
Efforts to get racial matters into 1964 summer conferences may be stymied because many denominational leaders have already sent out their information. Boyd Hughes of Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Indianapolis, said his denomination's 1965 program calls for youth conferences to get off the usual conference sites and go where something is happening. Some Illinois conferences have already arranged to switch from their usual rural camps to the heart of Chicago this summer, he told the group.

When the question of introducing racial matters into Boys State and Girls State programs came up, Lanier Hunt of the NCC staff suggested that an attempt be made to find students who were going to such camps and train them ahead of time.

"There's always the possibility of getting CORE to stage a demonstration at the same time," pointed out Newman.

Throughout the three days, the comments of the NCC leaders were to encourage brushes with "the system" in an effort to get young people involved in the racial revolution as it was continually termed. For young people to be stopped by police was termed an excellent way to wake them up to what is going on in the world around them.

In his lengthy talk Tuesday, Dr. Williams had pointed out that NCC staffers and most church board staffers are not in any danger of their jobs because of racial activities, and had asked how they might "use this freedom in the battle for human dignity."



—Staff Photo by Jack Gunter

PROTESTANT YOUTH LEADERS attending a conference on Youth Ministry Consultation on Race at the Methodist Board of Education building participate in a roundtable discussion. At the closing session it was suggested that summer church conferences and camps should be a time for racial experiences for high school youth.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Banner 1-14-64

'Freedom' From What?

Now They Would Subvert Parental Authority

Banner 1-14-64

WITHOUT NAMING it as such, the "Highlander Folk School" motif predominated in recommendations stemming from the "Youth Ministry Consultation on Race" held here last week—a high-sounding title indeed for indoctrination in civil disobedience. Sponsors and participants could have called it appropriately a workshop on How to Recruit and Brainwash Teen-age Children.

Sponsored by the Emergency Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., it addressed itself to the undisguised aim of "freeing" youngsters from the parental authority it obviously holds in contempt, and enlisting them in picket-lines of law-defiance.

These are, Mr. and Mrs. America, YOUR children this "Emergency Commission" panel is talking about—and the parental authority it proposes to subvert is yours. The teenager it seeks to attract for its own scofflaw use is right out of your home, school and church. The ideological manipulators now are picking them young.

These so-called counselors seem to be demanding something beyond desegregation, an area in which Nashville, according to a leading Negro publication, is setting an example for other cities in the South. But the progress here has been based on good judgment and good will displayed by the leaders of both races. The radical proposals of this National Council group will hinder, not help.

* * *

THERE ARE CHURCH CAMPS maintained by most denominations for the recreation, Bible-teaching, and character-building of their young people; but not of the variety advocated by these propagandists. There are Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations and camps—which they likewise suggest as infiltration points. But these are not intended to be workshops in social revolution or political staging areas, or glorified recruiting centers aimed at making jailbirds of children.

Apparently the element in question expects parents to hold still while it entices and brands their brood, and proceeds from there to "educate" these youngsters in the technique of breaking the law; or getting in and out of jail—preferably far enough from home that they can escape its natural restraints. The distance factor was stressed and integrated trips also, leading themselves to freedom from the inhibiting customs whose abolishment is the end and aim of this bald preachment.

Thus would unfold Chapter Two of what has been clearly espoused as the premise that obedience is required only of those laws with which the individual agrees. Now begins the campaign to extend this anarchical philosophy—by catching 'em young, and instilling that premise at the impressionable age; having first alienated them entirely from a sense of accountability, and breeding a profound contempt for the authority of parents.

That gets so far from Bible teaching and the structure of ethics resting thereon that to propound it in the guise of an assembly even remotely related to religion is a sacrilege. It defiles. It shocks. It should open some eyes to reckless forces of moral insurrection seeking to bore from within.

* * *

RENDERING UNTO CAESAR is one thing—a principle enjoined upon civilized human beings as a matter of authority and order under law; and rendering unto God—both of them bound upon man in the same Divinely given paragraph.

Rendering unto the Emergency Council on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.—and thereby defaulting on the elementary obligation of parenthood—is strictly and entirely something else.

It's one of those tares, scattering seed after its kind for thorns and thistles—and to be rooted out if a mature generation, possessed of conscience, cares for its children and its children's children.

It's rooting time.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Files: Jean
Elbert
Southern Leadership Proj.

January 17, 1964

The Reverend R. H. Edwin Espy
Associate General Secretary
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Dr. Espy:

I received this morning a carbon of Elbert Jean's letter to you of January 16, 1964. I was concerned to read in it that Mr. Jean is presently restricted in his travel, which seems to me indispensable to the assignment he accepted in 1962 from the National Council, and to which we contribute.

For this reason I spoke today by phone with Mr. Jean, and he re-stated his understanding of the instructions regarding travel he has received from New York, through Mr. Kramer.

During this period when so much is critical and when, moreover, Mr. Jean's ministry seems to be bearing fruit, he is needed in the field. We deeply regret that we are unable to participate in this southern project of the National Council beyond the agreed upon May 31, 1964. We are most appreciative of this limited opportunity we have had to cooperate with you, and I am sure that you share our keen interest in seeing it through.

We would, therefore, be most grateful if you could relieve any misunderstandings which may exist and which are restricting Mr. Jean's activities.

With very best regards.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm
cc: Mr. Elbert Jean
Mr. Alfred Kramer

TAV
MS-file

File
Southern Leadership Project
"Jean, Elbert"

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027 telephone: 870-2141

BISHOP REUBEN H. MUELLER, PRESIDENT R. H. EDWIN ESPY, GENERAL SECRETARY

January 20, 1964
(Dictated January 19, 1964)

The Rev. Elbert B. Jean
1106 19th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Dear Mr. Jean:

I am having to dictate on Sunday this reply to your January 16th letter, as it has come to my attention on a weekend between two extended absences from the office. Because of this timing I am unable to inquire into the facts behind the two points which you raise in your major paragraph. I am afraid I do not clearly understand your first point regarding the mistakes that you feel were made in the indicated meetings. I shall try to learn more here about the particular meetings to which you refer. I do, of course, concur with you that it was regrettable that you were not informed concerning these meetings. If I have further comment after securing more information I shall be in touch with you again.

Regarding your second point, I am sure such administrative questions regarding your relation to the National Council should be worked out with the Division of Christian Life and Work and its Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, to which your work has been particularly related. I am glad you sent to Dr. Arild Olsen a copy of your letter and I am suggesting to him that he answer as he thinks best. This is an administrative issue in which it is not appropriate for me to become involved.

I want to thank you for your letter and for your thoughtfulness in sending the interesting enclosures. I assure you of our awareness of the complex and highly charged issues with which you are obliged to live every day. We have great admiration for those on the scene who are seeking faithfully to witness as they feel the Lord calls them to do in the sphere of relations between the races. May God guide and strengthen us all as we seek to do His will.

Sincerely yours,

R. H. Edwin Espy

R. H. Edwin Espy

RHEE:hms
cc: C. Arild Olsen
Tom Baker
Les Dunbar
Rev. John Wood
Alfred Kramer
Rev. Robert W. Spike

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

PA
VJ
MM-file

Southern Project
1106 - 10th Ave. South
January 23, 1964

File
Southern Project
n Elbert Jean

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Travel has been O. K.'D at least up to $1,500 and I am supposed to have a check in the mail for the advance. Thanks for your help. I plan to hit the road Monday.

You received a carbon of Espy's letter to me; it seems as if the brethern are a bit nervous.

Dr. Kramer speaks of having to cut the secretary and office off. I have sent the following memo in regards to this.

Sincerely yours,

Elbert B. Jean
Field Director

EBJ/blg
Enclosure
Dictated by Mr. Jean but signed by secretary in his absence.

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO : Alfred S. Kramer

DATE: January 23, 1964

FROM : Elbert B. Jean

SUBJECT: Re: Telephone conversations of January 22, 1964

I understood from our telephone conversations yesterday that from the divisional level upward it has been decided to terminate the entire Southern Project Office on May 31, 1964, and that you were requesting me to evaluate the secretary and the office in value relations to my work. I find this a difficult thing to do and my answer must be in essay form. Termination of Miss Greer's services will change the operation at least in the following ways:

1. For some months, she has gone beyond the call of duty in serving as administrator of the office as well as secretary and is responsible for the efficiency with which the matters of this office has been dispatched. If her services are discontinued, this means that my operation will be reduced to emergency level.

2. Beyond this I am troubled about her dismissal at this time. While there was no guarantee of her tenure with the National Council, the events of the past few months indicate that her employment would continue at least until the close of the Project. As you know, it is much more difficult to find employment at this time of the year than in the fall or early January.

3. If in the light of these factors it is still necessary to discontinue her services, I want to insist that every effort be made to find her a suitable position within the National Council. Miss Greer has training and character we cannot afford to loose.

4. If I am to operate without an office it would mean that more money should be allocated to travel and telephone services with some provision to hire limited secretarial help in cases of emergency.

I hope that some means may be found to continue Miss Greer's services, at least through May 31, 1964.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

division of christian life and work

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york, n. y. 10027 telephone: 870-2286

bishop reuben h. mueller, president r. h. edwin espy, general secretary

rev. norman j. baugher
chairman

c. arild olsen
executive secretary

PA ✓
VB
MJ-file

File: Southern Leadership Proj. Albert Jean

February 12, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your letter of January 17th to Dr. Espy has been referred to me, through Dr. Olsen, for reply.

I am glad to be able to report to you that adjustments have been made making it possible for us to supply a somewhat limited, but I believe adequate, sum of money for travel, postage and telephone through the remaining months of Mr. Jean's service with the National Council of Churches.

I would like to point out that, to my knowledge, there have never been any misunderstandings which resulted in the curtailment of traveling for Mr. Jean. Rather, it is purely and simply a shortage of funds. It is necessary to draw on funds budgeted for other purposes in order to provide funds for travel, postage and telephone.

I regret having to report that it is necessary to phase out the office and secretarial part of the Southern Project because of a lack of funds. I am sure you will appreciate the necessity of taking such action, though you undoubtedly, as well as we, would like to see fully equipped support services for Mr. Jean.

Mr. Jean has indicated that he would like to spend most of the time on the field and, therefore, we feel this is an appropriate admustment in the administration of the Project for the final months.

rev. gardiner m. day, bishop b. julian smith, miss thelma stevens, vice chairmen • rev. ray gibbons, secretary
rev. harold c. letts, associate executive secretary

departments: international affairs • pastoral services • racial and cultural relations • social welfare
the church and economic life • worship and the arts • religious liberty • stewardship and benevolence

We appreciate the work of Mr. Jean and the fact that the Southern Regional Council has supported to a great extent this period of his services.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Alfred S. Kramer
Staff Consultant
Department of Racial & Cultural Relations

ASK:cr

cc: Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy
Dr. C. Arild Olsen
The Rev. Elbert B. Jean

5 March 1964

Mr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Director
National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the U. S. A.
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Lee:

Enclosed is the Council's check for $2,500. to cover the fourth quarterly payment of the 1963-64 grant for work with rural ministers in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/js

See ltr. of Mar. 5, 64
to:

5 March 1964

fro

Rev. Elbert Jean
Rt 5, box 91
Franklin, Tennessee

Dear Elbert:

It was so refreshing to talk with you and to realize how much we do have in common. Our experiences seem to almost parallel. You know how closed the situation here in Albany has been and how hard it has been the last three years especially. You remember my mentioning your coming as a blessing at that particular time. God always furnishes us with just the right encouragement we need and at the right time.

Since your being here I have realized an ever harder time, not by your coming but out of the circumstances of events. I preached a sermon last Sunday morning on, "Hazarded Lives.", and actually it was my pulpit that became hazarded. I was mentioning some areas of world problems and that our young people were not as afraid of them as we who are over 40. I mentioned that they have less fear of the social problems of race and that my own college, Carson-Newman, Baylor Univ. and Mercer, etc. have opened to all on a qualified basis and that the students have voted 80% and above to do this. You can guess what happened. I was preaching integration as far as they were concerned. Our public schools are sceduled to open this fall but it now seems that I have made my last contribution toward their acceptance of the facts. I mentioned loseing three or four families two years ago and that effect on our small church, I understand we might lose more now so you see I must make a move for the sake of the church.

You know I don't care to go from my church or from Southern Baptists but it is so hard to get located I might be forced to a more open work. My Chaplain experience gave me this open view and work across all lines, racial and religious. All my fathers people were Methodists and I have always understood the other side. I am firm in what I believe but give every one the same right to follow their light also.

I am writing you now because I don't know the next step. I am willing to consider any real challenge and only want to be where God can use me most effectively. Most of our people even here want to know the truth and facts but the few who refuse to see cause the trouble. I do love the challenge even if it seems so impossible at times. If I do have to resign soon can the Foundation help me or can I help them? I have been raised and trained a Southern Baptist and I might can help in this area. I only worry about my family responsibilities. I hate to see my wife, children caught in this but I am confident God's Will is being brought to bear.

Remember me in your prayers as I have remembered you.

In His service,

Truitt Kendrick, 310 Vick St. Albany

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president

rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman

j. oscar lee
executive director

Franklin, Tennesee
Route 5, Box 91
March 18, 1964

Dear Les:

I appreciate your introduction to Mr. Frank Smith. I had lunch with him yesterday. We shared with each other our concerns and considered several ways to implement them.

I talked with Thelma Stevens monday of this week. She reports as follows: 1) That she had presented to her board the possibility of taking the money that they are now using to support two missionaries on furlough in Mississippi and Joe Lowery part time; and put me full time in the field. She said her board was unanimous and enthuiastiac at the prospect. However, when she contacted Grover Bagby of the Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs, of the Board of Christian Social Concerns of The Methodist Church, 100 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington 2, D.C., he said that they did not have the money etc. etc. Thelma is to meet with him on Monday, March 23rd., to talk further about the matter. She said that she would call me again Sunday night in regard to the following possibilities: 1. Anything that we might come up with to influence Mr. Bagby to change his mind. In this regard I asked Mr. Smith to write him and he agreed to do the same. 2. If Bagby will not change his mind what if any are the possibilities of getting six or seven thousand dollars to go with their money. If you have any suggestions at this or any other point please le me know before Thelma calls.

Inclosed is a Thermo-fax of a letter from a Baptist preacher in Albany, Ga. I think he is a good man and in need of any help or re-inforcement he can get.

Finally, the $1500.00 the NCC allocated for my travel and office expense in February will soon be exhausted. I plan to keep on doing the field work as long as I can. If there is anything that you or Will know of and would be agreeable to under the terms of the grant, that would aid me in my travel for a bout two months, it would help.

Sincerely,

Elbert

cc. Will D. Campbell

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

File
S.P. - Elbert Dean

PA ✓
VJ ✓
LD

ITINERARY FOR JANUARY AND FEBRUARY 1964: FRANKLIN, TENNESSEE
March 24, 1964

Since no travel money was provided for the month of January, my activities were restricted to correspondence, telephone calls, and such ventures as I undertook on my own.

January 6th.: Nashville, Tennesee. Four of us met to discuss the sending out of a call to some of the men who have been driven from the south because of their witness. In the name of the same gospel that got them driven out we asked them to return as missionaries. The call was sent and did not receive enthusiastic support from the pilot group that we selected. However, it has been taken seriously by others who either have or plan to return, some on a permenant and others on a temporary basis.

January 24th. Met with a pastor in Columbia, Tennessee to help plan a local action group in that city.

January 30th. Met with my immediate superiors in New York to discuss the remaining months of my work.

February 3-5: Went to Greenville, S.C. and Augusta, Ga. to begin a coordinating role between several groups within the Church who are making a bold attempt at taking the New Testament seriously.

February 10-15: continued the same mission in Dallas, Texas and several points in between. A tenative date for these groups to get together was set.

February 18-21: Birmingham, Auburn and Tuskeege, Georgia; Biloxi, Jackson and Vicksburg, Miss.; Pine Bluff, Ark. The primary purpose was to continue my coordinating role, Most of my time was spent trying to minister to preachers in distress and in interpreting the Youth Ministry Consultation on Race held in Nashville January 6-8.

February 26-28: I went to Albany primarily to talk with the ministers and discuss the present state of Albany. I soon found that some ministers were in need of help and spent most of the time with them. I attended the Inter Agency meeting in Atlanta.

PART ONE FINAL REPORT

This report addresses itself to those who are involved in so called "race relations" as an essence of life. I mean by this those persons who recognize that what happens between white people and black people in America is a determinative factor in their personal life, a determinative factor in the life of our country and the future of the earth. I am speaking of and to people who recognize the problem in the daily routine of life,eg; their child boarding a bus, trying to visit over the back fence, trying to find an available bathroom or a place where friends may have a cup of coffee together. Let it be clear from the onset that I am not talking about theory, but survival. I am not trying to sketch the profile of a new job, but a way to invest one's life without disillusionment.

Before I end this prolegomenon and depart upon my peregrinations, I want to first speak some words of sentiment and second a conviction to all those that have had a part in the grant which I have received. I am especially grateful to those who gave the money and to those who have administered the grant in such a way as to make it possible for me to have a ministry. I cannot evaluate how much these two years have meant to me or my family, but I know we were near the edge of despair because of the lack of opportunity to have a valid witness. Even in my nascent state I have found resources that I had not previously known were available and for all this I am thankful unto God and grateful unto each of you.

I have for a long time believed that those who have faith in God and believe on his Son receive special guidance as to where to go, when to go and what to do. I further believe that when we are faithful our lives are redemptive. That is, God has a work, a Kingdom, and God is presnet in his world and the tag has already been made. I salute those who have vision enough to let my work proceed on this proposition. I admit that I have not always had the faith or maturity to be responsible , but I have also noticed that I have been far more responsible under this kind of trust than I was under the constant supervision and pressures of a church determined to help me help it succeed. The genuis of this grant is that I have been mostly free to go as a "nobody", with but one object - to serve. As often as I have done this my work has been a redemptive work, the one quality lacking in most agencies, especially the instutitional church. Because of this experience I do not know whether I can serve in the instutional church or not. I am sure that I will be less acceptable but perhaps more useful.

The most exact statement that I can make concerning these two years is, that this seems to me to be a genuine and valid way of existence. It is meaningful because I am not required to act out a role or justify an end. I can risk and encounter with reality because I am free to fail which means I must be responsible for real decisions. The highest compliment to the work I have to offer is, that after having invested two years of the only life I have, I do not regret having done so and that I intend to give the remainder of whatever existence I have in a similar investment.

Lest this be a daring attempt at sophistry let me announce as one of my purposes, electicism. More important in Part One to notice who I am trying to speak to than who I am speaking about. I am trying to engage the TRUE SEEKER. The true seeker is that person who is asking with every fiber of his existance what life is all about. He also has the urgent intention and singular purpose of acting upon whatever revelation he receives. The first point to establish about this person is that he is ultimately serious in his search and whether he turns to solipism, or egalitarianism, or eudemonism, or Communism, or nominalism , or nihilism; he is in earnest to find an answer that rings true with all that is. To talk about the rightness or wrongness of this search is like talking about whether it is right or wrong to live or die. A seeker leaves what he has because he believes at most that it is phony, at least that it is inadequate. He set out with no absolute assurance that he will find, or if he finds that what he finds will be any different or any better than that which he now has. I doubt that any man is this kind of a seeker all of the time, but I do believe that most every man, if not every man, has this moment. Many shun it for fear of finding, and many more accept shoddy substitutes; but evidently there are enough finders to keep the search going.

It is extremely important that we distingulish between the person that has found life and presents himself to some organization in order to express this life he has found; and that person who comes to an organization either seeking life or fleeing from it. The organization is tempted to use the resources of the former for its own profit, but it must be an earthen vessel in and through which this one who has life may express it. The temptation for the organization on behalf of the seeker is to willingly or unwillingly attempt to be God for this man, to manipulate him into the kingdom.

I. THE NEGRO SEEKER LOOKS AT SOME OF THE ORGANIZATIONS SERVING IN THE SOUTH IN THE AREA OF RACE RELATIONS (by a white)

A. The Denonstrator or Direct Action Groups

Direct action in the civil rights movement is an expression of despair and idealism. Sometimes both of these at the same time within the same person.

1. The older participants generally are motivated by despair. If after years of trying to speak, vote, defend himself and his family, he has been relegated to obsequious citizenship; although he may know that the demonstrations are too little and to late, they are at least something that gives expression to the deep frustration he knows from having his existance blighted by a surreptetious and malevolent society. The depth of this man's agony is as much an enigma to his compariots as it is to his enemies. Imagine the dilemma of campaigning to sit with your enemy.

2. The largest number of direct action people are young. They have had their sequel in every age. The causes vary but this catharsis is born of idealism. ~~The young man~~

The young march because they believe that they are basically changing the world and that when it is changed it will be their world. The error is not that these groups aren't effective, they are. The error lies in their understanding of who man is, they do not account for sin in their lives or the lives of others.

3. There are two other groups, both minorities, that are in direct action groups that outwardly look the same, or at least they share a similar view about what is really going on. One is a Christian the other an opportunist. The Christian knows that the movement isn't the Kingdom of God but sees it as vehicle whereby he can witness and serve Jesus Christ in a concrete situation. The opportunist also knows that the direct action group is not an end within itself and he sees it as something to be manipulated to his own ends.

It is hard to say whether civil rights has claimed the church or whether the church has claimed it; but there is a strong influence in the Negro community to make them synonymous. This has precipitated one of the most fierce struggles between the traditional Negro preacher and his following and the action people and their following. It is almost certain that both groups will loose the leadership.

If titanism is the noun for the American Negro phlegmaticism is the adjetive. Those who have the onerous task of recruiting the Negro of status or vested interest, attest the the atrophy. Thus, the seeker may encounter a lot of blarney from those seeking to recruit him, but he should view this in light snarling dogs, a frightened people and a dubious outcome.

4. If the Negro seeker finds his way into a white action group he is generally impressed with how much is being done for him and his people and is often forced into another type of artificial relationship where the position is more affluent but the relationship is still phony.

The point is this, that when integration or segregation become a virtue (religious), or expedient (political), or advantageous (economic), or fashionable (social); to be a part or not to be a part of such a group is an ego-centric decision that can usually be more wisely made by heathens. Regardless of this if the price is right take it for there are a few bargins, as has been dramatically shown in some political campaigns. All this is important to our way of life, and occasionally there is an encounter with life or existence at its elemental level; but primarily it is a frantic effort to save itself, not loose itself.

II. THE WHITE SEEKER LOOKS AT SOME OF THE ORGANIZATIONS SERVING IN THE SOUTH IN THE AREA OF RACE RELATIONS (by a white)

A. The White Liberal and Direct Action Groups

1. The white can join Negro action groups but it is rare if he is ever a part. The Negro movement began by saying, "you can't know what it is like unless you are black". One is more apt to hear now, "you can't trust him because

he is white". I think Will Campbell is correct when he says that so far the civil rights movement has been a social reform, but that it is destined to be a revolution. He says that it isn't the Black Muslim movement that concerns him, for it is too strict to attract many; but it is rather the MOOD of the Black Fascism. The white liberal must be prepared for the day when the White Citizens Council member will fare better with the Negro movement than he. The White Citizen's Council member has more to trade. It further needs to be noticed that what happens in Civil Rights in America is as much dependent on what happens outside of America as it is from within.

2. The seeker will sonn encounter a complete confusion when the difference between liberties and freedom; desegregation and intergration is South. Todays movement could learn at least one valuable thing from the life of Eugene Victor Debs an American Socilist, president of the American Railway Union, five times a candidate for President of the United States. He had served time in the federal penitentiary in Atlanta because of his activities in a railway strike. I think it was during his last campaign for president that he was again arrested because of statements that he had made concerning our entering World War I. It was learned that we had no law to try him by. He was set free and immediately continued his speaking and writing so a law was passed whereby he could be tried. After he had been in jail for some time he was presented with a document and told that if he would sign it he could have his freedom. It stated that he would no longer speak nor write etc. & etc., Mr. Debs declined to sign it and some insisted that they wanted to give him his freedom. He replied, "you have neither the power to give or take away my freedom", the only way I can loose my freedom is to sign this document, for then I would be trading my freedom for my liberties." This was dramatized early in Esau giving his birthright for a mess of pottage.

It is not humanly possible to intergrate. It is humanly possible to desegrate. There was a time that for the white to have desegrated would have been a vigorous and good testimony to compassion and empathy. This opportunity is now gone.

B. The Segregationists Groups

A part of the letterhead of "A MISSISSIPPE ASSOCIATION OF METHODIST MINISTERS AND LAYMEN", reads: The purpose of this Association: To maintain racial segregation in all of our Methodist organizations and activities. To rescue and preserve the Methodist Church from all anti-Christian and non-democratic influences. To reaffirm our faith in the Bible as the infallible, inspired, and authoritative -Word of God - and to insure that our Wesleyan doctrine, which is founded thereon, be adhered to without equivocation. (See the Articles of Religion, the Apostles' Creed, and the Vows of Ordination).

I am attatching to this report an article I did last year, Protesting Portestants, which speaks to the area of the Church, (white and black).

The situation is that the whites can't move fast enough if they wanted to, besides most are suing time to brace themselves so they can apply the brakes harder; and the Negroes can't move slow enough, if they wanted too, which they don't because there is too much pressure for leadership.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that quite often the "wrong" people have the right answers and quite often the "right" people have the wrong answers.

CONCLUSION:

I have presented only sketches without elaboration for I see nothing novel or surprising about the conduct of those concerned. I certainly do not intend to infer anything especially bad about the agencies. I do intend to present the following:

1. That organizations are instruments for service. When they become anything more or less they loose their purpose.
2. That the seeker must learn to seek through and in organizations but beyond them.
3. The organizations must define openly their purpose. So many are like the man that goes into the orchard not knowing whether he is to chop wood or prune trees. As a result he gets little wood and little fruit and butchers the orchard.
4. To state emphatically that when we say we cannot trust him because he is white or because he is black, this is sin, for it denies the power of God to bring forth a new creation. Likewise, when we despair of the humanly hopless situation this is the surest sign that we have no faith in a living God.
5. Every day brings the Civil Rights struggle closer to the fact, that if one is not free to love he is bound to hate; fight and die. But this truth does not make us love for we simply can't scare people into life. The one helpful thing is that many of the masks are torn away and the play actors have been replaced with real warriors.
6. We have at last arrived at the crucial question: WHO LOVES THIS MAN ENOUGH TO CARE? It is only as we loose ourselves for Christ's sake that the bitterness falls away and transformation takes place even a new creation and the seeker finds that he is free to love, to be loved and serve.

Colbert S. Jones

PROTESTING PROTESTANTS

The purpose of this article is to make an apology for the Christian faith and its proclamation, preaching; to try and engage man at this most critical level of existence; and emphasize a leaven already at work in what I call the Protestant Protest.

IS THE CHURCH DEAD?

My first reaction to this question is, what church? Do you mean the little Shiloh church, school, lodge hall, and in most cases grave yard, of my childhood? Or do you refer to the church that encompasses all in heaven and earth that believe in Jesus Christ? Or do you mean that institution in American life that is represented by several hundred different brand names, ranging in membership from a few hundred to several million, who are governed by various forms of government and founded upon conflicting doctrines?

I will employ two explicit meanings to this word. When I use the word church I use it in a very broad sense to include all those institutions that call themselves churches, but may or may not be faithful unto Jesus Christ. I use the words "Body of Christ" in a very restricted sense, meaning those who identity and existence is in their faith and obedience unto Jesus Christ.

Many, perhaps a majority of Americans, think it absurd to question the validity of the church, and hasten to support their reason for thinking so with statistics, reports on energetic programs, overflowing rallies, successful campaigns, expanding budgets, increasing membership and a great ingathering of the kingdom, which adds up to astounding success and presumed victories for the Lord. Seemingly unaware that the reason the life of the church is in question, is precisely this kind of reasoning. Beyond a doubt the American church is the busiest generation of Christians... take a look at most any church bulletin and you will find an extravanganza of activities from bake sales to prayer meetings all under the same auspicies and within the same building and often at the same time. It's hard to say whether this athletic type of Christianity is an influence of our culture or our faith, or both. There is a paradox in seeing women cooking at the church who would not think of doing so at home. It is not accurate to claim that the church is a religious Country Club, if you mean by this that there are none within these clubs who know and serve Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour. Although they are generally an embarrassment to the church, with their insistence upon religious matters, they are there and God is using them. It is true that the general image of the church in America is that it is a going concern and anyone who

questions its health, much less infers that it is dead, must be regarded as a cynic and a skeptic, for whom we ought to pray, because we are nice people, but to whom we can pay no heed, lest he slow down our progress in bringing in the Kingdom.

There is a growing minority, within and without the church, who is convinced that the church is either sick unto death or dead! A common mistake of our day is to assume that this group is one in mind and spirit and purpose. There is and there has been a formidable group, since the time of Christ, that have predicted, worked for, and rejoiced in the failure of the church and the Christian faith. However, long before the Protestant Reformation were those that knew the true church looked unto Jesus Christ for its life, its guidance, and any present or future usefulness; they further realized that to found the church upon any other, however good and noble it may be, is death for the church.

POST CHRISTIAN OR PSEUDO CHRISTIAN ERA?

The most savage attack upon the faith is the charge by many, both religious and non-religious leaders, and be sure that they are leaders, for many follow them; is that we live in a Post Christian Era. Their reasoning usually has this theme...Christianity was good as long as it lasted and as far as it went, but a religion founded upon and within the framework of the primitive society of Palestine simply isn't adequate for the New Frontier. Some have gone to great lengths to document the following charges in support of this claim:

1. That those places where Christian missions have worked longest were the first to go Communist. They charge that while Christianity was trying to modernize the plumbing and teach them to sing, "O How I Love Jesus," the Communists gave them an idea and a challenge to which they could devote their lives, and furthermore, in America, where the church boasts of its greatest strength and influence, we find one of the highest crime rates in the world; we learn that alcoholism and dope addiction are unprecenteded problems in our country and that the most crowded facility that we have is our mental institution. Notwithstanding the fact that those preachers who preach loudest, positive thinking and peace of mind, are frequently the victims of nervous disorders which impair their health and limit their usefulness.

2. That the church in America represents the strongest and most hostile resistance to fair and equitable race relations. That the church which has preached and sung, "Jesus loves the little children of the world, red and yellow, black and white, they are precious in his sight," is now declaring by word and deed, "we don't want our children in school with them, we don't care if Jesus does love them and if they are precious to him, and forbid children of black skin to worship with us the Lord we taught them to love and obeey."

3. That the church is so identified with the American way, that adherents to the Western Brand of Christianity, must accept the American way as part and parcel of Christianity. As a consequence many reject both.

4. That the church is self seeking and self centered; that its decision in any given situation is ultimately governed by the expediency of how this will affect attendance; our public image, and especially the collection. Groups or individuals who would face any issue, from evangelism to race relations to selling the denominational paper, on the basis of the traditions of the church, the scriptures, or faith in a living Lord who leads and directs his people, can expect to be met with an avalanche of resistance from church leaders saying, "you are right, but now isn't the time," or "you are young and don't understand," or "if you do this you are going to hurt the church; remember that we have many issues and many interests and we can't get too excited about any one of them." If a group or an individual persists, they can expect direct action from the governing bodies of the church, varying from a condescending benevolence to an outright attact through the power structure of the church.

5. The church is simply out of step with the times. The church is so desirous of being big and successful and important in the eyes of the world that it has relaxed its disciplines and disregarded its theology until it is only a cheerleader for lord god mammon's pep rallies. That the rise of such groups as the Black Muslims, Moral Rearmarment, and the many Christian Lay groups are evidence to this truth.

I have been in the church since infancy and through her ministeries God has blessed my life in manifold ways. I have for fifteen years been afforded vast opportunities of service as a minister through the auspicies of the church. I intend to devote the rest of whatever I have to giv e to a ministry in the church. I am saddened to say that the charges to which I have alluded are not absolutely but generally true. They not only can be, but have been more than adequately documented. Furthermore, if history serves us faithfully, this has been the case with the church since its beginning.

Make no mistake, this is no attempt to justify the institutional church's failures, or to say that it is unimportant for the church to be effective. It is a miserable thing to see religion put to shame by heathens, especially when it need not have been and would not have been except for our denial of Jesus Christ. The church had and has all the resources for doing better and is being and certainly will continue to be judged by God for its sin. But those who would try to make the church stand or fall on this foundation condemn themselves out of their own mouth. The social scientist and the humanitarian who would make mileage out of the church's doctrine, "the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man," is as far from the truth of the gospel as the White Citizens Council who tries to make God the first segregationalist and erect a scriptural fortress around their prejudice.

Several things deserve comment. Eras nor states nor societies nor churches are Christians, people are! Christians form the Body of Christ of which he is the head. As members of this body we discover who we are and what we are to do. To follow Paul's analogy, we are a hand or a foot, but hands and feet are only meaningful, or even defined, in relation to the body, and can be useful only as they function in their proper office.

The validity of the church today as it has been in its entire history rests upon its faith in and loyalty to Jesus Christ. If it is faithful in this, it can and frequently does fail in every other area, and yet live, and even be redemptive. But it can succeed in every other area of operation, as it sometimes does, and fail in its relation to Jesus Christ and it dies, in that it's no longer a part of the Body of Christ. Many churches are like the severed finger pickled and placed on a shelf, they are interesting to study and identical to any other finger except that they are no longer attached to the body which gives life. We are like the army that has advanced beyond its source of supply and command. The hope is that the church will be faithful and effective and this too has happened and is a distinct possibility today.

But the shout, "by their fruits ye shall know them" is raised to refute these arguments, a close examination of Matthew 7:1-20 shows that this injunction was given to the faithful, so that they could tell which were real sheep and which were wolves in sheep clothing, and has nothing directly to do with determining the validity of the church.

I contend that the Post Christian movement, if it is a movement, is a reaction to Pseudo Christianity. What they oppose and expose has existed and does exist, but has not prevailed. The danger of this movement is the same as those in Jesus' day who sought a sign. (Matt. 12:38-45) "When the unclean spirit has gone out of a man, he passes through waterless places seeking rest, but he finds none. Then he says, 'I will return to my house from which I came." And when he comes he finds it empty, swept, and put in order. Then he goes and brings with him seven other spirits more evil than himself, and they enter and dwell there; and the last state of that man becomes worse than the first. So shall it be also with this evil generation."

Many who shout against the church for doing so little, don't seem to realize that it is already the busiest humanitarian group in existence and to insist on it doing more is like urging a traveler to go faster in the wrong direction. (Matt. 24:23-28) "Then if any one says to you, 'Lo, here is the Christ!' or 'There he is!' do not believe it. For false Christs and false prophets will arise and show great signs and wonders, so as to lead astray, if possible, even the elect. Lo, I have told you beforehand. So, if they say to you, 'Lo, he is in the wilderness,' do not go out; if they say, "Lo, he is in the inner rooms,' do not believe it. For as the lightning comes from the east and shines as far as the west, so will be the coming of the Son of man. Wherever the body is,

there the eagles will be gathered together." Just as we must beware of those who are offering false Kingdoms we must also beware of being right, even though our facts maybe accurate. The Pharisees facts were most likely true, when he prayed, "Lord, I thank thee that I am not as other men," but he was wrong. Remember Jesus' parable, "As you have done it unto the least of these"? (Matt. 25:34-46) The striking thing is that those who were condemned as well as those who were rewarded were surprised at the greeting. The faithful and unfaithful are made to ask, when did we see you hungry, thirsty, a stranger, naked, sick or in prison? Jesus replied, "As you have done it unto the least of these, you have done it unto me."

Christians are to serve not rule, we have a King and a Kingdom. The question is whether we will accept the King and enter the Kingdom. Since this kingdom affords us what we need and not what we want, many of us want to be children of the King, but paid in the devil's currency. We want and expect God to protect us from cyclones, prosper our business, triumph over our brothers who differ with us, when the truth is these victories would mean that sin has overcome us. Unless we find Victory in the coming of the Kingdom of God, for we may loose our own personal lives in its coming, we have no victory!

(Romans 10:14) BUT HOW ARE MEN TO CALL UPON HIM IN WHOM THEY HAVE NOT BELIEVED? AND HOW ARE THEY TO BELIEVE IN HIM OF WHOM THEY HAVE NEVER HEARD? AND HOW ARE THEY TO HEAR WITHOUT A PREACHER?

The most urgent need of our day is a MAN with a message of authority. Our estrangement from God is such that even his message must come through one of our own. Why did millions follow Hitler in a bloody course of events to destruction? How can a Khrushchev or a Castro command the loyalty of so many? Why do dogmatic and rabid organizations have such appeal? Is it not that man feels, knows and agonizes over his lostness, and desperately hopes that these who sound so sure are sure? Remember that these people reluctantly left the church to look elsewhere for an answer. Many come Sunday after Sunday and are leaders in our finest churches, while during the week they lead in hate groups and movements of exclusion. They came seeking bread and were given a stone. Many of these poor souls drug their exhausted lives into church to hear the preacher say, "the thing you need to do is get busy." Others looked to the church for strength and guidance beyond their own resources, only to hear, "you are the church, do just whatever you think is right about the matter." There were those crushed by sin and fearful of death who came in the desperate hope that they might receive a message of help and hope and were told, "the thing that is wrong with you is, you are a sinner," something which they understood better than anything in the world. And all the time the Reverend berated the downcast, he increased

the pride and self righteousness of the nice good people who paid his salary. Lo, these many years we have been told that we ought to enter the kingdom, that we ought not to sin, that we ought to have faith.... but hardly a word whether or not there is a kingdom, and less about a Saviour who saves from sin, and the implication is that all we need to do is will to have faith and we can get it in whatever measure we need. This is like telling the alcoholic, "your trouble is that you drink too much." Or like shouting to the drowning man, swim, and he replies, 'if I could swim I wouldn't be drowning..' We need a messenger not a moralist. Tell us the Good News, we must decide whether it is good news or not. The power of positive thinking isn't enough to bring down faith, proclaim to us a Saviour who is Lord!

The most convincing evidence of the death of the church is the lack of preaching. I mean the kind of proclamation exemplified by the early Christians, who by all that they were, preached Christ and him crucified, and let whoever would be drawn or repulsed. It's this kind of preaching that the world has always feared, but needed. If Christ be lifted up and if it is he who does the drawing, no telling who will come. They may be kings, whores, whites, Negroes, mongrels, fools, our enemies...to be sure we are frequently embarrassed by the ways of God, but always blessed. The one thing a troubled world needs most is a faithful messenger...."How shall they assemble for battle if the bugler blows the wrong call?" Consider our vast defense system, what is it worth if every time the watchman sees a sea gull he reports a missle. Or if every time he sees a missle he reports a sea gull. The primary offering of the church of Jesus Christ is a message. It is from God; it is for humans; it is a message of judgment; a message of redemption; a message of help and guidance; it is a promise of life!

Any messenger who would enter the arena of humanity must bring tidings to a people beseiged by an encounter with a phenomena called death. An item which is universal but personal, it comes one to the customer, but one to every customer; furthermore, it has every appearance of being final. If the messenger is to bring a word of help and hope, it must be addressed to this brief and uncertain span of existence between birth and death, unless he has a word from beyond humanity that is meaningful to humans. Any messenger that does not have an eschatological message has only a relative message that is of administrative assistance only. At best it can only help us die neat.

Added to this, any serious messenger must recognize that all the messages that we have received from the messengers of this world, have served only to intensify man's sin and heighten his disillusionment.

FAITH OR UNFAITH?

Never has the line been drawn so sharp as it is today; never has Christianity been so completely challenged as today. Consider it. The Christian, whether he lives in America or Russia or the Congo, stands

abruptly before the possibility and even the probability of all life being destroyed. The Jewish hope of immortality of the race is no longer valid; the liberal view that man marches ever onward and upward lies in the dust; the stoic admonition to grin and bear up, and may the best man win, is rampant....the matter has been pushed to its most radical dimension; is there a resurrection or is there no exit? The urgent question of our day is not whether the church is dead, but rather is God alive.

We have furthermore, circulated so many Bibles, tracts, made so many speeches, lectures, doctrinal dissertations, philosophical treatises and conducted so many buzz groups about Christianity, that little else is to be said about Paul's journeys or Jesus" lovely eyes. Folks are loosing interest in the Reverends latest travelogue to the Holy Land and are beginning to say, "yes, yes, we know all about that, now tell me, do you believe there is a God?" Christianity has been served an ultimatum and is in the wonderful position where she belongs. We are under the curious and terrified gaze of a dying world, a world that is bluntly aware of its death, we are before the valley of dry bones, our pulpit is a full grave not an empty one, there is no more explaining to do, it is either put up or shut up, to be or not to be!

The world knows the story of David and Goliath, they know that the reason that the lad David could with a child's toy slay the professional soldier Goliath, is attributed to the fact that David believed in a living God and Goliath did not. Something they have not heard much about and have great doubts about is whether this is true in the mad arms race today which is primarily focused around America and Russia? Is it true that he who lives by the sword shall perish by it, that we reap what we sow?

The world knows about the vision of Peter and how that it revealed that the living God shows no partiality. There is but one thing needful in speaking of this, if it is true go down and invite the brethen in.

The world has heard of the cross, in fact many are adept in giving doctrines of the atonement. The question is who was on that cross? Not everyone that is on a cross is a Christ. It was not the cross that made Christ redemptive, but the opposite. If the proclamation of the Son of God on the cross does not draw men unto repentance and faith, does not the inquisition teach us that flailing or bribing has less chance?

The world knows that Christmas didn't begin with Santa Claus, nor Easter with a bunny rabbit, but they are made to wonder why they have seemingly ended here.

The failure of the institutional church today is that hardly a perceptible number if its adherents know or serve Jesus Christ, and these are faithful mostly in spite of the church not because of it.

And that the institutional structure in seeking to save itself, has become an idol, and forms one of the most effective bulwarks to vital faith in Jesus Christ known to man.

It is one thing to tell the inquirer you do not know, when you know, or to give him directions when you aren't sure; but it is quite another to direct him in the wrong way for personal gain. The church is tremendously effective in this manuever. Consider the mother that gave her child to be exposed to the bite of a Cobra because the preacher said this was what is meant to have faith. The child was bitten and died and the child and mother were claimed wicked because they had no faith. Consider the father who would not let his family have medical treatment, because he learned at church that to have a doctor was to deny faith in God's healing power, a child died, and the family rejoices because they were faithful. But you say, these are sect groups not members of the main line churches... True, but let's consider the main line churches. Church attendance is made a virture, giving is exalted as an index to spiritual depth, the golden calf of the institution is hung high. Consider modern sermons and see if they are not mostly concerned with the upbuilding of the institution and note that the institution and God are stated as one. Consider the church leaders who said that Negroes must be denied a seat in the Lord's house because we are in the midst of a big building program. Consider the timidity of the average Christian in going to the jails, the street, the job, bawdy houses, as Christians. Yet, follow the life of Jesus and see where you find him. Consider the mother, because she loves her son, writes him a tearful letter because he has declared that hate is wrong and love is right, saying "son you know better than this, that this isn't God's will nor way, that indeed God is a segregationalist." She learned this at church. You may want to say that she is sick or anything else you like, but if she is she caught the disease of hate in the church. If we are unfaithful and cowards and admit it, we are in good company, most of Jesus" disciples were both...but when we call our cowardice courage, which is what happens at every major religious meeting, and call our sin righteousness, and righteousness sin, this is blasphemy, from which there is no forgiveness, for none is sought nor accepted. This is the death of the church!

THE PROTESTANT PROTEST

The truth of the matter is that Protestantism today has become that which it protested against. Modern day Protestantism has disregarded any serious consideration of the New Testament truth, that we are justified by faith. Modern Protestantism now proclaims a reformed doctrine of indulgence. A Neo-Protestant movement is in evidence.

As a theological proposition the Protestant Protest can be put as follows: It is a protest against any group or individual that will assert rules, dogmas, programs, objects, or the whole creation of God as the primary object of our worship. The affirmation of the protest is that we are saved by faith in Jesus Christ and that this is not our

own doing. This movement declares this position to be consistent with the central declarations of the New Testament and the basic witness of those who love and obey Jesus Christ.

The dilemma is not that one cannot be sure that Jesus is the Christ, nor is it that accurate proclamation of his gospel is impossible to communicate. But rather the philosophical image that the church has projected of Christianity. The church is pleased to philosophize about Christianity, which is to make it a religion instead of the word made flesh--the continuing act of God--the new life! To proclaim the gospel in the midst of this is like beating a tin tub but unable to make a sound. It is like trying to carry a mattress up a narrow stairway--one could bear the weight if there was some way to get a firm hold.

For example, there are over 250 different denominations in America, most of them, if not all, stoutly affirm that we have one Lord, one faith, one baptism and one hope--Jesus Christ. They then hastily go on to submit that their main urgency for existence is that their particular brand is the One; they immediately throw up barriers to a vital relationship of faith in Christ with other believers who do not find all their doctrines true. One would think that our divisions would indicate to us that we are something less than our calling, that the Body of Christ is not divided--we are. Instead we often claim that it is our obedience unto Him that sets up apart; namely, we are abedient, others aren't. We often rush from this error to another that says that we can put peaches, apples and bananas all in the same basket and have oranges. That is, if only some method or stratagem could be devised to consolidate all these brand names under one giant cooperation, we would somehow be nearer the Body of Christ. This is like the church of a few years ago preaching against women who bobbed their hair and used facial make-up, because during this period these were the badge of a prostitute. Why don't we put the bell on the real devil? Why don't we acknowledge our sin as one of self-centeredness and a worship of our own creations, namely institutionalism, which is an outright denial of Jesus Christ as head' of the church? Why are we so occupied with bobbed hair and lipstick instead of whoredom?

WHAT CAN WE DO?

Ministers and laymen who are sensitive to the situation are immediately faced with the perplexing problem of how to engage this sin, and what to do when they are engaged by it. Obviously the answer is to be faithful unto Christ--the head of the church. But what does this mean? Organize a new church? Make appropriate compromises with the dead church; use its facilities and money and hope to minister to the church within the church? Be a rebel? Try to work up through the power structure of the institution and when in power change it? Join

them? The truth is, all of this is going on. Ministers and laymen of significant faith and ability are leaving the church because they believe it is God's will and a moral obligation to do so. There is a sizeable number within and without the church who in the face of this dilemma have become agnostic. Many who are aware and sensitive to the whole panorama remain within the structure to try and work and witness from within, believing that the parable of the tares teaches us that if we are to bear fruit we will have to do so in a field rank with tares.

History seems to indicate that one should make serious effort to remain within the church and should leave only after being kicked out by the church or made the court jester, which is a subtle way of kicking one out without official action. The primary reason for staying would be that the church takes Jesus' name as its name. Although the church may not take this name seriously, God does. History indicates that He deals with those who claim His name as their name according to their disobedience as well as their obedience. Whether His love is expressed in judgment or blessing it is always redemptive. Most of us are plagued by the impressions of the world are thus made to ask, can something so impressive as this church be wrong, much less dead? And if it is dead, can it remain? The obvious answer is, of course, empires have been built out of shoddier material and stood for centuries.

To love the church is like loving and aged and infirm parent. To try to love them like they were forty and full of vigor and health are both false and cruel. Love is not blind, but rather gives us depth to recognize what the years have brought and will bring, to know that they have brought life and will bring death--and out of this has come our existence. In the instance of the church, it makes little difference whether it is sick unto death or dead, or quite alive, only the miracle of God's power can give it life. So whether we look for the healing of the great Physician or the power of the Resurrected One, or the sustaining grace of the Holy Spirit, They are one!

The fashionable answer today to the question, "What can we do," is to repent. If we mean by repentance some sort of magnanimous act, wherein we confess to being worse than we think we are; no, repentance is certainly not the thing to do. This is to confuse the altar with the couch. If we mean by repentance that response which is the only response man can give when he is in the knowledgeable presence of the true and living God, "Lord, have mercy on me a sinner"; we should then seek God and let the repentance take care of itself as his love and judgment are revealed unto us. If, however, we mean by repentance that state of man wherein he finds himself helpless and hopeless, despairing of life itself, where he recognizes himself not just as one who says he is sorry, but one who is just plain sorry and wills to be this self longer. Yes, we need to repent for this is our only hope for the new creation. This can best be illustrated in the decision of an alcoholic. An alcoholic has before him the following choices: continuing to drink, knowing that if the drink does not kill him or cause him to be killed first, he will go insane. He can cease to drink his personality from a bottle, which means he will deny his whole orientation for life.

abstain from liquor and become a new creature. This decision is made in purview that left to his own resources his choice is already made, he is an alcoholic. It is not enough for the alcoholic or the sinner to be assured that a new creation is a valid possibility, although this is necessary. Until we will willfully deny the old self, or will to be this one no longer, our possibility of new life is zero. But when we deny ourselves we are surprised that God has loved and sought us all along.

What can we do? We not only can but also must if we are to know life, confess our sin and sinfulness, willfully desire to be different, confess that we are unable to do anything about our condition without outside help. If we have no faith in God, begin with this fact that we have no faith and do not rightly know how to go about obtaining any. Be a willing and earnest seeker, i.e. searching the scripture, inquiring of those who evidence faith, engage in prayer if it is only to confess you can't pray but wish you could. When evidence of God's leadership is given, act upon it by obeying. If this is faithfully and persistently done, not as a psychological exercise or spiritual gymnastic, but from the depth of existence and you have no knowledgeable response or relationship from God, then I would conclude that God does not exist, or if he exists it is not meant for we humans to know him, but only know about him. The point is, that if God will not reveal himself, we cannot prove him, but neither can we cast his existence out of our existence. After we have carefully analyzed, diagnosed, classified and catalogued man, we are then ready to ask who he is and what his needs are. We immediately find that the patient and the doctor are in need of the same help. We are taken aback to discover that our most energetic efforts to know and fulfill man's greatest desires and needs have clearly demonstrated one thing, that man's basic need is to know and be related to God--the creator and sustainer of life.

The question is not whether we will give our life, but to whom and to what shall we give it? It is not a question of whether we will make a choice, but which choice? It is a valid possibility for us today to join those of ages past by denying ourselves and all that we have and follow Jesus. Sometimes we never return to our former home, nor claim our earthly possessions, sometimes to be sent back to till the land of our childhood home and there tell what great things God has done for us.

VISIBLE SIGNS OF AN INWARD HOPE

1. False gods are being shown to be false gods. Many Americans who have called themselves Christians are aghast to learn that Communism has collected their gods of science, materialism and nationalism, put them under their proper classification--atheistic religion, and threaten to beat us at our own game. Christians should thank God that this world has been given such a concrete and open opportunity to decide between the lord god mammon the the living God.

2. That the Body of Christ is not destroyed by death or swallowed up by the grave and that it is one. Evidence of this is that in spite of all the various barriers man has erected through his hostility toward God's love and mercy, believers in Christ today as believers in Christ since the time of Christ, are united in the bond of faith and love. The ludicrous thing is that while Councils meet in solemn assembly to say that we ought to be one, and while rabid groups meet and say we can't be one--we are one if we are in Christ!

3. The hope is that there is strong evidence that there is a living God, and that he is pleased to concern himself in a direct and personal way with man, if this is true, we have all the hope man can stand.

4/6/64

MM - I would suggest that Frances get a copy of the Kendrick letter

PA ✓

VJ ✓

LD ✓

file

3/30/64

Log S

1/2/11

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S C Council

only general report

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

Franklin, Tennessee
Route 5, Pine Circle Rd.
May 25, 1964

CONCLUSION OF FINAL REPORT

There are two cliches I want to comment upon to conclude my final report.

WE SHALL OVERCOME is now WE HAVE OVERCOME.... Now what? When the goals and hopes of the fifties are considered, I believe it is accurate to say that the iron tyranny of segregation as it was then understood is broken, albeit it is not destroyed. Those goals which the most radical groups of the early fifties were seeking are now realized.

While there are pockets of formidable resistance, segregation is no longer the dominating social issue. The momentum of the civil rights movement will be sufficient to accomplish all that it is possible to accomplish by assualt.

Our peril lies in another area and dimension more treacherous than snarling dogs. We are like the man who swept his house clean of the one devil. If we further imitate him in rejoicing over a "clean house", or a vacant house, we can be sure that "seven other devils more deadly than the first will occupy the house".

This is going to be a long hot summer is the second cliche. This is I believe an accurate coinage that can now be stated, It IS a long hot summer-- so what?

We have had other summers (and winters) that have been long and many hot. Is there any that would infer that our responsibilities are less because the summer is both long and hot?

In literal terms, if the summer is long and hot, we insulate our house, purchase fans and air conditioners etc., in short if we can't control the weather we make preparations to live in it for few can afford the luxury of fleeing to another climate.

Therefore, I believe the following directives to be sound and in order as we face the NOW WHAT? and SO WHAT?

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

department of racial and cultural relations

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1. It is now time to talk about obedience to the law. Civil disobedience is never an answer. At best it is creating a situation where the answer may be sought. When the answer can be sought civil disobedience must cease or it will destroy the possibility of any meaningful solution. Those who say that we must now begin to group forces to protest against present civil rights legislation just as soon as it becomes law; need to answer the question, when will you start obeying the law? If law is to be useful in or to society it must be taken seriously at every turn, even when it is bad and inadequate. It may be opposed at every point, but it must also be obeyed. There have now been enough test cases to determine whether it is the "law of the land", state or federal that is being enforced. It is time that government, the courts and law enforcement agencies be made to consider seriously the laws already passed and it is likewise time for those who because of conscience disobeyed the law to be bound by a new law. Unless this is done most of the efforts and sacrifices of the moment and the movement will be lost.

2. It is time to launch an all out effort to seize every opportunity for responsible citizenship. If the reports are correct there are more job opportunities, more school opportunities, more social privileges available on a non-racial basis than there are persons to accept them. If we aren't careful we are going to get so busy fighting for rights that no one exercises his rights and the war is lost by default.

More pressure should be exerted on the right to register for voting as well as pressure to create voting interest. The situation cannot however get much better until and unless there are candidates to vote for who endorse present civil rights gain. This will not happen accidently. The demonstrations need to take the political arena as the chief means for expressing the cause which they have long espoused. There is already a striking similarity between the peaceful demonstrations and the political rally... let this be intensified.

3. The demonstrations must mature into something more responsible. If the demonstrations become instutionalized... have meaning within themselves, then they have become that which they set out to protest against. The demonstrations have sufficient following (as indicated by Washington march) to be a winning political force in America; and if its leaders act now, I judge it has sufficient vitality to formulate and lead a campaign on an all inclusive platform.

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I've been told that this is Uncle Tomism, that this is the White Southerner and this may be partly true; however, there is yet a greater truth. The movement faces its most critical test of usefulness. Will it try to conserve the gains for itself, or will it seek to expand them for the peoples of the world. For example will the movement be as concerned about discrimination on non-racial lines as it is on a color basis? The point is this, the movement has the power to do this and it is the natural thing to do... but it is also death. Regardless of how just the cause and how hard the task or how great the sacrifice of those who have faced this evil and broken its power, they shall not have escaped or be given freedom; unless and until they are able to return good for evil. Unless they loose themselves in a greater cause.

4. Now to my main concern: I believe that it is now possible and that it is now necessary to seek for those things that law cannot legislate nor courts grant. The instutitional church, Negro and white has clearly demonstrated that it intends to be the last social instution in America to desegrate. The blunt question must be struck, can a segregated church be faithful and useful? Faithful, no; useful, yes; forgiven, yes. God uses unfaithful people, these are the only kind he has to work with. Segregation is a rejection of the gift of God's redemption, it is disobedience and sin and a bold refusal to accept the freedom God offers and if persisted in obviously brings upon us a blight that makes all meaningful existance and being impossible. (But this is its result and this is what is wrong with segregation and when we attack it on any other basis we come up with a relative evil, or good (according to who is doing the analyzing) which in the total structure of things is of little import.)

When I am ask if I give up on the church, I must ask give up on the church doing and being what? I give up on the church being even a close proximity to the New Testament faith. I am using church here to refer to the instutional bodies. I give up on the church taking any risks that will greatly endanger its vested interests. I give up on the church being a decisive factor in american life. (I do not, as some believe that the church is destined to be this kind of an instution, nor would I insist that it always has been nor always will be.) I simply do not see any prospect of the instutional church changing while it is succeeding, especially when it believes this success to be directly from the hand of God.

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We are where we have always been, at the valley of decision. Surrounded by armament, technology, culture, religion, wealth and pills... we behold the gleaming white of the rain drenched sun baked bones of a dead and dying world and ask, can these bones live again? Like a refrain the central theme of the Judeao-Christian faith says again and again, out of nothing God brought life, and in the hour when there is no hope, God is hope. This is not some airy-fairy concept of a never-never land, this is a "hairy" concept of the here and now, the gutty buisness of the race problem, of a dead church, of a dedadent society, of a people who have everyting but a meaningful existance.

We must be honest about the church as well as ourselves. We must stop expecting the church to be a mail order house or a maintance crew for society and recognize whether we like it or not we are both under the judgement of God. It is an error and wasted energy to place so much emphasis upon church renewal. There is no indication that renewal has ever occured by this method, there is evidence that such projects have failed.

Those who are free enough and have faith enough to enter the Kingdom of God and be joined in obedience unto Jesus Christ become the Body of Christ, they are integrated at the deepest level of existance, they have a new being. As to leadership development... leaders develop when there are those who mature in faith and obedience unto Jesus Christ. Only then are we delivered from the strictures of culture and instution, only then are we set free to lead although it may be to our own personal disadvantage. Therefore, our empahsis must be two fold: a) confront as many as possible with the gospel. b) If and when they respond in faith, culture and the instution will most surely reject them. It is at this point that the empathic understanding of others in the faith sustain these leaders and keep them at the critical point of maximum witness.

Those who are free to do so must formulate "all-inclusive" churches. There is no reason to wait for the instutitional church to catch up or do this or that if the Commander and Chief has already ordered it. Let the world see the Word made flesh, let them see once again how "these Christians love one another", only then is there an alternative.

Such a community of believers does exist, within and without the church. It is a gift, God maintains it, our decision is to enter or not to enter and by the same we bear whatever witness we have to bear. The Now What, and the So What, bring us face to face with the Kingdom of God is at hand and what more help do we need or can we stand?

Albert B. Rhodes

-4-

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director
alfred s. kramer, staff consultant • elbert jean, field director, southern project
a unit of the division of christian life and work

File Gene Elbert

ES — PAV VJ PW ML MET MA MJ

ITINERARY FOR MARCH, APRIL AND MAY 1964

3/4-6: El Dorado and Pine Bluff, Arkansas to aid distressed preachers, also met with some hostile laymen.

3/4-9: Florida and Georgia meeting with some of the small groups of preachers and laymen to discuss the church and civil rights.

3/17: Went to Knoxville to talk with Mr. Frank Smith concerning the possibility of aiding distressed preachers.

3/19: Served on a panel at Columbia, Tenn. before a group of that communitie's leaders. We tried to discuss the church and race.

3/26-29: Stuttgart, Pine Bluff and DeQueen, Arkansas to discuss with church groups the Civil Rights legislation before Congress and the responsibility of the church.

4/1: At the request of the Tenness Council on Human Relations I went to Jackson and Boliver, Tennessee to try and make the white ministers aware of the Negro movement in that area.

4/6-8: Little Rock, Arkansas to confer with some Negro and white Leaders about starting an All-Inclusive church.

4/9: Preached at Scarritt College in Nashville on The Identity of The Church.

4-13-17: Birmingham, Auburn, Tuskeegee, Alabama, Columbus and Oxford, Miss. Attempted to relate ministers and laymen of similar concern and tried to help some of them stay in their present positions. I went on to Dallas, Texas to meet with Methodist Preachers from several parts of the U.S. to discuss seriously what possibilities are open for the church to be the church and covenanted with them to try to move into these areas.

4-27-5/4: Pittsburg and Valley Forge, Pa., Boston, Mass. for the purpose of securing a job for myself, trying to get aid for distressed preachers and to secure positions for some men trying to get out of the south.

5/ 11-14: Little Rock, Arkansas trying to further encourage an All-Inclusive church.

5/18: Met with Methodist Preachers in the Nashville area trying to encourage them to ban together in making a joint witness and mutually bearing one another up.

5/19-20: Atlanta, Ga. to confer with the SRC and meet with a group of scared preachers.

5/25-29: Hot Springs, Arkansas to attend the Little Rock Annual Conference of The Methodist Church, where I will be appointed as Consultant and Resource Leader On The Methodist Church and Race; to be effective June 1, 1964.

File
S. Dean corresp.

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

~~475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y.~~ Riverside 9-2200

J. Irwin Miller, President Rev. Roy G. Ross, General Secretary

John W. Thomas
Chairman
J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director

Rt. 5, Box 91
Franklin, Tenn.
June 18, 1964

Dear Lee:

Just a note to say that I have the job with the Methodists. I am to get with Grover Bagby this week to work on the details, but it is supposed to be doing about same as this new thing.

I do want to thank you for your interest in Self.

I think I must spend my energies in trying to relate those who are free enough to be the children of God — to be! If the world can't see, hear and believe a living witness then they are in Satan and the brotherhood conditions.

Galen R. Weaver, Vice Chairman • Theressa Hoover, Recording Secretary • Will D. Campbell, Assoc. Executive Director
Alfred S. Kramer, Staff Consultant • Elbert Jean, Field Director, Southern Project
A unit of the Division of Christian Life and Work

Collins

File
SLP - Jean, Elbert

July 17, 1964

Reverend Elbert B. Jean
Route 5, Pine Circle Road
Franklin, Tennessee

Dear Elbert:

Welll see you and the family next Friday. Fine.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 7/14/64

Franklin, Tennessee
Route 5, Pine Circle Rd.
July 11, 1964

Dear Les:

The family and I plan to be in Atlanta the afternoon and night of July 24th. I hope to get appointments with the Negro and White Methodist bishops and leave Saturday morning the 25th.

How about you and your family joining us in the evening meal? Maybe we could make that barbeque place.

I talked with some of the boys in Miss., and they indicated that Jim Waites might take the job as executive of the council in Miss. I saw Jim this week and he said that he was having bishop trouble (Franklin won't act to release him from his appointment, but maybe the new bishop will). Jim is a good man I think and could do an important work in this area... I hope it works out.

It is hard to believe that the church is as bad as it is.... but the most fantastic of all is that there is within it life, creativity snf beauty.... in fact this is the miracle, the in spite of us God works his work.

Sincerely yours,

Elbert B. Jean

Memo FROM THE DESK OF RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER

#2,500. CK Covering

fourth ~~4th~~ " fragment

of 1963-64 Grant

May 23, 1960

LEC MF

FURTHER DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENT PROTEST MATERIAL

Ben Muse has listed the following names to receive all student protest material that we issue. I have put these on labels and asked Phil to send all that we have done so far. JC suggests that you add these to the list that you are keeping.

See Ben's letter of May 21, 1960

Dr. James A. Colston
President
Knoxville, College
Knoxville, Tennessee

Honorable John Duncan
Mayor
City Hall
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. Charles Herd
Manager
Chamber of Commerce
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. Porterfield Brady
Director of Public Relations
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. Harry W. Brooks
President
Chamber of Commerce
Knoxville, Tennessee

Rev. J. J. Copeland
~~4740~~ 4719 Lyns View Pike, S. W.
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. W. M. Nash
Chamber of Commerce
Knoxville, Tennessee

June 2, 1960

JC, LEC MF

FURTHER DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENT PROTEST MATERIALS

Ben Muse has sent an additional list of persons to whom the Student Protest materials should be sent - I think Lou added the last list to her list; she might want to do the same with these. I've made labels and passed on to WF.

See Ben Muse ltr of May 28, 1960

Hon. Leroy Bendheim
Mayor of Alexandria
126 S. Royal Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Hon. Armistead L. Boothe
State Senator
5058 King Street
Alexandria, Va.

Mrs. George A. Eddy
5151 Polk Avenue
Alexandria, Va.

Mr. James Hayman
2517 King Street
Alexandria, Va.

Rev. W. E. Basom
3423 Old Dominion Blvd.
Alexandria, Va.

NATURAL COLOUR

J. Arthur Dixon

PHOTOGRAVURE POST CARD

LONDON W.1. 7 15PM 6 OCT 1964

6D CHEAP RATE

The political campaign here is probably more exciting than ours, though not as much shooting from the hip. Barry N. is an object of derision in all the press! Most of the comment is facetious. We are having fine weather. Daughter Carolyn and her husband are going to Vienna next week.

Mr. Dustin Dunbar
c/ Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Regards,
Bernard Beatrice Muse

London by Night — Houses of Parliament

The floodlit great eastern tower known as Big Ben is one of London's most famous landmarks. To the right in the shadows are to be seen some of the towers of Westminster Abbey

Colour Photograph by Wilfred W. Roberts, F.R.P.S., F.S.A., A.R.P.S.

Lon. 1113.

Printed and Published by J. Arthur Dixon Ltd., Newport, I.W. England

Ben Muse.

EFFECTIVE SERVICES RENDERED BY SRC

- : -

Information on the Virginia experience supplied to Governor Collins and his staff before the 1959 session of the Florida Legislature was helpful in preventing massive resistance legislation in that state. They were quite eager for this help and I spent several days with them.

Advice and assistance was rendered again in the setting up of the Florida (Fowler) Commission on Race Relations in March 1960. I spent two strenuous days in helping and coaching the Commission staff. Our organization cooperated closely with the Commission during the remainder of the year.

I know of no more striking case of the SRC stepping in to fill an urgent need than our work during the early months of the "sit-in" and lunch-counter desegregation movements. We moved quickly to investigate the first "sit-in" and sent a professor of sociology to study the circumstances and techniques employed in the first cities which achieved an orderly solution of the problem. For some time, the SRC was the only source of comprehensive and reliable information on the subject. This information was in great demand among mayors, city managers, and other officials and interracial committees which were set up in many cities to deal with the problem. I conferred personally with officials and community leaders in half a dozen of the affected cities.

I confer continuously with officials and community leaders in various sections of the South, having visited all Southern states except Texas and Mississippi. I am now on my way to Mississippi. I have conferred with five Southern governors and some 40 Southern editors. I try to correct mis-informations and misconceptions and promote at least acceptance of the inevitability of desegregation. To those who are liberal on the issue, of whom I find many among editors, I try to bring encouragement. To some who are standing up for the good cause in trying circumstances this appears to be particularly helpful.

My movements and impressions are reported comprehensively to our Atlanta office, particularly for guidance in our research and production of informative reports. I report the questions which are being asked and the kind of information needed to allay fears and prepare communities for acceptance of desegregation.

A valuable part-time assistant is J. J. Brewbaker, who was engaged by us upon his retirement as Norfolk superintendent of schools, as a consultant on school desegregation. Mr. Brewbaker had steered Norfolk schools through a sensationally difficult desegregation crisis, and from that experience as well as from his observations elsewhere is admirably qualified to advise with other superintendents. He has also a very cordial personal relationship with public school administrators throughout the South. He has visited with many of them in the course of this work, and he makes a point of conferring with school authorities in cities where school desegregation is imminent. He discusses the techniques of desegregation and, most effectively, is constant witness to the fact that desegregation is possible. I am sure that he contributed substantially to the order and tranquility in which five more school districts were desegregated in Virginia this year and was helpful also in the orderly extention of desegregation in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Florida. He has rendered valuable aid also in the difficult situations of New Orleans and Atlanta.

One of the greatest obstacles to peaceful progress in race relations in the South is the prevalence of misconceptions and the wide currency of mis-information on the subject of race. The production of accurate information, therefore, on the fallacy of race as an index to human ability and worth, the progress of the Negro in many fields and his educational capabilities, the harmlessness of integration in practice, many practical problems of desegregation and the economic penalties of race discrimination -- this is a major service of the Southern Regional Council.

~~On the general problem of~~

I confer continuously with ~~officials and~~ officials and community leaders in various sections of the South, having visited all Southern states ~~in the~~ except Texas and Mississippi. I am now on my way to Mississippi. I have ~~met~~ conferred with five Southern governors, and some 40 Southern editors. I try to correct misinformation and misconceptions and promote at least acceptance of the inevitability of desegregation. To ~~liberals~~ those who are liberal on the issue I try to bring encouragement. To some who are standing up for the good cause ~~in~~ in ~~particularly~~ trying circumstances ~~[illegible]~~ this appears to be particularly helpful. ~~[illegible]~~

My movements and impressions are reported comprehensively to our Atlanta office, particularly for guidance in our research and production of informative reports. I report the questions which are being asked and the kind of information needed to allay fears and prepare communities for acceptance of desegregation.

A valuable part-time assistant is J. J. Brewbaker, who was engaged by us upon his retirement as Norfolk superintendent of schools as a consultant on school desegregation. Mr. Brewbaker had steered Norfolk schools through a sensationally difficult desegregation crisis, and from that experience as well as from his observations elsewhere is admirably qualified to advise with other superintendents. He has

Special Services Rendered by SRC

Information on the Virginia experience supplied to Governor Collins and his staff before the 1959 session of the Florida legislature was helpful in preventing massive resistance legislation in that state. They were quite eager for this help and I spent several days with them.

Advice and assistance was rendered again in the setting up of the Florida (Fowler) Commission on Race Relations in March, 1960. I spent two strenuous days in helping and coaching the Commission staff. Our organization cooperated closely with the Commission during the remainder of the year.

I know of no more striking case of the SRC stepping in to fill an urgent need than our work during the early months of the "sit in" and lunch counter desegregation movement. We moved quickly to investigate the first "sit ins" and sent a professor of sociology to study the circumstances and techniques employed in the first cities which achieved an orderly solution of the problem. For something the SRC was the only source of comprehensive and reliable information on the subject. This information was in great demand among mayors, city managers and other officials and inter-racial committees which were set up in many cities to deal with the problem. I conferred personally with officials and community leaders in half a dozen of the affected cities.

also a very cordial personal relationship with public school administrators throughout the South. He has visited with many of them in the course of this work, and he makes a point of conferring with school authorities in cities where school desegregation is imminent. He discusses the technique of desegregation and, most effectively, is constant witness to the fact that desegregation is possible. ~~The desegregation of first new school districts in Virginia~~ I am sure that ~~the~~ he contributed substantially to the order and tranquility in which first new school districts were desegregated in Virginia this year and was helpful also ~~of~~ in the orderly abolition of segregation in North Carolina, Tennessee and Florida. He has rendered valuable aid also in the difficult situations of New Orleans and Atlanta.

One of the greatest obstacles to peaceful progress in race relations in the South is the ~~the~~ prevalence of misconceptions and the wide currency on the subject of race of misinformation. The production of accurate information, ~~effort~~, on the fallacy of race as an index to human ability and worth, the progress of the Negro in many fields and the his educational capabilities, the harmlessness of ~~school~~ integration in practice ~~and~~ many practical problems of desegregation and the economic penalties of race discrimination — this ~~becomes~~ is a major service of the Southern Regional Council

DATELINE: SOUTHERN SCHOOLS fall '71...What's Happening?

DATELINE: BIRMINGHAM, ALA., September 15: For years, PTA's devoted themselves to monthly meetings and an occasional cake sale...Now Parent Teacher Associations across (Alabama) are working for better black-white relationships, pushing for legislative changes, trying to involve young people...Human relations are a major concern because this year for the first time state PTA's are totally integrated. For this reason Alabama is trying for a federal grant for human relations workshops across the state where blacks and whites can sit down and talk about problems and new ideas concerning school integration..."I'm tired of hearing people say integration is the whole problem in our educational system. For the children it's no problem. They've accepted it and maybe we, as adults, should open our eyes, too." (Mrs. Harry W. Schaffner, Alabama State PTA President. Birmingham News, September 15, 1971)

THE GOOD OLD CAKE-SELLING PTA ASKING FOR STUDENT INVOLVEMENT? YOU'RE LOOKING GOOD, PTA, BABY....IF STUDENT POWER IS YOUR BAG, WHAT ABOUT CHECKING OUT THE PTA? DON'T BE TOO QUICK TO PUT THE OLD CAKE SELLER DOWN ON GROUNDS OF ESTABLISHMENT RESPECTABILITY. WHAT NAME IS BETTER KNOWN, POTENTIALLY MORE INFLUENTIAL, THAN PTA? CAN YOU DIG?

DATELINE: COLUMBIA, S.C., AUG. 27:...According to an examination of black student disciplinary troubles in dozens of school districts around the country, the rate of expulsion and suspension for black students has been

continued on page 6

Richmond, 1970

Little Rock, 1957

Greenville, Mississippi 1971

"TO SEE ONE'S CLASSMATES AND TEACHERS STRUGGLE COURAGEOUSLY TO MAKE SOMETHING HAPPEN HERE THAT HAS NOT HAPPENED IN ANY OTHER SCHOOL IN THIS NATION HAS TO GIVE HIM REASON NOT TO BE SO BITTER AND NOT TO FEEL SO HOPELESS...."

52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

school desegregation project newsletter

what am i doing HERE?

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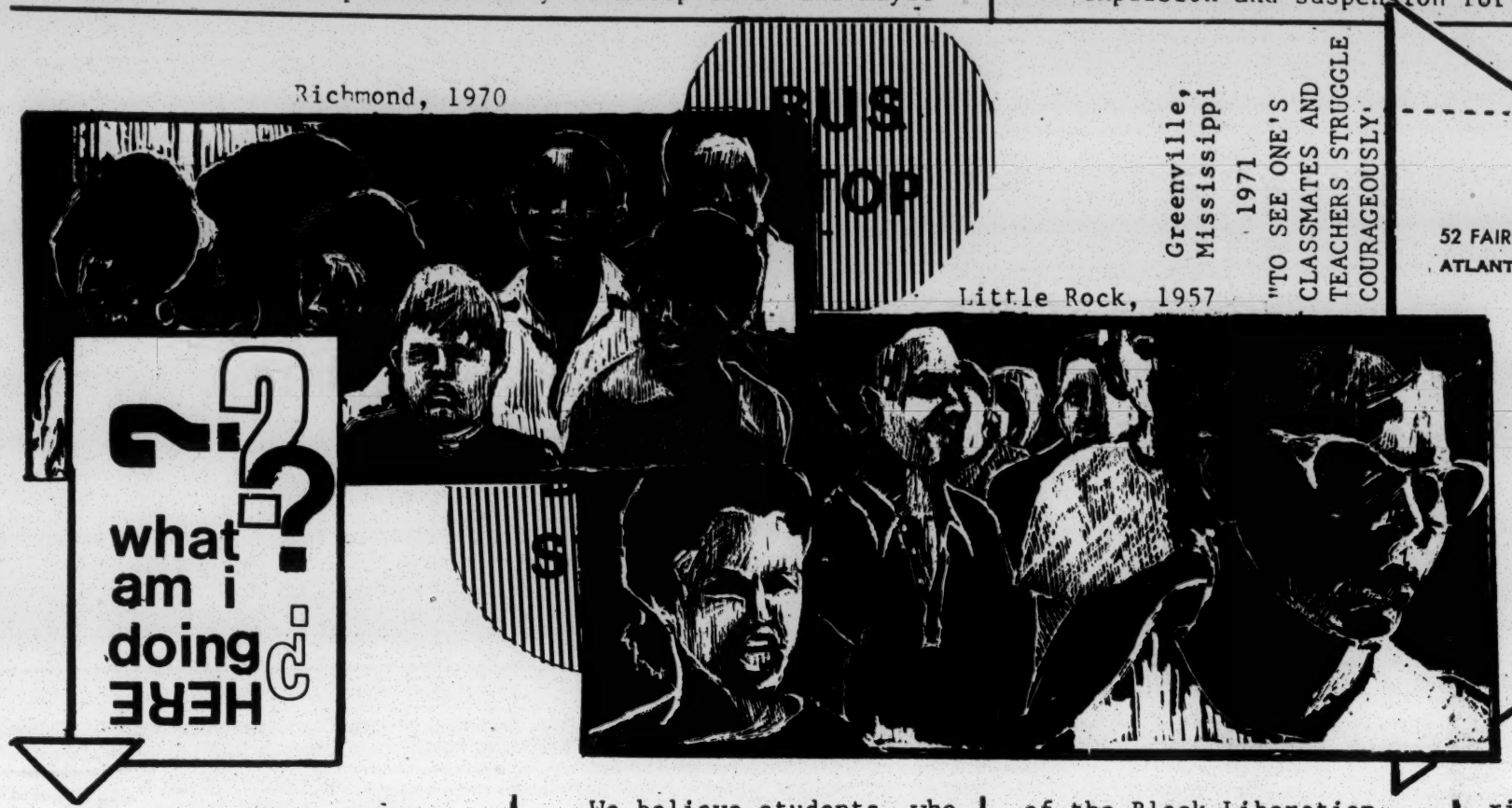

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school desegregation project news-letter

what am i doing HERE?

WHO, WHAT, WHERE, WHEN?

A really sizeable number of non-black students and non-white students entered school together this September in the seventeen southern and border-South states in which, seventeen Septembers ago, the same act would have been illegal. This September, for the first time, the statistical situation in the South constitutes some no-jive integration. And, all in all, some heavy history has gone down in this country these last seventeen years. Like Cronkite says, you were there.

WHY?

Why are we doing it this way, when it used to be a crime? A range of non-students--parents, politicians, sociologists, professional do-gooders, professional haters, and the non-professional variety--have had a range of answers, from "It's all a Communist Plot" to "To save the world," and the intensity of their conflicting beliefs has been at the root of the hassles our generation has grown up with. Some people have become rich and famous because of the load put on the words "school integration"; some people have died because of the same thing.

We believe students, who, after all, are deep into the question and answer thing, have come up with the most workable, the most sophisticated of answers to "Why school integration?" Answer: To get an education, which by definition cannot be based on remaining in separated components, ignorant of one another.

FOCUS

The editors apologize if we seem to be hustling you with this answer. We believe you can best find the answers for yourselves if you know the facts. Our aim is to provide you with some facts and some history, to defuse some words, and to raise some questions that you, of necessity, will answer existentially in the schools.

WHAT'S GONE DOWN SO FAR

The phrases "school integration" and "school desegregation" first began tripping tongues of the general public as a result of a Supreme Court decision handed down in May, 1954, of course, the Brown v. Bd. of Education decision. Few lives have remained untouched by the social upheaval attendant on those words (particularly when school integration is thought of as a forerunner of the Black Liberation Movement and the agitation for social justice among other people and in other areas the Movement stimulated).

Brown did not just happen overnight, nor did "massive" desegregation this September, resulting from the Alexander and the Swann decisions.

Consider the school desegregation upheaval from the perspective of the life span thus far of a beautiful cat from Greenville, Miss., Willie Davis, who graduated from high school in the class of '71 (and who, because of the vibes he got from the struggle toward brotherhood in his newly integrated school, in Mississippi, mind you, changed his mind about heading North after college, with most of his educated Black brothers, and determined to stay in Mississippi to fight to change things for the better. More about this elsewhere.)

OLD TIMES THERE...

Mr. Davis is probably about 18 years old now. The year he was born about 2,650,000 black students and 8,500,000 white students were in Southern public schools in the 17 states which, along with the District of Columbia, required dual school systems for blacks and whites, the black ones with black faculty, some black administrators, and all-white elected school boards in the role of overseer. (The states were Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia.) Public and private schools in most of those states were forbidden by state law to integrate: Section I of Article VIII of Georgia's Constitution, for example, read: "Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races."

Separate - but equal? Of the $145,600,629 investment that the Southern states had made in public school property by 1915, only $13,996,342--or 9.6 per cent of the total--had been put into schools for Negroes. Fifteen years later, the total had increased significantly, but the Negro school system's proportional share remained constant: a little more than 9 per cent of the whole. In the Deep South states the contrast was even greater. In 1929-30 the per capita annual expenditures for education were, in Alabama: black students, $7.16 each

more

annually; white students, $37.50 each annually; Georgia: black: $6.98; white: $31.52; Louisiana: black: $7.84; white: $40.64; Mississippi, black: $5.94; white: $31.33; South Carolina: black: $5.20; white: $52.89. $52.89 each year for each white student's education, $5.20 each year for each black student's schooling! The value the white education and political power structure placed on education for a white child was ten times that for a black child.

Now, forty years later, a current news article quotes a black leader demanding integration of underfinanced all-black schools: "The money goes where white students go." Not much change in the nitty-gritty fiscal facts in a century of public education.

PRE-1954 LEGAL ASSAULT

In the thirties, when Mr. Davis' mother and father presumably were attending public schools in Mississippi, at the rate of $5.94 a year each expense to taxpayers of the state, black people launched a massive, earnest legal attack on the inequities of the existing dual school systems. In twenty years of litigation for truly equal separate schools, results were spotty; by 1950 numerous court decisions brought on behalf of black teachers had more or

four school desegregation cases, usually lumped together under Brown v. Bd. of Education.

Pro-desegregation arguments based on direct evidence (that is, hard facts) of inequities of expenditure and course offerings was augmented by use of a relatively new tactic in the courts, testimony from social scientists and psychologists. Perhaps the best remembered witness was a black psychologist, Kenneth Clark, who highlighted data pointing to the damage done to all children by segregation, prejudices, and their social concomitants--children of the majority group in a way somewhat different from the damage experienced by the more obviously affected children of the minority group. Ira DeA. Reid, a black sociologist, made the point that segregation imposes upon individuals a distorted

cision as "inevitable." Black leaders and newspapers rejoiced at the court-sanctioned elimination of one type of racial discrimination.

Several border South school districts--Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Md., St. Louis, Mo. among them--moved promptly to put desegregation plans into effect. Elsewhere, the South waited for further instruction.

A year later, after additional hearings, the Supreme Court spelled out guidelines: the process by which integration must be achieved by the school districts. This "implementation" decision (Brown II) was handed down in May of 1955. Federal district judges were charged to see that school authorities against whom a case was decided make a "prompt and reasonable start" toward desegregation, "with all deliberate speed." If

BUSTED!

WHILE WE KNOW OF NO SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENT WHO FELT ENOUGH LIKE DEFYING TRADITION AND MORES AND LAW TO ACTUALLY ATTEMPT TO ENROLL IN A PUBLIC SCHOOL DESIGNATED FOR THE OTHER RACE PRE-1954, A BLACK MISSISSIPPI RESIDENT, CLENNON KING, APPEARED FOR REGISTRATION AT AN ALL-WHITE MISSISSIPPI COLLEGE IN THE LATE FIFTIES WITHOUT COURT ORDER. HE WAS IMMEDIATELY COMMITTED BY STATE OFFICIALS TO THE STATE MENTAL HOSPITAL. MEDICAL OFFICIALS RELEASED HIM A FEW DAYS LATER, AFTER PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION PROVED HE WAS NOT INSANE.

large (including, perforce, those favoring integration) and ultimately totalled millions of dollars--dollars which could have gone into feeding hungry people, providing jobs, or, at the very least, education.

BUMMER

A kaleidoscopic sweep, for now, over the years when Mr. Davis was entering school, learning about life in Mississippi for a black child, learning about hope as the civil rights Movement shook the South.

His elementary school was untouched by the Supreme Court rulings. Preserving the segregated "way of life" had become hot political property across the white South following the moderation the Court showed in its Brown II implementation ruling, and progress toward desegregation was slow, slow and tortuous.

"Nullification," "Interposition," School Closing Laws, Pupil Placement Plans--these were some of the words Mr. Davis grew up with, evasive tactics all, all ultimately ruled unconstitutional. "Freedom of Choice," a euphemistic catch phrase for "integrate if you dare," endured for eight years (but was finally knocked out in 1968, in Green v. New County

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THE YEAR BEFORE '54

The year Mr. Davis was born, school "consolidation" was the big educational argument--not consolidation of black and white schools into a joint system, but consolidation of small, community schools into larger facilities serving one or more counties (one for black, one for white). A lesser issue was "equalization," for now school administrators and lawmakers had become sensitive to black efforts to balance lopsided educational appropriations and they were beginning a somewhat frenzied, scattered effort to equalize black school facilities. (This explains the modern and shining school building now to be found in many a black neighborhood.) And in the Supreme Court in Washington, arguments were being heard in a series of

her under Brown v. Bd. of Education.

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Arguments against desegregation centered around the difficulties involved and predictions that integration would not be accepted by white and black students and their communities.

The decision came in May, 1954: "Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of Plessy v. Ferguson," said Chief Justice Warren in reading the opinion, "this finding is amply supported by modern authority...We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

WHAM! POW!

Thus came to an end the legal basis for Jim Crow education--the system of separation by race known for three quarters of a century.

The initial Southern white reaction to the Brown decision was restrained, the black one generally approving. All major religious groups active in the South endorsed the ruling as harmonious with Judeo-Christian principals, and major white newspapers greeted the de-

rejoiced at the court-sanctioned elimination of one type of racial discrimination.

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But under Brown II the burden of bringing suit to compel individual school district desegregation remained on black students. Over the next decade, hundreds and hundreds of law suits were filed and adjudicated to require individual school districts--city wide or county wide--to desegregate (some, but not many, desegregated voluntarily). Expenses of litigation were borne by black citizens and by civil rights organizations, and the frequent actual dangers of bringing suit--the harassment, threats, and economic reprisals of racists--were borne by tax payers at

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By 1964 under "Freedom of Choice" there were 34,105 black students attending school with whites in the eleven Southern states--a whopping big 1.7 percent of total black enrollment.

TALK ABOUT BUSING.

WITH JIM CROW EDUCATION LAWS UNDER LEGAL ATTACK, VAST AMOUNTS OF TAX MONIES WERE PAID TO SEND BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS TO OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY IF LOCAL ALL-BLACK COLLEGES DID NOT PROVIDE THE TYPE PROGRAM THEY DESIRED. IF YOU WERE BLACK AND YOU LIVED IN ATHENS, GEORGIA, AND WANTED TO CONCENTRATE IN JOURNALISM, SAY,-A SPECIALTY OF THE HOUSE AT THE WHITE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA IN ATHENS--THE STATE OF GEORGIA PROVIDED A SCHOLARSHIP FLOATING YOUR EXPENSES FOR TRANSPORTATION, OUT-OF-STATE TUITION, AND LIVING EXPENSES TO CORNELL, IN ITHICA, NEW YORK, MAYBE, BUSING YOU SOME 2,000 MILES EACH WAY TWICE A YEAR.

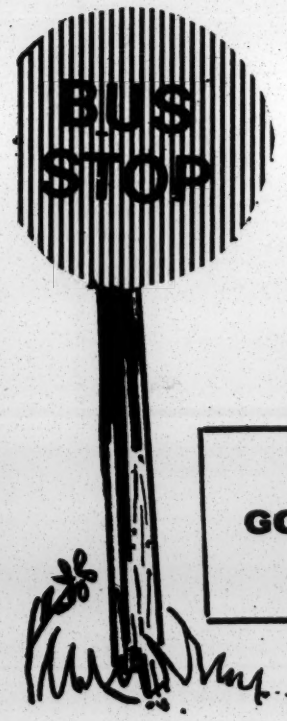
HELP.

Finally, the legislative and executive branches of the government moved to flank the judiciary's frontal assault on segregation by approving the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which forbade federal financial assistance to discriminatory programs or activities. Schools are dependent on federal funds to a substantial degree, so for the first time the mandate to desegregate blanketed the South. But the false promise of "Freedom of Choice" was permitted to remain in the Office of Education Guidelines. (The Guidelines

continued on pg.7

BUS LINES!

INTO ECOLOGY? RECYCLE THIS NEWSLETTER!
USE IT TO PLAY "BUS LINES"...IT'S ORGANIC!

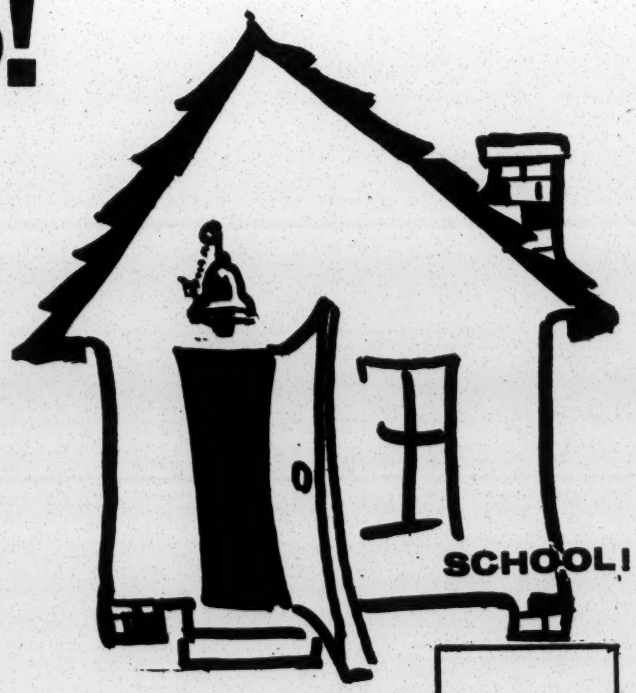


GO!

DR. E. EDWARD JONES, NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA: "The National Baptist Convention 'views busing as a means not only of achieving racial balance in the schools, but as a measure towards achieving quality education for minority race children.'" ADVANCE 2 SPACES.

TRAFFIC JAM. GO BACK 4 SPACES

TOM WICKER, NEW YORK TIMES COLUMNIST: "As the public schools open for the fall term, busing continues to be both a scare word and a straw man for those who are opposed to or dubious about desegregation. Busing also continues to be the only real hope for achieving substantial desegregation in the North and the larger cities of the South; and it is therefore potentially one of the most important instruments for improving American education." ADVANCE 4 SPACES.



JACK DAVIDSON, SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT, AUSTIN, TEXAS: "Man in White House speaks with fork in tongue." ADVANCE 4 SPACES.

JAIL
Forfeit three throws.

TICKET. GO BACK 6 SPACES

FREEWAY. ADVANCE 4 SPACES.

BLOW OUT. GO BACK 3 SPACES.

AUSTIN, TEXAS

THE HON. RICHARD NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: "I have consistently opposed the busing of our nation's school

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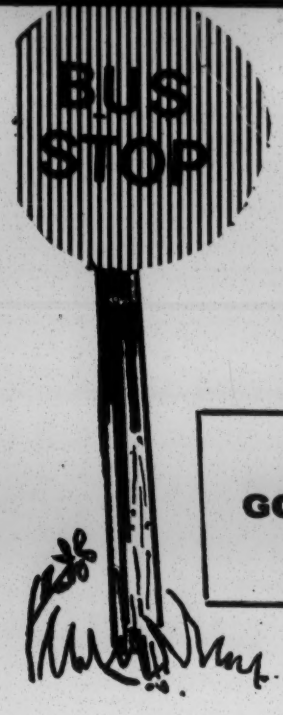

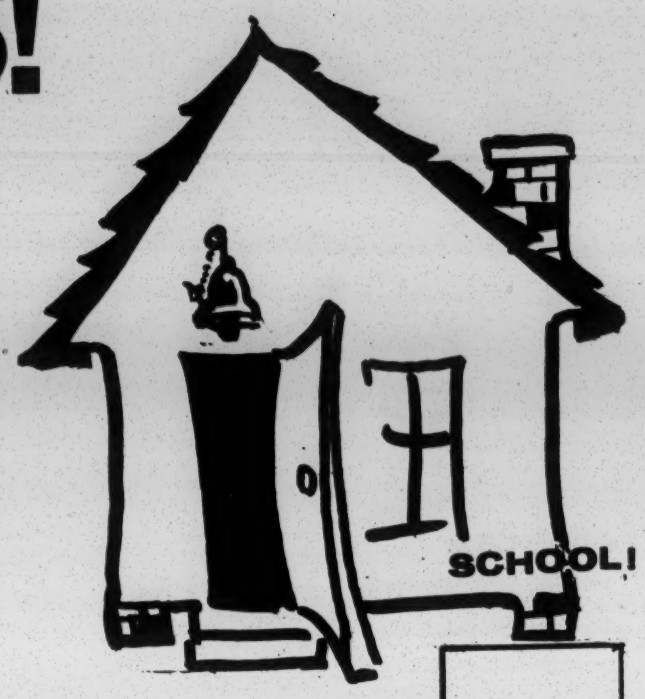

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BLOW OUT. GO BACK 3 SPACES.

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THE HON. RICHARD NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: "I have consistently opposed the busing of our nation's school children to achieve a racial balance and I am opposed to the busing of children simply for the sake of busing. While the Executive branch will continue to enforce the orders of the court, including court-ordered busing, I have instructed the Attorney General and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare that they are to work with individual school districts to hold busing to the minimum required by law."

GO TO JAIL. GO DIRECTLY TO JAIL.

TICKET. GO BACK 6 SPACES.

TRAIN PASSING. GO BACK 2 SPACES.

DR. RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY, CHAIRMAN, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE: "The President has created the climate for the opposition to busing. Those who follow his views have been given moral support to protest. If there is violence in carrying out court-ordered busing... Mr. Nixon will be responsible for the violence." ADVANCE 4 SPACES.

JONATHAN YARDLEY, BOOK EDITOR, GREENSBORO (N.C.) DAILY NEWS: "President Nixon's statement on the Austin, Texas, school case has come as a severe blow to the South. That may seem surprising, but only if one is unaware--as Mr. Nixon certainly seems to be--of the remarkable steps this region has taken in recent weeks to prepare itself for the inevitability of thorough, even traumatic racial change...Since May the order of the day generally has been, we are going to obey the law, we are going to obey it fully, and we are going to obey it in good spirit." ADVANCE 3 SPACES.

Green Light. Advance 3 Spaces.

THE HON. LINWOOD HOLTON, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA: "Leave it to the kids. They are the ones who can handle it--who are handling it nicely. The parents and the politicians don't need to be afraid of it if they let the kids know they have confidence in the kids' ability to handle it." ADVANCE 7 SPACES.

DETOUR. GO TO AUSTIN, TEXAS

RED LIGHT. GO BACK 4 SPACES.

WASHOUT. GO BACK 3 SPACES.

Hobson City

THE HON. GEORGE WALLACE, GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA: "They're (the Administration) watching me, I know. They're watching close and what they're seeing is a Governor just trying to help the President and the Attorney General keep their anti-busing promises." GO TO JAIL.

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS: "The Supreme Court 'expressly recognized that busing is a necessary element in school desegregation. Many in this nation, instead of recognizing and accepting this truth, have helped turn busing into an emotion laden word'...'For purposes other than integration, busing has been a common feature of American education.' We urge that busing 'be discussed within the legal and educational context in which it belongs.'" ADVANCE 2 SPACES.

play it again sam RE-RUNS

5 WORDS FROM OUR SPONSOR

RACIAL EQUALITY? BROTHERHOOD? SCHOOL UNITY? IF ANY ONE OR ALL THREE COMBINED ARE YOUR BAG AND YOU WANT TO BE PART OF A SOUTH-WIDE, ORGANIZED EFFORT TO ACHIEVE THESE THINGS IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS, GET IN TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE BEHIND THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 30303. TELEPHONE: 522-8764.

STATE SCHOOL BOARDS

Reprinted from "National High School Publication,"Student Information Center, October, 1971

The state school board is the agency in charge of directing the entire educational system of a state. School boards can regulate the licensing of teachers, the selection of textbooks, integration, courses required for graduation, and the length of the school day and year. They control Federal funds and state aid to education.

State boards have great potential power, but they exercise their power to only a limited extent (which, in many cases, we can be thankful for)...(It)may do nearly anything it likes within the state's laws to control education. But it rarely governs in any but the most general way. Either it allows the state department of education to make many policies, an unfortunate but frequent occurrence, or it yields a great deal of its power to local school authorities.

The Student Information Center surveyed state boards of education to learn about (a) the composition of the school boards, (b) how much students participate in formulating state educa-

POWER

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While school costs are rising, communities are fed up with high taxes. Citizens in school districts in all parts of the country have been voting against tax-raising elections. These elections, called levy or millage elections (or, more often, bond or school bond elections in the South - ed.), give the local school board the right to raise local property tax.

Now, with 18-20 year olds voting in local elections, school officials are hoping that tax increases will be approved.

***

play it again sam RE-RUNS

RACIAL EQUALITY? BROTHERHOOD? SCHOOL UNITY? IF ANY ONE OR ALL THREE COMBINED ARE YOUR BAG AND YOU WANT TO BE PART OF A SOUTH-WIDE, ORGANIZED EFFORT TO ACHIEVE THESE THINGS IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS, GET IN TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE BEHIND THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 30303. TELEPHONE: 522-8764.

STATE SCHOOL BOARDS

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The Student Information Center surveyed state boards of education to learn about (a) the composition of the school boards, (b) how much students participate in formulating state educational policies, and (c) activities regarding students' rights. The results of our survey were distressing, but hardly surprising.

POWER ! to the PUPIL

Not a single state school board had a high school (or even college) student as a member. In fact, the youngest member we could locate was thirty-six years old, twice the age of any high school student. The oldest members were 75 years old, more than five times as old as many of the people their decisions affect. The older members went to high school prior to the First World War. There were almost five times as many males as females on school boards.

A few state school boards, such as California, North Carolina, Vermont, Delaware and South Carolina, have student advisors. These advisors either sit in at school board meetings or meet separately; in either case they offer their opinions and recommendations to the full board. But they cannot vote and therefore have no real power.

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Not having students on school boards is like having only foreign citizens representing us in Congress. In most states, school board members are appointed by the governor or elected by the voters. Qualifications for members usually do not exclude students (of Southern states, bds. are elected in Ark., La., Tex.; appointed in Ala., Ga., NC, SC, Tenn., & Va.: "other" in Fla. & Miss.-ed. note)

A second area in which state school boards need to be more responsive is students' rights. Traditionally, the rights of students have been totally dependent on the whims of their teachers and principals. In recent years, student pressure--involving everything from demonstrations to law suits--has forced a number of cities and states to adopt Students' Bills of Rights. A great deal of time and effort can be saved if state boards of education--rather than the hundreds of local boards--issue bills of rights. * * *

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The results of most levy elections have been very close, so the bloc of new young voters could have a decisive role in future elections. Students can also persuade their parents to vote one way or the other.

The impact of determined young voters in an election is increased by the failure of most adults to vote. In the June, 1971 levy election in Kalamazoo, Michigan, for example, 20,551 persons out of the approximately 50,000 registered voters actually went to the polls. The request for a tax increase was defeated by about 5,000 votes. In Kalamazoo the 10,000-12,000 potential 18-20 year old voters could have reversed the vote.

School officials need young voters to pass levy elections. Their need can be used as a power base for obtaining improvements that you want in your school (assuming that you can get the 18-20 year old voters to cooperate with you.)

In a levy election, you have the choice of either helping the community or helping the school board win the election. You could out and out defeat the levy election with no negotiations on the grounds that more money in schools will not make them any better. By your being able to defeat the election, you show that you do have a base to negotiate from and can present demands after the election. You might also be able to get the community to help you win new rights in school.

On the other hand, you could present a list of demands to the school administration before the election. If enough of the demands are not satisfied you will help defeat the tax raises. However, if the administration consents to most of the demands, you will help get the levy election passed.

You will have to decide whether you will benefit most by siding with the community or with the school administration.

DOES YOUR SCHOOL OBEY THE CONSTITUTION?

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The 5th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states that no person shall ...be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The purpose of this section of the fifth amendment was to assure citizens that certain general rules would be followed when they were being tried for a crime.

Due process became law in the United States in 1789, but in public schools it is a new concept and is yet to be practice. Principals or discipline officers usually suspend or expel students arbitrarily. The student is usually just called into an office and told that he is suspended. School officials act as plaintiff, jury, judge, prosecutor, and executioner. This system of justice is an open invitation for injustice.

Students in several states have gone to court to sue their schools because of unjust suspension or expulsion procedures. Because these cases were not argued in the Supreme Court, there is still no national policy on due process in public schools. However, several lower courts have been rather consistent in laying down due process procedures. The following procedure is typical of how courts have been interpreting the law.

1. The student should be given a written statement of the charges prior to the date of the hearing.
2. A hearing should be conducted before an impartial person (usually a school administrator not personally involved in the case).
3. Students should be permitted to inspect in advance any evidence...
4. Students should be allowed to present a defense to charges against them and to present affadavits, exhibits, and witnesses.
5. Students should be permitted to have counsel (not always a lwayer) present.
6. Students should be permitted to hear evidence presented against them and to question any witness who gives evidence against them.
7. The hearing officer should determine the facts of each case solely on the basis of evidence presented at the hearing and should state his decision in writing.
8. Either side may, at its own expense, make a record of the events...

RE-RUNS

OVERVIEW OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION INSTITUTE - Sponsored by the School Desegregation Project of the Southern Regional Council, August 15-August 25, Camp Fellowship, Waterloo, S.C.

RE-RUNS

...The seventeen year period from 1954 until the present was just the prelude to the battle confronting all students today--both black and white. For, upon them falls the responsibility of organizing a "new constituency" dedicated to realizing and attaining quality desegregated education for all students...

...Recognizing their responsibility in making the newly desegregated situation work, a small biracial group of college and high school students met in Waterloo, South Carolina for a ten-day Desegregation Institute to review last year's experiences and activities, to analyze the status of the desegregation movement and the institution of public education from the youth perspective, and to learn and/or refine specific skills needed for the back-home situation.

With an air of determination and hope, these students

pulsions, residents must organize and work within the political sphere to elect responsive school boards and to sensitize existing boards to the needs of the students.

(2) People need to realize that the courts do respond to "public pressure," particularly with the equivocating position taken by Nixon. That statements by people like Roy Innis calling for separate black school boards, schools, and so forth, are contrary to the history of this country in which whites never have and probably never will give an equal proportion of their tax dollar for separate schools.

A statement from students and others is needed stating that "We need to desegregate the schools." The court in the Swann decision asked if the black community wanted to desegregate, to which the response was "yes." Contrary to this, however, the press is highlighting the anti-desegre-

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With an air of determination and hope, these students set forth over the 10-day period to attain these goals, while first unconsciously and later consciously molding a spirit of direction and determination out of the collective realization that there were other young adults from througout the South working towards similar goals--the establishment of a humane society and the development of quality education fro all students.

This groups represented a cross-section of youth encountered through nine months of extensive travel and work with youth groups and educational projects by the staff and volunteers of the School Desegregation Project...

SEMINARS

CASE HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION MOVEMENT: JULIUS CHAMBERS

Four basic points were covered in the seminar on the legal/historical aspects of school desegregation: (1) the origin of the school desegregation movement; (2) the reason for massive school desegregation in the '70's; (3) the landmark cases in the school desegregation movement; and (4) some of the major dynamics and/or problems set off by the school desegregation movement in general and the Swann Decision in particular. Following coverage of these points, Attorney Julius Chambers made some general observations on various desegregation issues and responded to questions from the floor.

Law was described as an evolutionary process faced with the problem that many people differentiate the "letter of the law" and the "spirit of the law." This has tended to hinder what is already a basically slow process, as illustrated by the seventeen year lapse between the Brown and Swann decisions.

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In dialogue with participants, Attorney Chambers highlighted several points:

(1) School desegregation is a reality, the courts will not retract the decision; therefore, we need to "look toward developing means of protecting black students and teachers in the desegregated schools. In many cases, these protective measures can be developed more feasibly through the political and legislative route than through the judiciary, at least until 1976.

Community organization is needed to pressure the school boards into establishing policies concerning suspensions, expulsions which will insure students the right to "due process protection." Since the hearings usually result in a re-affirmation of the suspensions and/or expulsions, residents must organize and work within the political sphere to elect responsive school boards and to sensitize existing boards to the needs of the students.

(2) People need to realize that the courts do respond to "public pressure," particularly with the equivocating position taken by Nixon. That statements by people like Roy Innis calling for separate black school boards, schools, and so forth, are contrary to the history of this country in which whites never have and probably never will give an equal proportion of their tax dollar for separate schools.

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THE NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL, REGIONAL, STATE AND LOCAL IMPLICATIONS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: JEAN FAIRFAX

.....The seminar terminated on a key point, the implications of the pressure of groups, 'chunks,' of students in the desegregated school today as opposed to small numbers under the other plans. Though in most cases in a minority, black students now have the opportunity to organize a base within the system, if they become a politically aware body, which will strive to learn where the power is, how decisions are made, where the money is, and how they can become a strategy group with a conscious plan.

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COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION: ANDREW YOUNG

...According to Rev. Young, "violence destroys people and property, not systems." He described nonviolence as organized aggressive goodwill, aimed at developing new relationships between people. Although the problems in school desegregation are immediate, we have to understand the overall picture and be clear on the ultimate goal--the establishment of a humane society.

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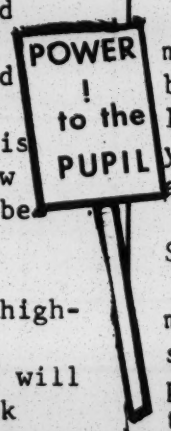
...."Students, once they get their minds together, are the most knowledgeable people concerning eudcational matters, because they are directly involved. They should therefore look toward attending school board meetings, asking for youth representation on school boards, and utilizing other aggressive means of attaining power."



STUDENT RIGHTS: LAUGHLIN MCDONALD

...The areas of discussion ranged widely and covered many of the issues affecting students in the desegregated schools today. Some of them were: (1) Suspensions. Several points came out in the discussion of suspensions as opposed to expulsion. From the administrative point, most students are guilty until proven innocent. Highlighted was a major contradiction "between law and action since many states had compulsory attendance laws requiring a specific number of days' attendance but would permit suspensions and/or expulsions which would run over those days."...The seminar concluded with a call for strong local organization, and a discussion of the method of documenting infringements of student rights (write down; solicit witnesses; if possible, notarize the description of the incident; document disciplinary actions).

VA. GOVERNOR HAS

Bussing Answer---Leave It to the Kids

BY ROBERT J. DONOVAN
Times Associate Editor

RICHMOND—What to do about the bitter issue of bussing?

"Leave it to the kids. They are the ones who can handle it—who are handling it nicely." Such is the advice of a man who is in a peculiarly good position to know something about the problem—Gov. Linwood Holton of Virginia.

"That parents and the politicians don't need to be afraid of it if they let the kids know they have confidence in the kids' ability to handle it," the first Republican ever elected governor of Virginia said in an interview.

"We have four children in the public school system of Richmond. We took them there last year as a demonstration of compliance with the courts.

"Two of them are in a middle school—what you would call junior high—which last year had 4% white and 96% black enrollment.

"Last year we took them to school from the mansion in the station wagon. This year, after school opened my daughter, Anne, who is 13, called the administrative office and asked 'Where can we catch the bus?' Last Friday morning she and Woody, her brother, went out on Broad St. and caught the school bus and came home on the bus.

"My older daughter, Tayloe, goes to John F. Kennedy High School, which is predominantly black. She was elected one of two white cheerleaders out of 12 altogether.

"These young people are getting along. In some cases they are dear friends. Our children bring black friends home to the mansion after school.

"I am not advocating mixed black students and half white.

"The crowd was a good mix. You never saw a better behaved crowd at a high school football game.

"You can see kids enjoying themselves, getting on well, not paying attention to what others are saying. I understand older people don't feel that way. Young people are just more flexible."

What about the political controversy over bussing?

"The politics of bussing won't last until next year's election—not in the areas that have it," the governor prophesied.

What can Gov. George Wallace of Alabama gain from the issue?

"Nothing. Defiance of court orders on constitutional rights isn't going to get anybody anywhere."

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Actually, Holton opposed bussing to bring about racial balance in schools, but has insisted on compliance with court orders.

"Massive resistance was a mistake and won't be done again," Holton continued. "When they closed the schools in 1958 as part of massive resistance, that was the end of massive resistance in this state. People are going to insist on a good education for their youngsters.

"I don't believe that bussing will be an issue next year. At least not in Virginia. This desegregation no longer has great validity in Virginia. People realize blacks are going to get equal treatment from the government.

"Since we are accepting court-ordered bussing, our kids in the major cities are going to school together after being taken there by some form of transportation. Norfolk has a problem because of last-minute requirements. The opening of schools there has been delayed, and there's 1969 when the courts and HEW required our rural systems to add school busses to achieve racial balance instead of racial segregation.

"Almost without incident in 1970 Norfolk, Richmond, Roanoke and other more urban areas were required by the courts to achieve arbitrary racial balance.

"There was a loud outcry in Richmond, but as soon as the election was over, the outcry declined noticeably, and the kids, on whom the big burden fell, accepted the burden. They were getting along fine by the end of the year. This doesn't mean that our people approve bussing across town to achieve racial balance.

"But the courts have said to us as a matter of constitutional rights all children are entitled to equal opportunity in school. You can't change that except by constitutional amendment. And that can't be done. It is not feasible that such an amendment could be enacted. So we must all comply with the courts.

"You can have confidence in the ability of the kids to handle this. I know because I have seen them do it under the most adverse of circumstances right here in this area.

"Richmond was strongly opposed to integration. The editorials in the newspaper, the largest in the state, approached the hysterical. Furthermore the school administration had no opportunity to conduct seminars to prepare its teachers and administrators or time to get right-sized chairs or the right books. Still we had what people now realize was a successful school year.

"This year schools have now been opened for over a week and to look at the situation you couldn't tell Richmond from any other city.

"The time has come when the people of Virginia are turning their attention to the development of their

ed from L.A. Times, 9/12/71

STEAMY SEMANTICS

Excerpted from "Mixing Adds Some Terms to Our Language," Birmingham News, 8/22/71.

QUESTION: What is the meaning of 'busing'? Is it different from riding a bus to school?

ANSWER: The word 'busing' may take its present meaning from an experiment conducted in New York City by the commissioner of education when he transferred white students by bus to black schools and transferred black students to white schools. He did this voluntarily, without a court order. The resultant outcry by parents made the word a part of our contemporary vocabulary. Buses have been used for more than 40 years to transport students who live too far from school to walk...

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DATELINE: SOUTHERN SCHOOLS (Continued from page 1)

on the rise for the last several years, with disciplinary cases in many cases at an all time high.

...Most blacks and some whites interviewed in every community said they felt that the increasing dismissal rate for black children was strictly racial in nature. Most whites blamed cultural and class differences, however... Blacks take strong exception to the "cultural-clash" point of view. Ruby Martin, of the Washington Research Project...has complained to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that the "rate of black students being pushed out of school is both tragic and alarming" and that the discipline is racial in nature. "The great majority of these students," she wrote..."have been expelled because of minor disciplinary infractions--infractions for which no punishment was administered so long as they attended all-black schools and infractions for which white students are rarely, if ever, punished"..Some educators think that the basic cause of the growing discipline problem is the restriction placed on individual action by school administrators at a time when students and parents are becoming more militant...William E. Thompson, principal of formerly all-black George W. Carver High School in Montgomery, Ala....said that white educators should immediately establish "rap" sessions between groups of white and black students and should not expect "kids from the ghetto to accept their middle-class white mores and culture right off the bat"... (New York Times, August 28, 1971)

IS THERE A BIGGER PICTURE SOMEWHERE? WHITE SUSPENSIONS, EXPULSIONS ARE INCREASING, TOO... FOR DRESS, FOR HAIR, FOR TENNIS SHOES, FOR NO POCKET ON YOUR T-SHIRT...SOMETIMES FOR REALLY THINKING. DOES SOCIETY DEMAND THAT ITS CHILD CONFORM TO THE SAME OLD COOKIE CUTTER...OR ELSE? OR IS IT ALL-PURPOSE REPRESSION? OR IS IT THE IDEA OF EDUCATION FOR EVERYONE, THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM ITSELF, THEY'RE PUTTING DOWN? IDEAS, ANYONE?

DATELINE: SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., AUG. 31: The California State Supreme Court, in a 6-to-1 decision, said today that in its opinion the United States Supreme Court would hold that California's system of financing public education violated the Federal Constitution.

...The California system is the same one that is followed by almost all the states: public secondary and elementary schools are financed by local property taxes supplemented by "equalization funds" provided by various Federal grants in aid.

...The case is one brought in behalf of children and parents in Los Angeles County. The contention is that some school districts have greater concentrations of taxable real estate than do others, and that this results in some school districts having more money than do others, even though the taxpayers may pay lower rates in the more wealthy districts....(New York Times, August 31, 1971)

THIS DECISION HAS BEEN CALLED AS SIGNIFICANT FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION AS THE BROWN DECISION WAS. WHILE THE CALIFORNIA RULING MERELY DIRECTED THAT HEARINGS ON CORRECTING EXISTING INEQUITIES BE HELD, THE RULING ADDRESSES ITSELF TO CONDITIONS PREVAILING ACROSS THE COUNTRY (ALTHOUGH THE DISPARITY IS NOT AS MARKED IN THE SOUTH, WHERE STATE FUNDING OF EDUCATION IS HEAVIER, PROPORTIONATELY, THAN ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY). IF, EVENTUALLY, COURTS REQUIRE THAT EVERY CHILD HAVE AN EQUAL AMOUNT SPENT ON HIS EDUCATION, WOULD THERE BE IMPLICATIONS FOR DESEGREGATION?

BUSLINES: Sources. Jones, NY Times, 9/12/71; Wicker, NY Times, 9/2/71; Nixon, NY Times, 8/8/71; Davidson, NY Times, 8/8/71; Abernathy, NY Times, 9/12/71; Yardley, NY Times, 8/20/71; Wallace, NY Times, 8/19/71 8/19/71, CRC, NY Times, 8/12/71; Holton, LA Times, 9/12/71.

outlined steps school boards must take toward desegregation so that they could lawfully receive federal financial assistance.)

By September, 1967 fourteen per cent of Southern black students attended schools that were termed "desegregated." In May of the following year Green v. New County Board of Education was handed down by the Court, requiring "other means" if Freedom of Choice "fails to undo segregation," and stating school boards must show "affirmative steps" to desegregate. Green called for "unitary" school systems--without a "white" school and a "Negro" school; with "just schools."

ONE WAY STREET OR HIGHWAY?

The first Mississippi public school district desegregated August 31, 1964 when sixteen Negro children entered four first-grade classes in previously all-white schools in Biloxi. By September, 1966, when Mr. Davis was entering the eighth grade, his home town school district of Greenville had eight "desegregated" schools, with 281 black students attending classes with 5,208 white students. A smattering of desegregation had extended into the Deep South states and into the rural areas of the South--but so-called "de-

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In 1968, when Mr. Davis was a high school freshman, a new phenomenon spread, like the earlier sit-in movement, across the South: direct action by black students in protest of inequities in school desegregation, in protest of black schools closed, and slights in previously all-white schools. That fall in Atlanta students at all-black Eva Thomas High School, who demonstrated several weeks in protest of school board plans to reassign them to integrated schools, were lauded by an elated Lester Maddox (Georgia's arch-segregationist Governor at the time). Maddox probably did not know the protesting black

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attended predominantly black schools ranging from 50% to 79.9% black; 23.1% attended desegregated schools with enrollments of 80 to 99.9% black; and 18.4% attended all-black schools.

This was the first significant increase in sixteen Septembers, if the numbers don't lie. It was "a beginning of assault on the outward manifestations of segregation," wrote Senator Walter Mondale (Chairman, U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity), "but we have not achieved real desegregation or quality education on the basis of a mutual respect."

But we'll do even that if people like Willie Davis, his black and white classmates,

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Even the working definition of the word "desegregation" was soon to become questionable; the press, the educational experts, the desegregation experts (and, this year, the U.S. Office of Health, Education and Welfare and the President of the United States) gauged the statistical extent of "desegregation" by the number of black students who attended predominantly white schools. The reverse, white students in predominantly black schools, counted for nought.

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And in this period, some nationally known black leaders, notably Roy Innis of the Congress of Racial Equality, began to urge "separatism" in the schools--a return to a dual educational system, the black one this time black-controlled, the white one white controlled. (At this writing, such a concept of integration has become tied in the public mind to the concept of "community control" of schools, and has gained in popularity. It has also brought together an unlikely combination of educational separatists and segregationists of the Citizens' Councils variety. Specifics of separatism in education--how, for example, it would be effected in the widespread rural areas where racial proportions are often greatly unbalanced--have not been projected by its proponents.)

NOW..."NOW"

Mr. Davis graduated with the class of 1971. In his junior year, he is likely to have heard a good bit of talk about changes wrought by Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education, in which the Supreme Court put down patience, setting aside its own "deliberate speed" doctrine after fourteen years of tokenism, and directed desegregation "now." Carter v. West Louisiana Parrish School Board followed soon thereafter, calling for desegregation "immediately." These rulings in late 1969 set the stage for wide-scale school desegregation in the 1970's.

By September of 1970, according to Department of Health, Education, and Welfare figures (perhaps not accurate, but the only ones available) 38.1% of southern black students attended schools with a predominantly white student body; 20.4% attended predominantly black schools ranging from 50% to 79.9% black; 23.1% attended desegregated schools with enrollments of 80 to 99.9% black; and 18.4% attended all-black schools.

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But we'll do even that if people like Willie Davis, his black and white classmates, and his teachers prevail.

Mr. Davis graduated this year. Throughout most of twelve years of schooling, he had been burned by a majority of the country in the matter of the Constitutional promise of no closed doors because of race. As graduation approached, self-serving politicians were again exploiting adult hang-ups, this time with a threadbare "bussing" issue wrung from another Court ruling (Swann v. Board of Education), trying hard to put their sick trip on kids. Full circle from 1954.

But at Commencement, Willie Davis stood before his integrated graduating class of 1971 at Greenville, Mississippi, High School, and said this:

"No doubt there are many people here, like this speaker, who, before this year, never really considered living in this state for the rest of their lives, who always knew that as soon as they were old enough they'd waste no time putting a great deal of distance not only between them and the state line, but also between

keep on

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The third stage, which Maury is now said to be entering, is one of decreasing self-consciousness about race. ***

'Traditions Penetrate'

"Black traditions have begun to penetrate this school," said Carolyn Wiggins, "but we still have to fight for them. Everything here is the white tradition unless we change it."

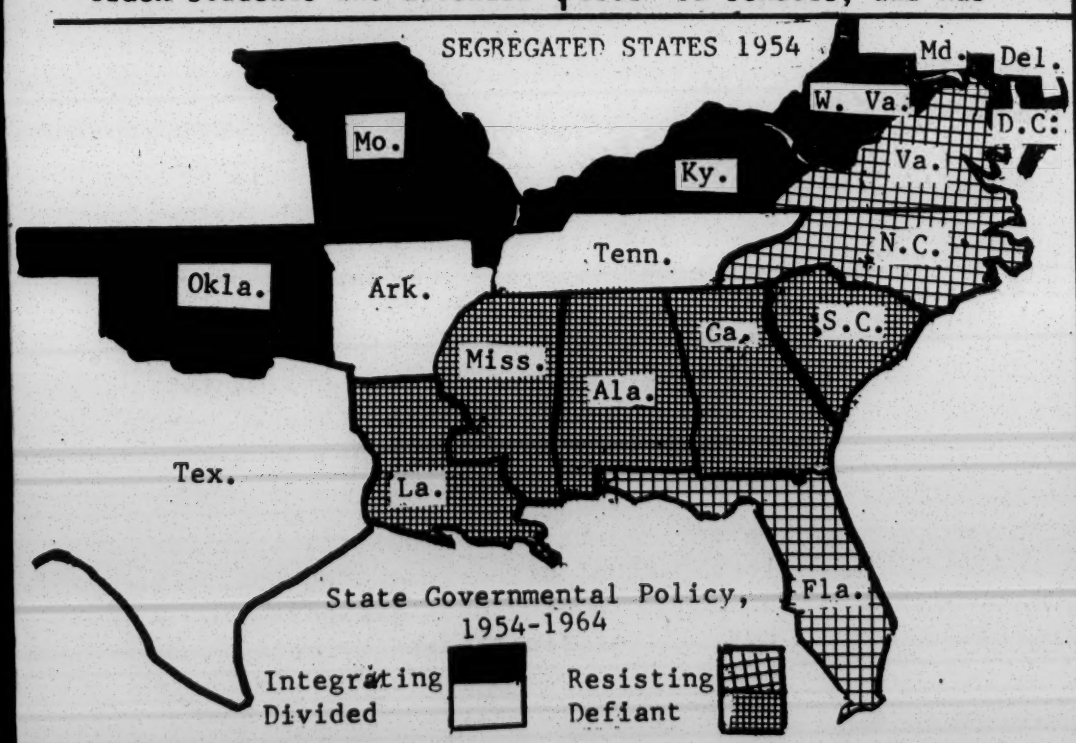
When Maury took a 6-to-0 lead over Princess Anne during the second quarter the other night, from the Commodores' side of the field rose a cheer of distinctly Negro inflection:

"I'll say. Right on! Hey, Hey! That's the Maury Way!"

That cheer, and the very styles of the cheerleaders themselves, symbolized as much as anything what Miss Wiggins was talking about.

The white cheerleaders generally kept to a high-kicking, more ritualized, traditional style. The blacks displayed a jazzier, side-to-side movement, a kind of rock dance step.

A trivial difference, perhaps. But it became a major point of contention last spring when black students complained that their cheerleader candidates were judged by a "white" standard and consequently reconsequently rejected. ***



them and the Mason-Dixon line, who were certain that this delta land had not even the least bit of attraction for them and that it was only a matter of time before they said their tearless good-byes to its magnolias, its heat, and its racism. And if they were like this speaker, they were never more wrong in their lives. There is something attractive here, something indefinable yet genuine. And in spite of all the bitterness and despair that it is possible for a black Mississippian to have, that genuineness can be felt. Probably it's been felt more this year than at any other time--because of what happened this year at this school. To see one's classmates and teachers struggle courageously to make something happen here that has not happened in any other school in this nation has to give him reason not to be so bitter and not to feel so hopeless. He can believe in the brotherhood that the class motto speaks of. He can believe, like Willie Morris, that the South has a better chance of realizing the dream of true brotherhood than any other section of the country. He can believe, finally, that there is something here worth working for, worth nurturing, worth being committed to.

"Perhaps, in the end, it is really a question of loving this state not necessarily for what it is or for what it has been, but for what it can be. And maybe it is this love that will induce those (like this speaker) who plan to attend college somewhere other than this state to return. For it is the love that one has for his home, his roots. It is the love that commits one to changing things for the better. It is, indeed, the tie that binds a brother to his brother." ■■■

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION DEPT.

Dig the October, 1971 National High School Publication of the High School Student Information Center, student-produced and totally relevant. This month's publication is really psyched to our interests, with articles on student involvement with state school boards and on the use of the vote-power base to bargain for changes we would like to see in schools. Also one on 5 Amendment rights of students expelled or suspended. (See RE-RUNS for some excerpts.) Subscribe to the STUDENT INFORMATION CENTER PUBLICATION, $2.00 for students, 1010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Wash-

" ..To many persons - especially whites in the South - it seemed unlikely that Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, President Nixon's nominee, would write such a ruling, and that it would be unanimously backed by a Court that has been bitterly divided on many other issues. But what is at stake goes beyond individual justices' predilections and political background to the integrity of the promise that the Court made in 1954. As Chief Justice Burger put it..."At no time has the Court deviated in the slightest degree from that holding."
NY Times, April 25, 1971

HELP! I'VE BEEN bussed!

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In its unanimous decision, the Court termed the central issue student assignment, with four "problem areas." The four areas are: racial balances, one race schools, rearrangement of school districts (neighborhood schools), and transportation.

RACIAL BALANCES — 1. To what extent racial balance or racial quotas may be used as an implement in a remedial order to correct a previously segregated school;

ONE RACE SCHOOLS — 2. Whether every all-Negro and all-white school must be eliminated as an indispensible part of a remedial process of desegregation;

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS — 3. What are the limits, if any, on the rearrangement of school districts and attendance zones as a remedial measure;

TRANSPORTATION — 4. What are the limits, if any, on the use of transportation facilities to correct state-enforced racial school segregation.

What the Court Said:

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steamy semantics

Excerpted from "Mixing Adds Some Terms to Our Language," Birmingham News, 8/22/71.

QUESTION: Why do we have school 'zones'?

ANSWER: School zones are not new. Before 'freedom of choice' was made a law by the Alabama Legislature, students were required to attend school in the same zone where they lived. Black students attended the black schools in that zone and white students attended the white schools in that zone. The boards of education in the various systems now draw the zone lines, as they did before "freedom of choice," but now they are under court order to draw zone lines to achieve the maximum desegregation....

QUESTION: What is the difference between 'de facto' and 'de jure' segregation?

ANSWER: 'De facto' means 'in fact.' On the other hand, 'de jure' means 'by law.' The black plaintiffs and the U.S. government have tried to integrate schools where the population is more or less integrated. Congress, however, has considered laws to attack Northern style "de facto" segregation, as well as segregation by law.

President Nixon's nominee, would write such a ruling, and that it would be unanimously backed by a Court that has been bitterly divided on many other issues. But what is at stake goes beyond individual justices' predilections and political background to the integrity of the promise that the Court made in 1954. As Chief Justice Burger put it..."At no time has the Court deviated in the slightest degree from that holding."
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TRANSPORTATION

4. What are the limits, if any, on the use of transportation facilities to correct state-enforced racial school segregation.

What the Court Said:

RACIAL BALANCES

1. A school authority's remedial plan or a district court's remedial degree is to be judged by its effectiveness. Awareness of the racial composition of the whole school system is likely to be a useful starting point in shaping a remedy...
The constitutional command to desegregate schools does not mean that every school in every community must always reflect the racial composition of the school system as a whole.

ONE RACE SCHOOLS

2. ...In a system with a history of segregation the need for remedial criteria of sufficient specificity to assure a school authority's compliance with its constitutional duty warrants a presumption against schools that are substantially disproportionate in their racial composition.
...The district judge or school authorities should make every effort to achieve the greatest degree of actual desegregation and will thus necessarily be concerned with the elimination of one race schools.

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

3. All things being equal, with no history of discrimination, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation. The remedy for such segregation may be administratively awkward, inconvenient, and even bizarre in some situations and may impose burdens on some...

TRANSPORTATION

4. We find no basis for holding that the local school authorities may not be required to employ bus transportation as one tool of school desegregation. Desegregation plans cannot be limited to the walk-in school.

Reprinted from AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, Vol. 23, No. 1, February, 1958

SDP

EDUCATION, PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION: A STUDY IN READINESS FOR DESEGREGATION

MELVIN TUMIN PAUL BARTON BERNIE BURRUS
Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University

EARLIER notions of the relation between prejudice and discrimination held them to be closely interdependent. Discrimination, it was often assumed, was practiced by the prejudiced person and could not be eliminated except as prejudice was first removed.[1]

More recent research and theory have been very persuasive, however, in the suggestion that there exists between the attitude of prejudice and the action of discrimination a gap in which a variety of facilitating or inhibiting factors can be interposed. In short, between private feeling and public action there is room for the play of other factors which significantly influence the extent to which feeling will be translated into matching action or will be repressed on behalf of other values. Law, custom, conscience and informal community restraints are the types of factors which can and have been interposed.[2]

Even the most ardent advocates of legal action will admit, however, that it is questionable how enduring or stable are purely legal restraints in preventing the translation of prejudice into discrimination. Unless deeper commitments oppose prejudices, one must be seriously concerned.[3]

Yet we also know that prejudice will not easily, if ever, yield to the blandishments of rational evidence. Nor is emotional re-education a feasible public alternative. We are therefore led to seek other factors which may be invoked to help counterbalance the impulses and drives generated by emotionally-rooted prejudices, and which may effectively modify behavior without necessarily altering the prejudices themselves. If these factors are to become instruments of public policy, they must be able to be developed reasonably quickly and at relatively low cost.

A clue is given to us by the studies of the impact of formal education upon behavior in a variety of contexts. For the literature is rich with suggestions that as formal education increases there tend to occur noticeable shifts from:

(a) nationalism to internationalism, in political point of view;

(b) traditionalism to secularism, in general social philosophy;

(c) common sense to science, as acceptable evidence;

(d) punishment to reform, in penological theory;

(e) violence and direct action to law, as agents of policy;

(f) rigidity to permissiveness, in child rearing;

(g) patriarchy to democracy, in spouse relationships;

(h) anesthesia to creativity, in patterns of recreation.

A common feature of these changes is that they imply the development of an awareness by the individual that there are: (a) other places than his own locality; (b) other times than the immediate present; (c) persons other than himself and his immediate primary group; and (d) other values he cherishes as ingredients of other aspects of his self. In brief, the individual who experiences these changes has enlarged his perspectives on time, place, person and values. This enlargement, the literature suggests, occurs somehow as a result of pro-

[1] For a thorough review of the major viewpoints, see G. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice,* Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954. For more specialized surveys of related problems, see J. S. Brunner and R. Tagiuri, "The Perception of People" in Gardner Lindzey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology,* Vol. II, pp. 634–654, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison Wesley, 1954; and J. Harding, B. Kutner, H. Proshansky and I. Chein, "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," *ibid.,* pp. 1021–1061.

[2] For analysis of the "vicious circle" and the effectiveness of interpositions at various points, see, for example, R. K. Merton, "The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy," Chapter VII, in his *Social Theory and Social Structure,* Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1949; and R. M. MacIver's *The More Perfect Union,* New York: Macmillan, 1948.

[3] The best full-length analysis of the role of law in ethnic relations is Morroe Berger's *Equality by Statute,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. See also his excellent article, "Desegregation, Law and Social Science," *Commentary,* 23 (May, 1957), pp. 471–477; and his *Racial Equality and the Law,* Paris: UNESCO, 1954.

longed exposure to formal education. In other terms, it is apparently through this process of enlargement of perspective that formal education produces the changes cited.

It seems likely, moreover, that these larger perspectives develop without any necessary or matching reduction in the emotional sets against which they are posed. In sum, these are *countervailing perspectives.*

How do they work? We suggest that they serve to restrain the individual from acting upon blind and immediate impulse in search of immediate gratification of a limited number of values. They urge upon him a certain greater caution and deliberateness, and the importance of keeping an eye on the long as well as the short run of events. The psychic bookkeeping of such an individual is thus rendered more complex and more balanced with respect to his consideration of the number and variety of alternative values. By orienting the individual to the needs and wishes of others, and to the prevailing mores in communities other than his own, they increase the range of reference groups which will be taken into account in his plans of action. In short, these countervailing perspectives, developed during the course of formal education, help produce an increasingly mature and socially responsible individual.

COUNTERVAILING PERSPECTIVES AND ATTITUDES TOWARD DESEGREGATION

These notions regarding countervailing perspectives were developed in the course of our effort to understand and analyze the findings in a study of readiness for and resistance to desegregation conducted in Guilford County, North Carolina, in the fall of 1956. The overall purpose of the study was to discover the major variables associated with different degrees of readiness for and resistance to desegregation, particularly of the public schools as ordered by the Supreme Court ruling.[4]

Faculty members and students in a Seminar on Methods of Research * spent several months planning the study, including an inventory of the literature, preliminary trips of reconnaisance in North Carolina, establishment of liaison facilities with various persons at the University of North Carolina (particularly the personnel of the Institute for Research in Social Science), the drawing of an area probability sample, pilot testing and pretesting the questionnaire, and numerous meetings during which hypotheses were worked out, the interview largely precoded, and training conducted in techniques of interviewing. Consequently, the interviewing went smoothly, with a satisfactorily low loss through refusals, considerable rapport, little disturbed by the fact that the interviewers were almost all northern students questioning Southerners about a delicate and topical issue.

The Sample

The final sample drawn consisted of 341 households, expected to contain White male adults in the labor force, 18 years or older. Two hundred eight, about 70 per cent, of these were in the urban areas of the County, and 133, about 39 per cent were rural. The research target was 300 completed interviews. Actually, 287 were completed, of which 183, about 64 per cent, were urban and 104, over 36 per cent, were rural. Thirty-eight interviews were lost due to refusal; 26 households were lost because of the absence of any eligible person. A preliminary comparison of the sample including substitutes with what the sample would have been like had it included all those originally selected, reveals that there is little likelihood that the final sample differed in any relevant characteristics from the original sample.

A large number of variables were investigated for their relevance to attitudes

[4] The important roles played by several persons in the conception and conduct of this study must be mentioned. Stephen K. Bailey, Director of the Graduate Program of the Woodrow Wilson School, was the moving spirit behind the initial formulation of the project and provided valuable advice and support throughout. Professor George E. Simpson of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina afforded us invaluable aid, as did several other members of the institute. Mr. Robert Cutler and Mrs. Leila Mattson have helped significantly in all phases of the study. Professor Warren Eason of the Department of Economics at Princeton shared the direction of the field phases of the study.

* Generous support was provided by the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, under a subvention of the Carnegie Corporation.

toward desegregation. But this study will focus almost exclusively upon various measures of education, as they relate to desegregation.[5]

The Educational Groups

The amount of education of each respondent was ascertained as the number of years of school completed. The individual years were coded as such, but aggregates of years were later combined for easier analysis. These aggregates or groups, whose differences were analyzed, were made up as indicated in Table 1.

TABLE 1. EDUCATION

Group Number	Years of School Completed	Number	Per Cent	Mean Number of Years	S.D.
I	1–8	103	35.88	6.22	1.66
II	9–12	105	36.58	10.69	1.14
III	13 or more	71	24.73	15.36	2.13

In the following discussion, Group I is sometimes referred to as the grammar school or lower-education group; Group II as the high school or medium education group; and Group III as the college or higher education group.

Measures of Readiness

The concept of readiness, as used in this study, has five related aspects, whose meanings are given by the nature of the measures employed. These measures are intended to test the quality of the individual's orientation, as involving: (A) an Image of the Negro; (B) an Ideology which defines the ideal type of social relationship the individual would like, if possible, to have with Negroes; (C) the Sentiments he states he would feel in certain hypothetical contacts with the Negro; (D) the Actions he thinks he would take when faced with those hypothetical contacts; and (E) the Actions he thinks he would take in *one* situation of possible contact, specifically the question of desegregating public schools.

We view the Image and the Ideology of the Negro, as held by the White, as being more closely related to prejudice than to readiness to discriminate. Alternatively, we see the General Action Set (Scale D) and the Specific Action Set (Scale E) as being more closely related to readiness to discriminate than to the feeling of prejudice.[6]

The measures as they were actually employed consisted of five sets of questions, as follows:

A. Image of the Negro

Here we asked the respondent:

> So far as intelligence is concerned, would you say that, compared to Whites, Negroes are by nature:[7]

[5] Other variables have been analyzed and reported. See Melvin M. Tumin, "Exposure to the Mass Media and Readiness for Desegregation," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 21 (Summer, 1957); and Tumin and Robert Rotberg, "Leaders, the Led and the Law: A Case Study in Social Change," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 21 (Fall, 1957), and Tumin, "Readiness and Resistance to Desegregation: A Social Portrait of the Hard Core" (in press). Other reports, not yet in press, include "Imaginary vs. Real Children: Some Southern Views on Desegregation," and "Status, Mobility and Anomie: A Study in Readiness for Desegregation."

[6] Our concept of "readiness" involved some real difficulties. It does not make much sense to talk of readiness to be prejudiced, but it does make a good deal of sense to talk about readiness to discriminate. In effect, then, our five-fold distinction implies that all of the five aspects are to some degree indicative of readiness to discriminate. But some phases, namely Image and Ideology, and, to a lesser degree, Sentiment Structure, are clearly more within the meaning ordinarily given to the term "prejudice." By contrast, General and Specific Action Sets ask for much more of a commitment to a plan of action than are called for by the other phases; i.e., we view the Action Sets as being closer to the discrimination end of the continuum.

More detailed analysis of the relationships among the scales will be undertaken in a later study, in which we will consider problems raised by treating the scale scores as absolute values, the correlation among the scales, and other related matters.

[7] We have been doubtful about whether or not the words "by nature" served to elicit from the respondent his actual opinion about the biological make-up of the Negro relative to the White. In some cases, when we probed—and we probed in all interviews—it was clear that the respondent

(1) Superior to Whites.
(2) The same as Whites.
(3) Inferior to Whites.
(4) Don't know, can't say.
(5) No answer, no information.

The same question was asked concerning responsibility, morality and ambition. Responses indicating the Negro to be superior or the same as Whites were classified as desegregationist. Answers stating that the Negro is inferior to Whites, or that the respondent couldn't say or didn't know, were classified as segregationist. Tests for scalability revealed that the items roughly satisfied the requirements of a Guttman type scale, yielding a coefficient of reproducibility of 92.51.

B. Social Ideology

C. Sentiment Structure

D. General Action Set

These three measures were developed from responses to a sequence of questions, as follows:

Now, Mr. X, I would like to ask you a few questions about kinds of situations in which you might find yourself, and ask you how you would feel about these things. For instance, suppose you were eating in a restaurant (cafe, bar, soda shop) here in (whatever town is appropriate). Suppose then a Negro comes in and sits down and wants to be served. Suppose the proprietor serves him.

(1) How would you *feel* about this?
(2) What would you *do?* (Explore if he would leave, force Negro to leave, etc.).
(3) Does it matter at all what kind of Negro it happened to be?
(4) Would it make a difference if it were a number of Negroes instead of one?
(5) Suppose all this happened not here in (.....) but in (.....)? (A larger city in North Carolina was named as the alternative place.) What would you do then?
(6) Suppose all this happened in New York City while you were there on a visit. Then what would you do? (Explore the "why" if he would do differently.)
(7) In general, how do you feel about Negroes eating with Whites? What do you think should be the way in which facilities are set up in public places? (Get his picture of how he would like to see the particular relationship handled in general, if he could make it whatever he wanted it to be.)

Responses to question 7 were used to construct the measure of Social Ideology (B). Responses to question 1 formed the basis for the measure of Sentiment Structure (C). Responses to question 2 were used to make up the General Action Set (D).

Space limitations forbid detailed indication of the range of responses. But it can be said that we were fortunate in the small number of responses of dubious indication of pro- or anti-segregationist sentiment. In such cases we were able frequently to resolve doubts by the materials given in response to questions 3, 4, 5 and 6.

The same seven questions were then applied to the following situations: A Negro buys a house on the same block as the White; a Negro is hired at the same job classification and works next to the White; a Negro is hired as supervisor and the White works under the Negro's supervision; a Negro enters a bus and sits next to the White; a Negro applies for membership in the White's church; the White encounters a Negro as a dinner guest at the home of the White's friend; Negro students are enrolled in the schools attended by the White's children. Each of these situations was treated in the same fashion as the restaurant episode.

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was talking about present characteristics, without any necessary reference to inherited biological traits. In other cases, it was equally clear that a definite biological trait was the reference. In view of the mixed evidence, we are forced to remain uncertain about the respondents' meanings. It may be that the way in which the college group veers off from the other groups, once the questions on Ideology are posed, reflect a belief in biological inferiority held by the latter as against a belief in socially determined inferiority held by the former. We would not hesitate to offer this interpretation if it were not for the fact that when plans of action are asked for, the groups' responses are as similar as they were in their Images of the Negro. One can interpret this re-occurrence of homogenity to mean that whether or not the belief in Negro inferiority is based on biological assumptions does not seem to matter as much as one might expect; or, one may prefer the interpretation that the beliefs about Negro inferiority do not in fact imply the assumption of biological inheritance in view of the ways in which all the groups become relatively homogeneous in their plans of action. Still other interpretations are possible. But there is little point in spelling these out. However the responses to the questions of Image are interpreted, certain events transpire in responses to other questions which could not be predicted from a knowledge of the former. If we identify the questions on Image and Ideology as "prejudice" and those on Action Set as "readiness to discriminate," then we may conclude that prejudice is not predictive of readiness to discriminate in this sample.

These situations were then conceived as scale items by asking whether or not they constitute an order of increasing difficulty for Whites to accept, or to respond to in a desegregationist fashion. In testing for scalability, we found that the responses to the questions about permitting a Negro to live on the same block and joining in dinner at a friend's house where a Negro had been invited fell too far above the 80–20 per cent split to be used in a scale. The other six items—restaurant, co-work, Negro supervisor, bus-riding, church membership, and common schools—were more nearly satisfactory as scale items, holding for all three measures—Social Ideology, Sentiment Structure, and General Action Set.

TABLE 2. MEAN SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THREE EDUCATIONAL GROUPS ON FIVE ATTITUDE SCALES

Scale	Scale Limits	Education Group (I) 1–8 Years	(II) 9–12 Years	(III) 13 or More Years
(A) Image of Negro	0–4	$\overline{X} = 2.82$ $\sigma = 1.56$	$\overline{X} = 2.79$ $\sigma = 1.53$	$\overline{X} = 2.57$ $\sigma = 1.61$
(B) Ideology	0–6	$\overline{X} = 4.73$ $\sigma = 1.56$	$\overline{X} = 4.17$ $\sigma = 1.85$	$\overline{X} = 3.01$ $\sigma = 2.38$
(C) Sentiment	0–6	$\overline{X} = 4.09$ $\sigma = 2.07$	$\overline{X} = 3.69$ $\sigma = 2.26$	$\overline{X} = 2.78$ $\sigma = 1.83$
(D) General action	0–6	$\overline{X} = 3.50$ $\sigma = 2.22$	$\overline{X} = 3.04$ $\sigma = 2.49$	$\overline{X} = 2.45$ $\sigma = 2.23$
(E) Specific action	0–4	$\overline{X} = 2.39$ $\sigma = 2.40$	$\overline{X} = 2.08$ $\sigma = 1.33$	$\overline{X} = 1.75$ $\sigma = 1.28$

E. Specific Action Set

This final set of questions was focussed on the issue of desegregation of the public schools. Although questions referring to the schools were included in Scales B, C and D, we felt that much more could be learned about this most topical issue if we concentrated upon it more specifically. Accordingly, each respondent was asked the following:

> Now, Mr. X, I want to turn for one last look at the schools in particular. As you know, this is the situation most people are excited and concerned about these days. And so I would like to get your attitudes on this matter.
>
> (1) Some people have suggested that the Supreme Court Decision ordering desegregation was wrong and that the states ought to be permitted to decide for themselves on this question. The proposal is to go through the process of getting an amendment to the United States Constitution to take power away from the Supreme Court. How do you feel about this kind of proposal to try to amend the U. S. Constitution?
>
> (2) In Texas, the Governor has threatened to withhold state school funds from any school district which desegregates the schools, i.e., which permits Negro children to attend the same schools as White children. How do you feel about withholding state money from school districts here in North Carolina, if and when any of these districts start letting Negro and White children go to school together?
>
> (3) Some people have suggested that if need be, the public schools ought to be closed altogether rather than have Negro and White children go to school together. How do you feel about this?
>
> (4) Once in a while you hear it said too, that if need be, people ought to get together and resist with force any attempts to mix Negro and White children in the same schools. How do you feel about this?

In each case the respondent was asked to indicate whether he would: (1) Strongly approve, (2) Approve, (3) Undecided, (4) Disapprove, or (5) Strongly disapprove. Tests for scalability of these four items

TABLE 3. MEANS OF THREE EDUCATIONAL GROUPS ON FIVE SCALES EXPRESSED AS FRACTIONS OF THEIR RANGES *

Scale	Scale Limits	Education Group (1) 1–8 Years	(II) 9–12 Years	(III) 13 or More Years
(A) Image of Negro	0–4	56.40	55.80	51.40
(B) Ideology	0–6	67.57	59.97	42.99
(C) Sentiment	0–6	58.43	52.71	39.71
(D) General action	0–6	50.00	43.43	35.00
(E) Specific action	0–4	47.80	41.60	35.00

* E.g., the mean for the 1–8 group on Scale A is actually 2.82, which is 56.40 of the distance from 0–4, where this is counted as a 5-point range. The mean for the same group on the B Scale is 4.73, which is 67.57 of the distance between 0 and 6, where this is counted as a 7-point range.

again roughly satisfied the criteria, yielding a coefficient of reproducibility of 95.65.

EDUCATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARD DESEGREGATION

We can now compare and contrast our three educational groups in terms of their mean scores on the five scales described above.

Certain problems of interpretation are raised here by the fact that the scales differ in the total ranges, Scales A and E ranging from 0–4 and Scales B, C and D from 0–6. Conversion of the means into standard scores according to standard formulae for such conversions is a highly dubious procedure in view of the fact that the standard deviation of the means would be based on a very small N. One way to avoid this difficulty is to express the means as the per cent of the total range of each of the scales at which the mean falls. In Table 3 below the converted mean scores are presented.

With these converted scores, it becomes possible to see more clearly the relationships among the scores. The following findings are singled out for special attention:

(1) On all the scales, the mean scores decline as formal education increases. That is, the higher the formal education, the more favorable the attitude toward desegregation.

(2) For all three educational groups, the mean scores decline from Scale B through E, with the exception of the college group, whose scores on Scales D and E are identical, in terms of per cent of the scale range.

(3) The relative position of the score on Scale A, which measures the Image of the Negro, is different in all three cases. For the 0–8 group it is third highest among its five scores; for the 9–12 group it is second; and for the college group it is first. But this is also true of the relative position of the scores on the other scales. Thus the following rank orders emerge, expressed according to the descending order of resistance to desegregation.

If we interpret these rank orders as reflecting degrees of resistance to desegregation, then we note that the deepest resistances are located in different spheres for each of the three groups, while the greatest permissiveness concerning desegregation occurs at the same place for each of the groups. But this type of interpretation must be

RANK ORDER OF RESISTANCE TO DESEGREGATION FOR THREE EDUCATIONAL GROUPS ON FIVE SCALES

Rank Order of Scale Scores	Education Group (I) 1–8 Years	(II) 9–12 Years	(III) 13 or More Years
1 (high)	Ideology	Ideology	Image
2	Sentiment	Image	Ideology
3	Image	Sentiment	Sentiment
4	General action	General action	General action
5 (low)	Specific action	Specific action	Specific action

supplemented, if possible, by some notion regarding the logical sequence of these aspects of the orientation of the White to the Negro. Our scales are lettered sequentially to express such a notion. That is, we see Scale A, the Image, as preceding all other aspects. This is followed by Scale B, the Ideology of social relations, which is based in part upon this Image. When we ask our respondents to express their Sentiments, Scale C, in hypothetical situations of contact, they are induced, we believe, to evoke their Image of the Negro and their Ideology of social relationships, along with such other matters as may now enter into their calculations. The sequence continues with the introduction of a General Action Set, Scale D, followed, finally, by Scale E, the Specific Action Set.

We are doubtful about this postulated sequence only at one point: the relationship between the last two items. For we recognize that our General Action Set may be as much an artifact of the observer as a verifiable aspect of the orientation of the respondent. It seems warranted to infer, however, that a generalized predisposition to action has a high priority in the organization of the psyche.

Proceeding, then, on the assumption of a logical sequence as postulated, our interpretation of the findings of Table 3 develops as follows:

(1) The 0–8 group is not substantially more prejudiced, in its Image of the Negro, then the other groups. But when faced with the question of the type of social relations it would consider desirable, it appears to add to its unfavorable Image a host of augmenting factors, perhaps proceeding from the fears it entertains regarding Negro status-improvement. This augmented unfavorable image of the Negro is expressed on Scale B in a relatively high rejection of the Negro as a social partner. Not only is the 0–8 group uninhibited in its Ideology of social relations by countervailing perspectives, but new factors in the situation deepen its resistance to desegregation.

(2) The 9–12 group expresses in its Ideology of social relations a milder version of this same process. For this high school group also seems to invoke other unfavorable visions of the consequences of relations with Negroes, since it expresses in its Ideology score a higher degree of resistance to desegregation than is apparent from its Image score.

(3) The college group stands in sharp contrast both to the 0–8 and 9–12 groups in these respects. For its expression of rejection of the Negro drops, as we proceed from Image to Ideology, almost as sharply as the scores rise in the 0–8 group. This suggests that members of the college group take less account of their unfavorable Image and possibly of other invidious versions of the Negro when describing the kinds of social relations they ideally prefer.

This suggests further that for the college group, unlike the others, certain countervailing and balancing factors enter at this point (Scale B) to modify its unfavorable Image of the Negro. That is, in expressing an Ideology of social relations, an awareness is shown of what is possible, as well as ideally desirable. The sense of possibility appears to include considerations of cost and consequence which override, to some degree, emotion-laden prejudices associated with Ideology. The college group does not feel as unrestricted as other groups to be Ideological, in our sense of a cost-free vision of an ideal situation. It is more cautious, more restrained, more aware of the actual context of Negro–White relations.

Further understanding of the processes at work in these different groups is gained from examining the pattern of differences between their respective mean scores. Table 4 shows the results of t-tests of significance of difference between means.[8]

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[8] Variances were pooled in the computation of t, but no tests were made for homogeneity of variance. There are discrepancies in the sizes of various standard deviations; overinterpretation of the statistical findings is clearly a danger. Similarly, our data cannot satisfy the conditions required for the application of the t-test as these are restated by Hanan C. Selvin in "A Critique of Tests of Significance in Survey Research," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (October, 1957), pp. 519–527. The formula for t which was used is:

$$t = \frac{\overline{X}_1 - \overline{X}_2}{\sqrt{\frac{sx_1^2}{N_1(N_1-1)} + \frac{sx_2^2}{N_2(N_2-1)}}}$$

$$\text{where } sx^2 = \Sigma x^2 - \frac{(\Sigma x)^2}{N}$$

We note first that the groups do not differ significantly in their Images of the Negro: none of the t-values approaches the .05 level. In comparison with the t-values on the other scales, those for the scale of the Image are the least differentiated—as if the entire sample shared a common Image of the Negro. But on all other scales, the groups are heterogeneous, often to a significant degree.

The greatest heterogeneity is indicated by the scores for Ideology, in which the three groups differ significantly. Yet it will be recalled that on this scale, Groups I and II (0–8 and 9–12) is expressed their greatest resistance to the Negro; and the college group shows its second greatest degree of resistance. In short, the level of scores is high for each group, relative to its other scores. But here the group differences are greatest.

TABLE 4. T-TESTS FOR SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS OF THREE EDUCATIONAL GROUPS ON FIVE SCALES

Scale	Groups Compared	t =	p =
(A) Image	I vs II	.039	N.S.*
	I vs III	.316	N.S.
	II vs III	.277	N.S.
(B) Ideology	I vs II	2.40	.02
	I vs III	5.10	.001
	II vs III	3.41	.001
(C) Sentiment	I vs II	1.31	N.S.
	I vs III	4.28	.001
	II vs III	2.83	.01
(D) General action	I vs II	1.42	N.S.
	I vs III	3.00	.01
	II vs III	1.60	N.S.
(E) Specific action	I vs II	1.14	N.S.
	I vs III	2.23	.05
	II vs III	1.59	N.S.

* N.S. = not significant, i.e., less than .05.

What does this suggest about the impact of education upon attitudes toward the Negro? Education does not appear to reduce resistance to desegregation. But whatever effects of education are at work seem to be sufficiently strong to distinguish the groups by significant margins.

Following the same line of interpretation, we note that the groups resemble each other closely in Specific Action Sets. Here the p-values for the levels of *t* suggest that only the 0–8 and college groups differ from each other significantly, and that while the other differences are not totally inconsequential, they are less impressive than any comparable set of differences except for those on Scale A, the Image. Thus the conclusion that education makes the least difference when the Image of the Negro is in question and the second least difference when specific patterns of action are called for is, we believe, warranted.

It is also noteworthy that the pattern of increasing similarity among the groups begins clearly to emerge on Scale D, the measure of General Action Set. At this point, the scores for the grammar and high school groups drop rather sharply from their relatively high points on Scale C, Sentiment. The college group scores also drop, but less so.

In summary: (a) The different education groups start out as relatively homogeneously resistant to the Negro in their Images; but (b) their scores then scatter, when Ideology is measured, so that while remaining relatively high they are not significantly different from each other. (c) The same tendency for relatively high but differentiated scores persists through the measures of Sentiment. (d) There is then a rather sharp drop for all the groups when General Action Sets are estimated; and (e) finally, the groups begin to merge into a more homogeneous universe, once again, when specific action plans are contemplated.

The important difference between the homogeneity on Scale A and on Scale E is that in the case of the former, the similarities occur at a relatively high level of resistance, whereas in Scale E the similarities are found at a relatively low level of resistance to desegregation. Moreover, the convergence of scores at E is a function of the movement of the scores of the 0–8 and 9–12 groups toward the low level scores of the 13-plus group. Note that the scores of the college group undergo the greatest mod-

ification in the movement from Image to Ideology, and thereafter remain relatively constant, as compared with the much sharper drop in scores throughout the scales which is manifested by both the grammar and high school groups.

We may surmise then that the presumed effects of education for the college group at the level of Ideology are not paralleled in the grammar and high school groups until plans of action are called for. At this point, these groups too become aware of consequences and costs and fashion their answers accordingly.

This is not to say that the college group is not also affected by the call for action and the vision of consequences which is thereby invoked. It is to say, however, that the college group seems able to anticipate these costs and consequences long before it is called upon to face them. This is precisely the effect to be expected if countervailing perspectives "work," as we have earlier suggested. That is, they serve as anticipatory modifiers of social behavior. For they seem to be interposed between prejudices expressed in Images and other aspects of orientation toward the Negro, and thus to produce restraint early in the sequence of stages which leads ultimately to action.[9]

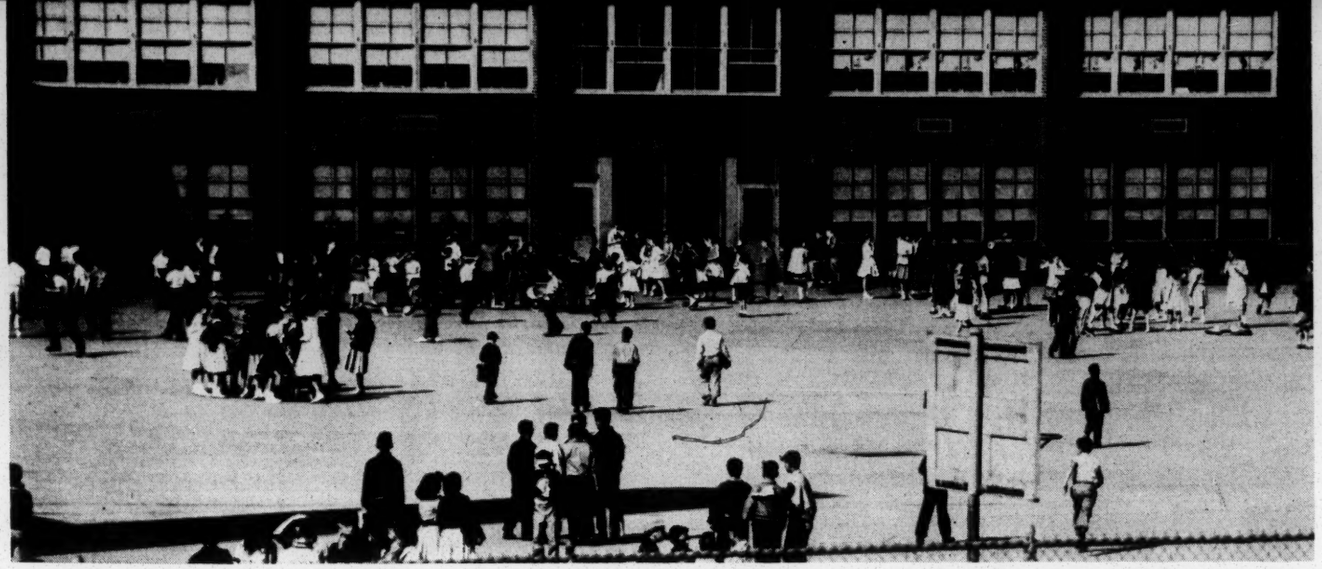
This finding has implications for prediction. If we know the college group's ideological vision of a social system, we have a more reliable measure of its probable actions in the future than in the cases of the high school and grammar school groups. For once the college group defines the situation in terms of its desires, it appears to cling to this model more closely than the other groups adhere to their desired models.

Our finding also has relevance for social policy. The probable behavior of less educated groups when action is called for is unlikely to be ascertained by asking them about their feelings concerning the Negro or about the type of social relations they would like. On these matters, they appear to feel relatively free to define both the Negro and their desired relations with Negroes with little regard for what is concretely possible.

[9] For the information of the reader, the following materials on some selected characteristics of the three educational groups are presented. We make no effort in this report to use these data in our analysis, though they will be incorporated in a larger study.

SOME SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THREE EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

	Educational Group		
	I 1–8 Years	II 9–12 Years	III 13 or More Years
Median age	43.6	36.8	43.3
Median annual income	$3200.00	$4296.00	$7727.00
Per cent white collar	8.6	30.3	73.1
Per cent married	82.5	92.3	90.1
Per cent in major Protestant denominations	84.32	87.62	98.56
Per cent who attend church once a week or more	31.07	40.00	54.93



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Desegregating City Schools

SDP

Desegregation is no longer a legal issue. The issue now is, How shall it be accomplished with reverence and regard for all children?

John H. Fischer

Rel?

"SEPARATE EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES are inherently unequal." This was the pivotal statement in the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown* decision. Although its initial impact was felt chiefly in the South, its implications have come to exert a substantial influence upon Northern schools as well.

For all the legal maneuvering of the past decade, there never was any real question as to what the *Brown* decision meant with respect to school segregation where this had been required or authorized by law. It was precisely the unequivocal clarity of the decision that engendered the pathetically ingenious efforts to circumvent it and delay its execution. The illegality of *de jure* segregation is now established throughout the country. The last state has at long last yielded, if only symbolically, to the principle that a student's race is insufficient cause to bar him from a public school.

But if the issue of *de jure* segregation seems on its way to settlement, the difficulties associated with *de facto* separation of the races are only now being brought to light. The Court also said in the *Brown* case that public education "must be made available to all on equal terms," and the question of what constitutes genuine equality among schools is far from simple. Can two schools be called equal, for example, if a majority of parents, given a free choice, would choose one above the other?

In the minds of most Americans race and social status are closely associated. Offered two schools, one enrolling a largely Negro student body, the other a predominantly white one, few parents of either race would hesitate to assume that the "white" school is superior to the "Negro" school. This is no doubt partly due to prejudice, but it is certainly not weakened by the clear fact that throughout the United States most of the schools with wholly or largely Negro student bodies, when judged by any reasonable standard, are found to be among the poorer schools of their communities.

The explanations offered are often plausible: The buildings approximate the age of their neighborhoods; they reflect the typical conditions of depressed areas; they are overcrowded as a result of congested housing and excessive family mobility; the ablest teachers choose more promising assignments. But the clearer the explanation of the differences, the more firmly the generalization is established that, admitting some admirable exceptions, in most school districts the schools that can be identified as "Negro" schools tend to be inferior.

White and Negro parents alike recognize the situa-

tion and react in similar ways. The Negro parent either wants to see his child's school dramatically improved or wants the child transferred to a "white" school. The white parent wants to keep his child where he is and often resists the incursion of Negro pupils, fearing the deterioration of the "white" school.

The matter would be easier to deal with if the issues could be seen more clearly, but this is difficult. To be sure, not all white children are culturally advantaged, nor do all Negro children come from deprived homes. Although intelligence tests are not infallible and IQ's do change, a slow child will not necessarily acquire an IQ of 110 merely because he attends a school where that happens to be the average. To argue that no child can learn well in an all-Negro class is as stupid and cruel as to contend that Negro youngsters are sure to ruin any white school they enter. Yet these and similar assumptions, usually unspoken, underlie many of the controversies that have plagued city schools in recent years.

Principle comes first

What, then, can be offered with any assurance in these situations as a basis for judgment by parents and policy formation by school people?

Last year the Advisory Commission on Human Relations and Community Tensions of the New York State Department of Education proposed these six principles as guides in dealing with *de facto* segregation, racial imbalance, and similar questions:

1. The common school has long been viewed as a basic social instrument in attaining our traditional American goals of equal opportunity and personal fulfillment. The presence in a single school of children from varied racial, cultural, socio-economic, and religious backgrounds is an important element in the preparation of young people for active participation in the social and political affairs of our democracy.

2. In forming school policies, every educationally sound action should be taken to assure not only passive tolerance but active acceptance of, and genuine respect for, children from every segment of the community, with particular attention given to those from minority groups that may have been the objects of discriminatory treatment.

3. No action, direct or indirect, overt or covert, should be taken by any public agency to exclude any child or group of children from a public school because of ethnic, racial, religious, or other educationally irrelevant reasons. Wherever such action has occurred it is the obligation of the school authorities to correct it as quickly as possible.

4. No action should be taken which implies that any school or any group of pupils is socially inferior or superior to another, or which suggests that schoolmates of one group are to be preferred to schoolmates of another. In establishing school attendance areas, one of the objectives should be to create in each school a student body that will represent as nearly as possible a cross section of the population of the entire school district. At the same time due consideration should be given to other important educational criteria, including such practical matters as the distance children must travel from home to school.

5. A "neighborhood school" offers important educational values that should not be overlooked. The relation between a school and a definable community with which it is identified can, in many cases, lead to more effective participation by parents and other citizens in the support and guidance of the school. It can stimulate sound concern for the welfare of the school and its pupils and can lead to beneficial communication between the school staff and the community that staff serves.

6. When a "neighborhood school" becomes improperly exclusive in fact or in spirit, when it is viewed as being reserved for certain community groups, or when its effect is to create or continue a ghetto-type situation, it does not serve the purposes of democratic education.

From principle to policy

There are a number of ways in which these principles may be applied to correct *de facto* segregation in the large city. No one scheme is suitable for all communities and none offers a perfect solution anywhere, yet each has sufficient merit to serve as part of a larger pattern or as the first step of a long-term plan.

Open enrollment. This is a policy under which schools with available space are authorized to receive pupils transferred from other more crowded or otherwise less desirable units. The "receiving" school may be one with a better degree of "racial balance" than a more segregated "sending" school, or its enrollment may simply be smaller than its capacity. Open enrollment reduces congestion in "sending" schools, allows a wider choice to parents, and may improve the racial integration of the "receiving" school. To be fully effective it often requires transportation at public expense and, usually, special counseling for the children and the parents involved. Open enrollment is unlikely, however, to correct racial or cultural segregation in the "sending" schools, since the flow of pupils is always from a congested, imbalanced school toward a better favored one.

Pairing. This is sometimes called the "Princeton Plan," after the New Jersey town where it was first used. It is best suited to situations where one of two adjacent schools enrolls predominantly white pupils and the other predominantly Negro pupils. The two units are reorganized and the populations of both

buildings are treated as a single attendance area.

In the case of a K-6 elementary school, for example, the first three grades might be assigned to School A, while the three upper grades would attend School B. Separate kindergartens might be maintained, or the entire kindergarten program might be centered in School A.

The advantages are obvious. Both schools enroll pupils of both racial groups and are enabled to concentrate upon a narrower span of grades. The disadvantages include greater traveling distance for some children, the possible need for transportation, the alteration of established neighborhood patterns, and in some cases the reassignment of members of the two faculties.

Early evaluations suggest that the plan may be more appropriate for smaller communities, such as those with only two elementary schools. In larger cities greater flexibility of attendance areas may be obtained in other ways.

Zoning changes. This is the procedure by which school attendance areas are redesigned to take account of the racial composition of neighborhoods. Deliberate intent is to create in as many schools as possible student bodies including children of different racial or cultural backgrounds. In such reorganization it may be difficult to achieve at the same time a reasonable balance of population and equitable travel time for most pupils. In inner cities, however, where attendance areas are often quite compact, the two purposes are often easier to realize than they may be in outlying areas.

Educational complexes. This is the proposal under which a group of adjacent schools, including perhaps a junior high school and its feeder elementary units, or some other combination of three or more schools becomes, in effect, a small school system within a larger one. To be useful in correcting *de facto* segregation, the complex or cluster should include attendance areas of different racial composition. Within the cluster several types of adjustment become possible. Children might be assigned or reassigned among the units to effect better balanced enrollments. Teachers might be assigned to the various units in regular or rotating schedules.

Special activities that cannot be offered uniformly in all the schools might be centered in one or two of the buildings, and pupils transported from one to another for particular activities at appropriate times. Activities might be planned to bring together, for matters of common interest, the staff members or parents of the entire complex or parts of it.

The complex is especially suited to areas where housing patterns naturally produce segregated schools and where simple pairing might not be feasible. It combines the advantages of the neighborhood school with the benefits of membership in a larger community and correspondingly wider personal associations and program offerings.

Educational parks. The educational park is the boldest and most imaginative proposal yet offered for coping with the segregated urban community and its school problems. The park is, in essence, a scheme for concentrating all the schools of a section of the city, or in some cases of a whole city, upon a single large campus.

The plan applies to urban districts the principle, long accepted in rural areas, that when good schools cannot be provided close to a child's home, he should be transported to a site where an adequate program is possible. Thus in urban districts where suitable opportunities cannot be offered in existing schools, children would be transported to a central "consolidated school" and assigned to classes with other pupils from all parts of the city. Some advocates of the park plan would concentrate a whole school system in one large campus; some favor separate elementary and secondary centers; and others prefer several comprehensive parks strategically located about the periphery of the city.

In the inner city a "park" might consist of a single high-rise building, while in outlying areas the layout might resemble the scattered pattern of a typical academic campus. In whatever way the physical plant is constructed, it should provide for administrative units of such size and composition as to facilitate sound arrangements for pupil classification, effective teaching and guidance, and good relationships within the faculty. It is not necessary for any pupil to be lost because of the size of the park. Indeed, with good leadership and planning, a well-conceived educational park could result in more personalized attention to students than is now available in most ordinary schools.

Whether the total cost of an educational park is greater or less than the prevailing cost of separate sites and buildings depends on many factors, but there is no reason to assume that the cost of a single site for ten thousand pupils would necessarily be greater than the total for ten sites for one thousand pupils each. If a larger site can be obtained on relatively open land it would almost surely be less costly than equal acreage in a built-up area. Some operating economies may be anticipated, but the expense of transporting the pupils will be an added item. Against this and other increased outlays must be set the value of the better education that can be provided.

Whatever one's views may be about particular proposals for dealing with the problems of urban school segregation, there can be little doubt that the prevailing patterns of city school systems must be reexamined.

The schools that our present practices produce are too often divided into racial, cultural, and economic strata, with consequences that can only be viewed with apprehension. Unless the values of the common school can somehow be regained, the usefulness of the public school as an instrument for introducing the children of our cities to a genuinely open society will continue to diminish.

The most compelling reason for undertaking deliberately to integrate our schools is not, however, to extend charity to the Negro child by giving him the "advantage" of attending school with white classmates. The overriding need is to see that all children, of whatever race, may grow up knowing, understanding, and respecting people whose backgrounds differ from their own. The modern world is not only a multiracial world in the sense that men of many strains can now communicate and work with each other. It is also a world in which no race can choose to live alone. The option of isolationism is no longer open to any of us.

Communities composed of different racial groups have, then, a priceless means for improving the education of their children. Instead of looking upon a varied urban population as a problem we should view it rather as an educational asset and build our school programs to take every possible advantage of the opportunities it affords.

But whether we consider our urban school situations as priceless resources or perplexing dilemmas, we can be sure that the duties they impose rest squarely upon the shoulders of the school authorities.

The cumulative effect of the recent court decisions on questions of *de facto* segregation in large cities is to emphasize the residual responsibility of the board of education. The outcome of the New Rochelle, New York, case made it clear that when attendance-area boundaries create or maintain racial segregation they must be corrected. The Gary, Indiana, decision, on the other hand, stated that the school board is not necessarily obligated to correct *de facto* segregation which its policies have not caused. The case originating in the Brownsville Junior High School in New York City sustains the authority of the board of education to recognize racial imbalance as a problem and to remedy it.

From principle to practice

When parents in the community are hostile or resistant to measures for better integrated schools, then the school board, together with school administrators and teachers, must work patiently and painstakingly to educate them to the democratic purposes of public schools. When the board of education lags, then concerned groups like the PTA must educate their school boards as well as their members.

The whole thrust of recent cases is to place upon local school authorities the obligation to use their own judgment in making public education available to all on equal terms. At a time when many citizens deplore the growing trend away from localism in government it is good to know that some of the most important opportunities to lend reality to America's historic principles of liberty and equality can be found in our local communities and can be cultivated by local initiative.

John H. Fischer is president of Teachers College, Columbia University, and chairman of the Advisory Commission on Human Relations and Community Tensions, New York State Board of Education.

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CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Private Ray

REGARDING

Private Ray's situation in Orangeburgex disorders and Paul Anthony's effort with ACLU in his behalf at the request of Ralph McGill.

DATE

January 29, 1969

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

See: ACLU (Chuck Morgan's regional office)

9.19

CONFIDENTIAL January 24, 1969

Mr. Ralph McGill
Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Dear Mr. McGill:

Enclosed is the letter to you from Private Ray.

I have talked with Dr. C. H. Thomas of South Carolina State College, who confirms the accuracy of the information in Mr. Ray's letter. Dr. Thomas, incidentally, is a member of SRC, and states that Mr. Ray is one of the most impressive students he has ever taught.

There seems to be quite a tragedy with this situation, and the fault seems to lie largely with Matthew Perry, the NAACP attorney in Columbia.

The Supreme Court, of course, has thrown out many of these cases and, according to Dr. Thomas, a judge in Orangeburg has offered to sign an order dismissing all of these cases if Perry would prepare such an order and bring it to him. Further, over $14,000 in bail money

has been tied up since 1963 and the City Attorney has indicated to Dr. Thomas that he would be happy to see these funds released if only Perry would produce the court order.

Mr. Ray did call on Perry and, according to Thomas, this situation could have been corrected in a very short time had Perry acted. Thomas is under the same indictment and, because of it, cannot secure a passport.

With Dr. Thomas's permission I shall, today, talk with Chuck Morgan to see if an ACLU lawyer cannot be provided to clear up this situation. If this does not work, we will try something else. While such assistance would remove others from the same situation as Ray, I doubt if it would correct his problem.

A wild thought occurs to me. Mr. Ray writes such a straight-forward letter that I wonder if even Mindle Rivers or Strom Thurmond would not be moved to help this constituent? I raised this question with Thomas and he saw no objection to looking into this possibility. I leave that to your judgment and to Mr. Ray's.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

January 22, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Please be very careful not to get this young man in trouble--as he requiests--without making any publicity about this letter. But it occurred to me that it might be possible through your SRC representative to do something about getting this old case dismissed or settled so that the word "pending" won't handicap the writer of this letter.

If you will let me have the letter back when you have seen whether you can do something about it I will appreciate it.

Cordially,

Ralph

RM:gl

Enc.

UNITED STATES ARMY

10 Jan 69

Dear Mr. McGill,

I am writing this letter to you to recieve your ~~opinion~~ opinion of a very bad problem that I have. I am now in the U.S. Army station at Ft. Gordon, Ga. in the Advanced Infantry Training program, I have been in the Army for three months. Before this time I was a junior high school science teacher in Spartanburg, S.C. where I taught all of last year and the first six weeks of this school term.

My problem is this Mr. McGill. In 1963 I was a student at S.C. State College Orangeburg, S.C. and ~~the~~ during the time they were having sit-ins and other peaceful demonstrations. In one of these demonstrations the entire school was placed under arrest along the students from Claflin College and Wilkinson High School, in all I think there were more than 3,500 students arrested, and bond of $100.00 each was posted. And to this day the names are still on the police book as pending. I was completely unaware of this until I was going to be drafted in the Army, and then I tried to join the Air Force. It was then they told me that I could not join the Air Force because I have a trial pending. After this I tried to join the Navy, Marine, Coast Guard and Army, and all of them told me the same thing

that I couldn't join any branch of the Armed Forces with a pending trial. My next stop was to see the Chief of Police, Mr. Poston, in Orangeburg, and he told me "that they aren't going to have a trial anytime soon because most of the students involve are scattered all over the world now" and that these violations were of a minor nature and they shouldn't be held against anyone wanting to join the Army." After talking to Chief Poston, I talked to Attorney Matthew Perry who represented the students and also to Dr. Charles Thomas head of the local NAACP who sponsored the demonstrations, and they both said that they were unaware that this could keep you out of joining any branch of the Armed Forces. Then I reported this to my local draft board and they told me to report to the induction station and then tell them what happen and they will let me come home. And when I arrived at Ft. Jackson for induction they wouldn't even listen to what I had to say.

I see Mr. McGill I'm not a draft dodger or its not that I don't want to serve my country, but I believe that I should have the right to select whatever field I want and select whatever branch I want to serve in. And if you do not join the Army and select a field of your choice, you will be place in infantry. All of the men who are college grads and who are drafted are place in infantry without giving them a chance to serve where they want to.

I respect your opinion on any matter because I have been reading your column in the newspaper for a long time and I don't believe you will tell me anything wrong. And believe me I have tried to talk to everybody but no one wants to listen and I also believe that if I could let someone know my problem, maybe someway they could help me in changing my field.

Yours truly
Pvt Ronald D. Ray
US53614880
Co "B" 8th Bn 3rd TNG BDE,
Ft. Gordon Georgia, 30905

P.S.
Please don't mention this in your column because college grads get enough dirty details now!

The Full and Sometimes Very Surprising Story of Ocean Hill, the Teachers' Union And the Teacher Strikes of 1968

By MARTIN MAYER

THE teacher strikes of 1968 seem to me the worst disaster my native city has experienced in my lifetime.

It is always in the interest of those in authority to say in retrospect that a disaster—a war or mine explosion—was inevitable. The belief underlying this report is that what happened in New York in the fall of 1968 was *not* inevitable, and that those who are saying that it was—especially those in the great foundations and in the Mayor's office—are much more to be blamed for what happened than are any of the participants. Great wealth and political leadership carry responsibilities which were not met. At no point did these forces demonstrate any understanding of what was happening in terms other than their own preconceptions, and at no point did they exert the authority, leadership or even influence which their status and social roles obligated them to exert.

AS an attempt at history, the following narrative concentrates on events and their immediate context, and a certain amount of background should be, as the lawyers say, stipulated:

(1) During the course of political reform in the nineteen-thirties, control of the New York City school system was narrowly concentrated in a central office. In the nineteen-fifties and early sixties, the machinery grew too complicated and too rigid for its purposes, and the system became increasingly unresponsive to both the teachers in the classrooms and the parents whose children were in the schools. The teachers, through trade-union organization, were able to establish countervailing force; the parents were not.

Beginning in 1961, when the State Legislature ordered "revitalization" of local school boards, there was a political drive toward "decentralization" of the system, to make the schools accountable to "the community." As chairman of a local board, incidentally, and as a writer for various publications, I was myself among the leaders of this drive.

In the summer and fall of 1967, formal decentralization proposals were developed by an advisory committee to the Mayor, chaired by McGeorge Bundy of the Ford Foundation, for consideration by the State Legislature in the spring of 1968. No representative of the teachers, the school supervisors, the trade-union movement or the organized parent movement was appointed to the committee.

(2) In the middle nineteen-sixties, the proportion of Negro and Puerto Rican children in the New York schools neared and then passed 50 per cent. The proportion of Negro and Puerto Rican population in the city as a whole, however, is only about 27 per cent, and the proportion of voters who are Negro or Puerto Rican is considerably less than 20 per cent. New York ranks 13th among the nation's 15 largest cities in the proportion of its population which is nonwhite.

Within the schools, Negro and Puerto Rican children are doing substantially less well than mainland white children: At age 12, the gap in accomplishment is more than two years, as measured by standardized tests. It is psychologically very difficult for parents not to blame the schools; and almost equally difficult for people in the schools, who believe they are doing the best they can (and who know that their results are, if anything, a little better than the results in other cities), not to feel a degree of complacency in the face of failure by most of their students.

(3) Most New York City schoolteachers are recruited from the city colleges, which until recently have restricted admission to students from the higher ranks of the city's high schools. Examinations beyond those required by the state have been imposed for a New York City teaching license, and promotion has been possible only through an elaborate system of internal examinations. Much, but not all, of this is required by state law.

The proportion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans among full-time students at the city colleges has been until recently something like 3 per cent. The proportion among the city's teachers is less than 10 per cent (by contrast with 30 per cent and more in other large cities, up to 80

"RHODY A. McCOY, New York City schoolman of 18 years' experience, and unit administrator of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration Project. Committed to a range of educational innovations in the project's classrooms, he sometimes seemed to have unspoken commitments outside the classrooms. From May through December, he was the only person who met regularly with all the disputants—the members of his governing board, the officers of the union and the Board of Education. Confusion followed wherever he went, as the fog follows the tide."

(This and the captions on Pages 19 through 23 by the author.)

MARTIN MAYER, author of "The Schools" and other books about education, served five years as chairman of one of New York City's local boards. A book based on this article will be published this month under the title of "The Teachers Strike: New York, 1968."

"THE REV. C. HERBERT OLIVER, *minister and chairman of the governing board of the Ocean Hill project. A newcomer to the city from Alabama, where he had worked with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, he was elected chairman by people to whom he was a neutral figure. He used his position to promote a confrontation with the teachers' union and he worked against any settlement of the disastrous war which followed."*

per cent in Washington, D. C.), and the proportion of Negroes and Puerto Ricans among New York school administrators is almost invisible except on the lowest rank, that of assistant principal.

(4) Ocean Hill, the focal point of the teacher strikes, is a border area between the slum districts of Brownsville and Bedford-Stuyvesant, some miles out from downtown Brooklyn. Less than a fifth of its adult population was born in New York City; less than a third completed high school; only two-fifths have lived in the area as long as five years; more than half the households subsist on less than $5,000 a year; about 70 per cent are Negro; about 25 per cent are Puerto Rican. Though there are some blocks of pleasant, owner-occupied private houses, most people live in deteriorating rooming houses and tenements, and much of the area's housing is simply being abandoned by its owners. All the well-known social problems are present. It is a highly discouraging place in which to live and to bring up one's children.

Spring, 1967—Ocean Hill-Brownsville is chosen as a "demonstration district" for an experiment in decentralization.

EARLY 1967 was growing season for plans to decentralize the New York schools, and among those involved in the planning was the Ford Foundation, which was especially interested in projects that would increase community involvement in school administration. The possibility of using Ocean Hill-Brownsville for an experiment along these lines was suggested to Ford by the United Federation of Teachers. Since 1966, the union had been running a project in teacher-parent joint action in the district—picketings and other demonstrations—which had secured the removal of an unwanted principal at a junior high school, and won some special services for that school and for one of the elementary schools that fed into it. The leader of these joint ventures was Mrs. Sandra Feldman, a young teacher, union field representative and civil-rights worker who had been among the organizers of East River CORE.

Meanwhile, a group of social workers and parents affiliated with Brooklyn CORE and with the emerging Council Against Poverty, and led mostly by a white worker priest, Father John Powis of the Church of Our Lady of the Presentation, formed an unofficial "people's board of education" for the Ocean Hill area. Linked by their shared dislike of the Board of Education, and by their common roots in the civil-rights movement, the union-sponsored marching society and the people's board joined forces in early 1967 to plan the liberation of the schools of the area from the heavy hand of the citywide Board of Education.

From the beginning, the two groups had different objectives. The people's board was interested in "community control"—a slogan with no clear meaning, but implying a glorious freedom which "decentralization" somehow lacked—and the union was interested in the expansion of its More Effective Schools (M.E.S.) program, by which very substantial extra sums of money (about $600 additional per child) are invested in elementary schools. M.E.S. is extremely popular with communities where it has been tried, however, so there was no necessary conflict between the participants in what came to be called "the planning council."

In the late spring of 1967, this planning group was recognized by the Board of Education and by the Ford Foundation, which in July put up $44,000 to pay the costs of setting up an experimental "demonstration district" to include the two junior high schools in the area and the five (later six) elementary schools which fed them. (Ford also underwrote similar experiments in the Two Bridges area of the lower East Side and in the district served by I.S. 201 in East Harlem.)

"FATHER JOHN POWIS, *worker priest and author of revolutionary proclamations. As founder of the 'people's board of education' which preceded the demonstration project, he became one of the governing board's most influential and aggressive members. The first Ford grants to the project were awarded through his church. His planned indiscretions heralded the confrontation which led to the teacher strikes."*

"ASSEMBLYMAN SAMUEL D. WRIGHT, *lawyer and Ocean Hill resident, who represents that district and its neighbors in the State Assembly. Chairman of the original planning group which set up the demonstration project and member of the governing board, he broke with Oliver and McCoy over their refusal to accept arbitration of the original dispute with the teachers' union, and called for new elections for the governing board."*

Summer, 1967—The first split between community and teachers comes with the hiring of a unit administrator.

THE people's board representatives went into the summer months determined to have their project operative in the fall. They met steadily through the month of July, often with outside groups—from Ford, Brooklyn College, Yeshiva University, the Mayor's office and the Board of Education—in sessions which did not always include the teacher delegates. Among the outsiders at some of the sessions was an old friend of Father Powis's, Herman Ferguson, who had recently denounced the M.E.S. school where he was employed for practicing "educational genocide" and who had been indicted (he was later convicted and is now appealing) for conspiracy to murder N.A.A.C.P. leader Roy Wilkins and Urban League director Whitney Young.

In the absence of any systematic efforts at guidance by the Ford Foundation or the Board of Education (where the man charged to maintain liaison with Ocean Hill took his summer vacation in July), the parent members of the planning council turned increasingly to Father Powis and to Ferguson, who was capable, forceful and extremely hostile to the union. The teacher delegates began to feel uncomfortable at meetings.

As its first step, by arrangement with Ford, the planning council hired a future unit administrator. Several candidates were interviewed by parent representatives and community lead-

ers at sessions to which the teacher delegates were not invited, and the interviewers selected Rhody A. McCoy, a compact, thoughtful, impressive schoolman of 18 years' experience in New York, acting principal of a school for seriously disturbed boys on the West Side of Manhattan.

The teacher representatives on the planning council knew nothing against (or for) McCoy, but they were irked at the procedure and its speed, and a few of them thought there ought to be more than one name proposed to the full panel. Rather frivolously, on the grounds that he was somebody everyone knew, one of the teacher representatives nominated Jack Bloomfield, principal of J.H.S. 271, one of the district's

***"ALBERT SHANKER,** former junior high school math teacher, president of the United Federation of Teachers. A product of the Socialist wing of the teachers' union, and a civil-rights activist, he was goaded into extreme reaction by an arbitrary injustice to his members working in Ocean Hill and by his utter distrust of the Mayor and the Board of Education. In person and in print, he had long advocated a partnership between union teachers and Negro parents as the only hope for success in the struggle to improve urban education; now he led a series of strikes which destroyed any chance of such a partnership."*

two junior highs. Some of the parents unquestionably felt that the teachers—authority figures in their lives at all times—were seeking to take the project away from them; in quiet moments in Ocean Hill the reverbarations of the Bloomfield nomination can still be heard. McCoy's name was quickly approved by the planning council.

Rhody McCoy puts parent representatives on a secret payroll.

AMONG McCoy's first acts as administrator was to authorize checks for sums of $39 to $100 a week for 17 mothers of children in the district's school, most of whom had announced that they were going to be candidates for the parent positions on whatever local board of education was set up as the result of the summer's work. These first payments were made to them as "election consultants." Some weeks after the election, in which 7 of the 17 were declared winners, the category for weekly compensation to the lucky seven was changed to "parent representative." No public announcement was ever made that the parent representatives were being paid.

Payments to the parent representatives declined as the Ford grant ran lower, rose briefly after Ford added another $15,000 in the fall, then declined again. The total up to February, 1968, when the payments stopped, ran to about a quarter of the $59,000 in the first Ford grants. The grants had been made through Father Powis's church, so McCoy did not have to account to any outside authority. The governing board's public statements became much more radical when the payments ceased.

If poor people are to serve on school boards, they should certainly be paid for their time as part of a published budget. But "community control" is not an intelligent description of a situation in which the community representatives are on a fluctuating and secret payroll controlled by the very staff that they are supposed to be controlling.

The planning council becomes a governing board.

AFTER four weeks of day-and-night work, the planning council on July 29, 1967, produced a three-page proposal which took off from a revolutionary preamble: "Men are capable of putting an end to what they find intolerable without recourse to politics. . . . The ending of oppression and the beginning of a new day has often become a reality only after people have resorted to violent means. . . . The following plan . . . is acknowledged to be the last threads of the community's faith in the school system's purposes and abilities."

The plan itself called for the creation of a governing board of 24—one parent and one teacher from each of eight schools, five community representatives to be chosen by the parent members of the board, two representatives of the school supervisors in the district, and one delegate from a university to be chosen by the board as a whole. This board would exercise most of the powers of the Board of Education in the Ocean Hill schools, but its authority over personnel would be very limited — after hiring its own unit administrator, the board could only approve his recommendations of principals for the schools, and would have no functions with relation to the employment of teachers.

Before the Board of Education could react in any way to this document, the planning council held the election for parent representatives. After some house-to-house canvassing to register voters (the Board had not supplied lists of parents), the council advertised the election for Aug. 3 and set up ballot boxes in the schools. Turnout was light, and for the next two days delegates from the council, including the candidates, circulated around the district collecting votes door-to-door. In total, about a quarter of the district's parents voted. The Board of Education never recognized the validity of this vote, but did deal with the resulting governing board as though it had been formally elected.

The elected parent representatives, all mothers, several on welfare, promptly named five

***"JOHN M. DOAR,** former chief of the civil-rights section of the Justice Department, now president of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Development Corporation. Like Oliver, a newcomer to the city, he was appointed to the Board of Education during the second teacher strike of the fall and elected its president during the third. He opposed the settlements which ended both strikes, on the ground that neither promoted voluntary compliance and a necessary peace in Ocean Hill."*

community leaders for the board, including Father Powis, Assemblyman Samuel D. Wright, the district's representative in Albany, and the Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, recently arrived from the South and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to become pastor of Westminster Bethany Presbyterian Church. Oliver, a handsome figure with a resonant voice, whose

***"THE REV. MILTON GALAMISON,** minister and leader of the school boycotts of 1963-64. Appointed to the Board of Education in July, he assured its members during August that Ocean Hill was ready to settle with the union —and demonstrated his confidence in the correctness of that opinion by taking credit for the contract which settled the first fall strike and drove Ocean Hill to paroxysms of rage."*

black separatist beliefs were not yet known, was a neutral in the politics of the area. He was chosen chairman over Assemblyman Wright by a vote of 10 to 6, and the newly formed board got to work on personnel selection.

The governing board hires principals and the split with the teachers grows.

FOUR principalships were vacant in the district, and a fifth vacancy would be created in February with the opening of I.S. 55, a new "intermediate school" (a term which replaces the old "junior high school"). In their proposals, the planning council had insisted on the right to choose any principals who met New York State requirements for such a job, without reference to the city school system's civil-service list. The current list, of several hundred names, contains only four Negroes—and does not expire until 1972.

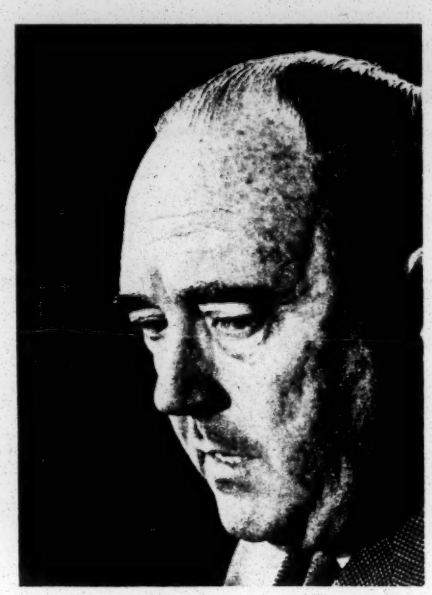
The Board of Education in August, 1967, applied to State Commissioner of Education James E. Allen for permission to hire principals for Ocean Hill who were not on the list. Allen said no, but ruled the Board could *create* a special category of "Demonstration Elementary School Principal" which could be filled ad lib pending the development of a new exam to license people for such a position. It was this creation of a special category, and removal of the Ocean Hill jobs from the future prospects of those on the normal list, that the Kings County Supreme Court and the lower courts later ruled illegal, influencing the course of the teacher strikes.

The Ocean Hill board met on Aug. 31, and on McCoy's nomination recommended to the Board of Education five men to fill the district's vacancies—among them, Irving Gerber, a recently licensed principal who wished to transfer in; Luis Fuentes, a reading consultant from Farmingdale; William Harris, a city assistant principal, and Herman Ferguson, for appointment to I.S. 55 when it opened in February. The teacher representatives felt that they did not know any of these people (except Ferguson, to whom they objected). They also knew that when they had been chosen for the original planning council their colleagues had never expected them to be voting on principals for the schools. Therefore, they announced they would abstain from the vote on the principals, and left the room during the discussion. These actions were unquestionably regarded as a rejection of the principals by some parent and community members of the governing board.

Incidentally, all but one of the principals actually appointed on the governing board's recommendation, then and later, are highly regarded by both the union and by school headquarters. (The exception is Fuentes, who is regarded as emotionally unstable by teachers, by the Bureau of Personnel at the Board of Education and by the members of the local school board for District 1, on the Lower East Side, whom he and his friends held physically captive for some hours one evening in September, in an unsuccessful effort to force them to name him district superintendent.) There is an Alice in Wonderland quality about the fact that the U.F.T. in its climactic strike held out for at least the temporary removal of P.S. 144 principal Ralph Rogers, who is universally admired, and of William Harris, whose sense of fairness several union members in the district have special reason to cherish.

September, 1967—The teachers strike the city for their own reasons and Ocean Hill hates them for it.

BEFORE anybody could explain to anybody else what had happened at the Aug. 31 meeting to nominate principals, the teachers went out on strike against the whole city on the opening day of the fall term. This 1967 strike, which lasted two wretched weeks and ended with no significant change in the city's original contract offer, was at bottom a protest against Mayor John V. Lindsay's fact-finding technique for resolving labor disputes, but the union's announced goals were educational—smaller class sizes and additional More Effective Schools. "TEACHERS WANT WHAT CHILDREN NEED" was their slogan. Most Ocean Hill parents thought that what children needed was an open school and a shiny new governing board, and that the strike was an abomination.



***"DR. BERNARD DONOVAN,** Superintendent of Schools. More of a politician, perhaps, than anyone else involved with this story, and much more knowledgeable about the school system, he was in the middle of every dispute, surounded by men of principle who were not informed enough or sophisticated enough to see where their principles were leading them."*

In retrospect, it seems obvious—indeed, it seemed obvious at the time—that, whatever the merits of the citywide strike, a decent sensitivity to the newly aroused hopes of the people in Ocean Hill should have permitted the union teachers to stay on the job in that district.

Nowhere in the city were more ardent efforts made to keep the schools open through the strike. Letters were sent to the draft boards of male teachers, announcing that the teachers were no longer teaching and should be called up. Traveling militants were brought into the schools to take classes and to scare the teachers on the picket lines. (Ferguson himself ran the training lessons for parents who were going to take over classrooms.) Curses and obscenities were screamed at the pickets from all directions, and some were jostled.

In the aftermath of the strike, the U.F.T. forbade union teachers to become members of the governing board, and joined with the Council of Supervisory Associations (the organization of principals, assistant principals, bureau chiefs, etc.) in a lawsuit to oust the new Ocean Hill principals as illegally appointed.

The impact of this lawsuit within the schools was greater than most commentators have realized. Three of the four new principals appointed that fall were beginners at their jobs, and inevitably insecure. This statement that the assistant principals and teachers did not regard the principals as legitimate or permanent damaged their ability to control what were at best difficult schools. It was easy to believe that anything unpleasant which happened in school had been organized by a subversive staff, and in some instances, probably, the belief was true. The district's teachers were placed in an almost equally difficult position, of course, in their relations with the principals.

The union had not consulted the teachers in the district before joining in the lawsuit. Recently, the union president, Albert Shanker, was asked why the U.F.T. had taken this action, especially in the light of its long history of opposition to the principals' licensing exams (the union has always advocated the election of principals by teachers). Shanker said: "Pure pique."

In November, claiming that some of their number had been harassed (by anti-Semitic insults, among other things)—and that McCoy was not supporting them—all 18 of the district's assistant principals applied for transfer out, leaving the new principals without experienced administrative help in the day-to-day operation of the schools. The governing board, which had never thought about the role of A.P.'s before, now asked the Board of Education for the right to choose its own A.P.'s as it had chosen its own principals. ("The very best principal in the world," a memo from Ocean Hill pleaded a few months later, "cannot operate a school with assistant principals who are not cooperating.") But the Board and Commissioner Allen refused, and new A.P.'s —some of them totally inexperienced—were simply assigned in from the civil-service list.

The New Year, 1968—A flurry of optimism, and grim determination.

THE start of the second semester, in February, 1968, brought the district a big event: the opening of the new I.S. 55, which was celebrated with gleeful ceremony. The old J.H.S. 178 was converted to an elementary school, ending overcrowding in the district.

Jack Bloomfield, principal of J.H.S. 271, whose relations in the district had disintegrated after his nomination to be unit administrator, was finally granted his request for a transfer out. McCoy wanted to shift William Harris from the now-defunct J.H.S. 178 to J.H.S. 271, because he considered that school his worst problem and Harris his best man. (So did the J.H.S. 178 teachers, nearly all of whom signed a petition asking the governing board to allow Harris to move with *them* to I.S. 55.) The Board of Education would not make the appointment, however, and finally McCoy in desperation simply "recognized" Harris as principal of J.H.S. 271.

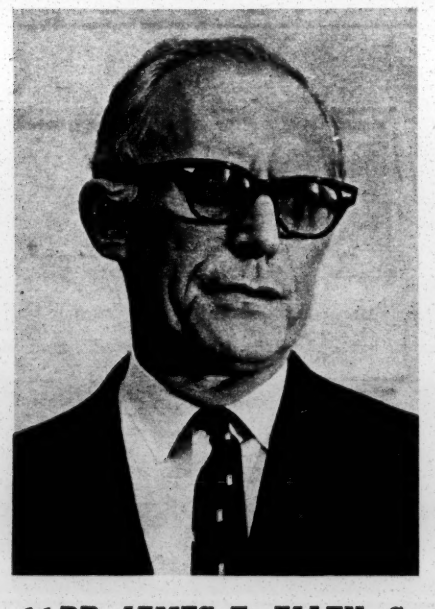
Harris, the first male Negro principal of a secondary school in New York, came into an unbelievably chaotic situation. Thirty teachers

—a quarter of the staff—had transferred out, and the Board of Education had found only 16 replacements. Five of the six secretaries had left; all the assistant principals were new; and 40 sets of keys were missing. Absenteeism ran from 10 to 25 teachers a day; often there were simply not enough adult bodies in the building to man the classrooms for 1,700 children, let alone chase the kids out of the halls. Fires broke out mysteriously, several every week, and the culprits could not be found. Furniture was thrown from third-floor windows, paint flew around art rooms, vandalism and thievery were everywhere. Harris met grimly with his staff, and they decided they would try to make it work. Somehow.

March, 1968—A court rules against the Ocean Hill principals, but the district supports them.

IN early March, Justice Dominic S. Rinaldi Kings County Supreme Court handed down his opinion in the suit brought by the supervisors' association. He held that the appointment of demonstration elementary school principals in Ocean Hill was illegal under the Education Law.

The next day, Frederick Nauman, a guidance teacher who was U.F.T. chapter chairman for J.H.S. 271 and district chairman for the unit, drafted a letter to Alfred A. Giardino, president of the Board of Education, urging him to appeal



"DR. JAMES E. ALLEN, State Commissioner of Education. Reluctant to involve himself or his high office in the catastrophe of the teacher strikes, he was incessantly summoned to the city by a paralyzed Board of Education and a terrified Mayor. After a number of false starts, he worked out the settlement that ended the climactic strike."

the decision and to retain the governing board's principals on the job pending the results of the last possible appeal, because the Ocean Hill experiment was important and would be killed if the principals were removed. Nauman secured 115 signatures, representing virtually the entire staff.

When I visited Ocean Hill that month to write an article for this magazine, I found McCoy working desperately hard with his principals and staff—some white, some Negro—to put a head of steam under a number of new programs in reading, math, Negro and Puerto Rican culture, bilingualism, etc. He had begun small-scale training programs for "paraprofessionals," mothers of children in the district's schools who would, at the end of the programs, become teacher assistants, helping out with reading and math. He was planning for teacher teams, nongraded classrooms, programmed instruction—everything that reputation said might help in a neighborhood where most children were as far behind as they were in Ocean Hill.

I visited four of the distict's schools on as many days, and returned to tell McCoy that I had seen a good deal of routine—and some substandard—teaching, and that the schools seemed dominated by a fear of disorder which impeded teaching. He said he knew, that he was working to establish a climate in which teachers could teach, and that once he had the climate he was going to judge who was good and could give help, who needed help, and who ought to be eliminated from the district. It was all intelligent, level-headed—and very sad.

April, 1968—Three shocks, and a confrontation.

DURING April, the district sustained three serious shocks. One was the murder of Martin Luther King, which was followed by assaults on white teachers at J.H.S. 271, some undoubtedly stimulated by an inflammatory notice about the assassination posted on bulletin boards by Leslie Campbell, publicity director of the African-American Teachers Association, who had recently transferred into the district.

Another was a two-day school boycott called by the governing board to support its demand for recognition and for authority over budget and personnel. It proved almost entirely effective.

The third was a fire one afternoon at I.S. 55. It drove everyone out of the building a little after 2 o'clock. At 3, the firemen were still there, and the children were still on the street. A few teachers—there is a dispute about how many, but 10 would seem to be a maximum figure—simply abandoned their classes and went off home, or to their second jobs, or whatever. When the children poured back into the building, coats and other possessions were stolen, fights broke out, and the new school, which had opened less than three months before as the future pride of the community, became the scene of a minor riot.

At about this time, perhaps because of the general level of frustration, perhaps because of these specific events, perhaps because the Ford grant had run out and the parent representatives were no longer being paid—perhaps because it had been planned that way from the beginning—the Ocean Hill board fell under the domination of people who had determined to use it to force what Father Powis likes to call "a confrontation with a sick society."

A frustrated governing board turns on the teachers.

COMPLAINTS against teachers are endemic to the process of education. Most often, they are ill-founded, the result of childish incomprehension or parental disappointment, and

"MAX J. RUBIN, member of the State Board of Regents and former president of the Board of Education. He was sent by his fellow Regents to explore the teachers' union's real demands in the climactic strike, introduced Commissioner Allen to union president Shanker, and ultimately invented the idea which Allen turned into a viable settlement."

to protect teachers against such complaints and against politically motivated discharge, rules of teacher tenure have been adopted throughout the civilized world. Teachers can still be discharged for malfeasance, but in most school systems it is bloody difficult—most difficult of all, perhaps in New York. One of the survival skills of a New York school administrator is the ability to slough off bad staff onto other districts, and there are literally hundreds of incompetent (some of them mentally ill) teachers drifting about the school system. Inevitably, Ocean Hill got more than its share of bad teachers.

Ocean Hill administrators were getting complaints about good teachers, too. After all, what's the use of having a home-grown governing board if you can't complain about the teachers?

Like suburban school superintendents, McCoy had only so much time he could put into dealing with parent complaints about teachers. What worried him more were the complaints from his principals about lack of support from the assistant principals the Board of Education had arbitrarily assigned to the district in the fall. Superintendent of Schools Bernard Donovan had transferred out, at McCoy's request, five of these 18 A. P.'s, but McCoy told the governing board that requests to transfer three others had been refused. Someone suggested that the board should simply exclude the A.P.'s from the district.

On March 28 this tactic was rejected, mostly on the urging of Assemblyman Wright, who thought there was a chance to get an effective school decentralization bill through the State Legistlature, and that any arbitrary action by the governing board would harm its chances. He proposed that the board announce charges against the A.P.'s and hold public hearings before taking any action, and his motion carried. The next day Wright went back to Albany, the governing board met again, and the motion passed the previous day was rescinded.

At these meetings board members began discussing the possibility of excluding from the district some of the teachers as well as the assistant principals. It occurred to someone that the governing board could make a very big splash in the world by firing a bunch of teachers and administrators and proclaiming that now and forevermore Ocean Hill would make its own decisions about who could and who could not teach in its schools.

But setting up such a confrontation by dismissing teachers was more difficult than the casual observer might think, because Donovan was ready to help McCoy quietly transfer out people he did not want, and had indeed offered to do so. Involuntary transfers are not uncommon in the school system. When McCoy mentioned to Donovan that some teachers were going to have to go, Donovan told him to send along the names with some notion of the reasons why—all in confidence—and the Bureau of Personnel would take care of the matter.

The union, too, was ready to help out. McCoy early in the year had moved to restore good relations with the U.F.T. He went to Manhattan and met at union headquarters with Shanker and Mrs. Feldman and others, to ask what technical assistance the union could give him. A committee was set up, consisting of the chapter chairmen at the schools in the district plus the teacher members of the previous summer's planning group.

Liaison between the committee and McCoy was provided by Mrs. Feldman, who went to his office several times a month. At several meetings in March, McCoy mentioned to Mrs. Feldman that he was under pressure to get rid of some teachers, and Mrs. Feldman said that if he gave the U.F.T. the reasons why he wanted to remove any individual, the union would make no trouble. (Only later was she to learn that four members of the committee formed to help McCoy were among those tagged for removal.)

At no time did McCoy mention to his governing board any of his renewed contacts with the union. (Indeed, the board members learned about them for the first time when Shanker mentioned them on a television show during the strike—at which point the ladies of the governing board got hopping mad.)

May, 1968—The governing board dismisses the wrong teachers for the wrong reasons.

SOMETIME in early March, the Rev. Mr. Oliver appointed a personnel committee of the governing board, with Father Powis as its chairman (though Mrs. Clara Marshall, a parent representative and vice chairman of the board, later signed its report). Some time in early April the report of the committee was ready. It recommended "the removal from our district" of the one surviving pre-project principal, five assistant principals, and 13 teachers.

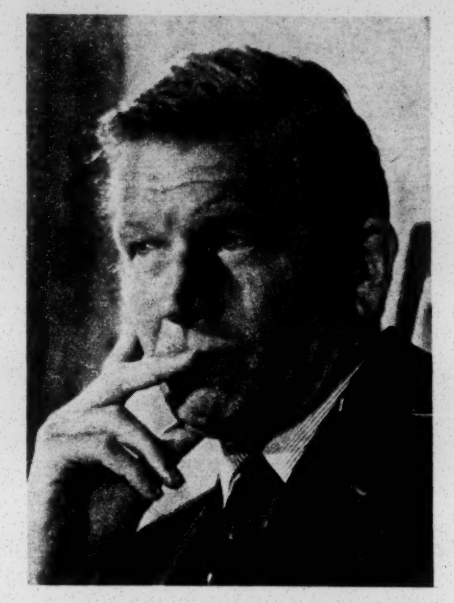
Now came the tricky part. If McCoy asked Donovan to transfer the people the committee wanted out, he would lose most of the confrontation. McCoy would not have been given all he asked for, but he would certainly have been given most. (During this period the similarly organized I.S. 201 complex quietly transferred out, by informal administrative procedures, more people than Ocean Hill was seeking to move.) At the same time, the parent representatives, and community representatives like Assemblyman Wright and Prof. Stephen Lockwood of Brooklyn College (who had been chosen as the university member of the governing board), had to be convinced that McCoy had asked for the transfers, and had been refused.

And the trick was accomplished. To this day, most members of the governing board believe that McCoy asked to be relieved of the people whose names were mentioned in the personnel committee report, and got nowhere. Most outside observers think so, too, either because McCoy told them so (as he did Kenneth Clark, the Negro psychologist and member of the State Board of Regents who came to play an active role in the dispute) or simply because it stands to reason.

In fact, as he has admitted to several university and foundation advisers to the project—and to me—McCoy never requested transfer for any of the teachers. (He says it would have been pointless, because Donovan would have refused.) He could scarcely claim otherwise to anyone who had been nosing around the situation. Quite apart from any external evidence at various hearings, there is the total absence of documents to support a claim that requests were made. ("Where are his carbons?" Donovan says sourly.)

Despite his apparent cooperation in preparing the confrontation, McCoy seems to have been careful to dissociate himself from the specific action of the governing board. About a week before the dismissals occurred, Father Powis told a meeting of the Coordinating Committee for Community Control that Ocean Hill was about to "fire" 13 teachers, and that McCoy opposed the idea. Certainly, he had nothing to do with the personnel committee report. Two of the teachers whose dismissal was recommended by the committee were identified only as "Mr. Steinberg" and "Mr. Bergen," and any administrator, no matter how inefficient, would at least know the first names of the teachers he was seeking to discipline.

*"**DR. KENNETH CLARK,** professor of psychology at City University, only Negro member of the Board of Regents and president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Council. A voice for Ocean Hill in the ear of Commissioner Allen and for practicality in the ear of Rhody McCoy, he saw his efforts tragically frustrated by a combination of bad information from his friends and brute force from his enemies."*



*"**MAYOR JOHN V. LINDSAY.** Caught in a tangle of public image, self-image, naiveté and past misjudgments, he found himself playing host to a great civic disaster which acted itself out before him while he agonized over his surprising inability to control—or influence—the course of events."*

DURING the weeks before the governing board acted, some trial balloons were lofted to see how people favorably inclined to the experiment would react to an attempt to oust teachers. The most important of them rose on April 26, when members of the governing board met with members of the Urban Coalition education task force. Most of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of the governing board's grievances against the Board of Education. Then, as people were putting on their coats, Father Powis announced: "Next Monday, we're firing 13 teachers"—and everybody sat down again, and listened while Father Powis told of the teachers who had abandoned the children after the I.S. 55 fire and of unspecified "sabotage" by union teachers. John Simon, president of the Taconic Foundation and a lawyer, says that he urged Father Powis to prepare charges against anybody the governing board wished to dismiss; and that Father Powis said: "No. Every time you bring charges, you lose."

Simon recalls asking Preston Wilcox, a former professor of social work who had become a consultant on school decentralization, to go out to Ocean Hill and persuade the governing board to cool it, at least for the period when the Legislature would be considering school decentralization proposals. The matter cannot have loomed large, however, for Wilcox has no recollection of this specific mission.

THEN it developed, astonishingly, that the teachers against whom the governing board was acting were not the I.S. 55 teachers who had left after the fire—that some were not even among the incompetents whom any visitor to the district had noted.

Two were U.F.T. chapter chairmen, two others were original participants in the planning council, and the majority were from J.H.S. 271,

(Continued on Page 42)

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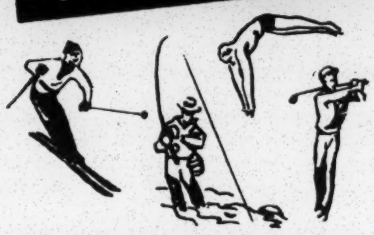

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The story of Ocean Hill

(*Continued from Page 23*)

which was still short of staff and needed everybody it could get. Of the six J.H.S. 271 teachers on the list (the committee report showed seven, but one had recently transferred into an elementary school, which the committee did not know), principal William Harris was willing to certify that two were in fact incompetent—but against the other four he had no complaint whatever.

The committee assured him that the charges against those four had nothing to do with competence, that the members of the committee had been around Ocean Hill longer than Harris and had reason to know these four were bad men and enemies of the demonstration project. The leading figure among the four was Fred Nauman, the U.F.T. chapter chairman who had recently organized the petition to the Board of Education urging the retention of the Ocean Hill principals.

The fact is that the objection to Nauman was simply a generalized rumor of hostility which had been deliberately fed to a few parents. When the time came to present evidence against Nauman, the governing board could produce none. Mrs. Marshall, who signed the personnel committee report, said the other day: "Nauman had been beautiful, one of the best teachers in the school. But after Mr. Harris came in he changed. The parents said that all those awful things were happening and that Nauman knew about them, so he must have had something to do with them. . . ." But Nauman has letters of commendation and thanks from Harris for his work in those first weeks of the new regime at J.H.S. 271, and to this day, neither man has been willing to say a word against the other. Nauman rubbed McCoy wrong, but at bottom he was being discharged from the district for one reason alone: Because he was the U.F.T. chairman, the union would *have* to fight on his behalf. Nauman's presence on the list guaranteed the confrontation.

IN the months that followed, a number of supporters of the governing board, especially the New York Civil Liberties Union, insisted that what the board was doing was simply a routine transfer out, which the union blew up to vast proportions as part of its war against decentralization in the State Legislature. There is absolutely no evidence to support this contention. In conversations at the time, Father Powis and others spoke of "firing," and in statements to the newspapers the governing board spoke of "ousting." The report of the personnel committee itself declared: "We feel that we will be condemned by many as having to make this unpleasant recommendation."

Of course, the governing board could *not* fire anybody, because it did not *employ* anybody. Its own headquarters staff were all officially employed by the Board of Education. But it is hard to think of any accusation more likely to damage the future career of an urban teacher than a statement that he is hostile to the legitimate aspirations of Negro parents and children, and is thereby "causing serious danger to our students." The accusation was made against Fred Nauman and at least three others, officially, publicly, without evidence—after an investigation so trivial that it failed to turn up the first names of two of the persons accused. Such behavior can be defended, perhaps, by those who believed in the nineteen-fifties that the Federal Government was right in publicly labeling people "security risks," without evidence. People who opposed McCarthyism in the fifties, though, would not seem to have available to them today the luxury of supporting the action the Ocean Hill governing board was to take on Tuesday, May 7, 1968.

OVER the weekend before, Assemblyman Wright had pleaded with the governing board not to take arbitrary action on personnel during the week the State Legislature was to begin its consideration of decentralization bills. Nevertheless, when the governing board met that Tuesday evening in executive session the report of the personnel committee was called up for approval. Professor Lockwood opposed the report, and urged that the board at least call the accused staff before it to talk over the charges before acting. Especially when complaints relate to behavior rather than to comeptence, he argued, people must be given a right to some kind of hearing. Moreover, if the teachers refused to appear at the meeting, they would be automatically guilty of insubordination. Several of the parent members stirred uneasily while Dr. Lockwood spoke.

McGEORGE BUNDY—Here with Mayor Lindsay. His Ford Foundation financed the Ocean Hill project.

Presently, as though on signal, the door to the meeting room burst open and 15 to 20 militants rushed in and ranged themselves against the wall. This was a community board, they said, and they were the community, and they were there to see that the board did what the community wanted. ("At this point," the minutes of the meeting say gallantly and rather glumly, "the community entered the room.") In this atmosphere, the report of the personnel committee was approved, and McCoy was ordered to write letters to the 19, "terminating their services" in the district.

On the poisoned ground of educational failure in Ocean Hill, the governing board had sown the dragon's teeth of personal injustice. And the armed men sprang up.

May, 1968—The union strikes the project.

THE next weeks saw a succession of premieres of events that were destined to have long runs. Teachers were blocked trying to enter school, police escorted teachers into buildings, parents boycotted schools, residents of the area were arrested, lights burned until 3 in the morning at Gracie Mansion.

Both the governing board and the union began what would be a dreary round of clevernesses. McCoy would admit the dismissed teachers to their classes, then order them to his office; when they did not come, he would dismiss them anew for insubordination. The union would arrange to have its other members wait outside the schools for the appearance of the dismissed teachers, and when their entrance was blocked, the others would all declare themselves locked out. About 350 of the district's 500-odd teachers supported the strike.

McCoy stands pat, and refuses to bring charges against the dismissed teachers.

ON May 14 the Board of Education appointed Judge Francis E. Rivers, who had recently retired from Civil Court after a long career as one of the city's few Negro judges, to be the trial examiner on whatever charges McCoy might bring. The governing board responded by calling for mediation by state authorities, which Superintendent Donovan accepted; but it turned out that what the governing board meant was mediation of its claims to authority to exclude anybody without giving reasons, not mediation of individual cases.

Donovan brought McCoy and Shanker together, and McCoy assured both men that there were charges aplenty against the six administrators and 12 teachers (the 13th, the one Negro, had been reinstated almost immediately by the governing board). Not all the charges, though, were going to be publishable. For example, one of the men at J. H. S. 271, a man with a family, was shacked up with a girl across the street. McCoy couldn't put that in the

public charges ("Indeed not," Donovan murmured), but if the matter came to a hearing it would have to come out, which would ruin the man's life. Shanker agreed that was a problem, and spoke with the teacher McCoy had accused, who roared with laughter and said there was nothing to it and he would happily take his chances at a hearing.

In the end, Shanker continued his demand that McCoy state the governing board's reasons for compelling the transfers, and permit the accused teachers to require the presentation of evidence at a hearing. And McCoy insisted that the community had the right to decide who would and who would not teach in its schools, and that the governing board had forbidden him to present formal charges.

Meanwhile, Donovan was under pressure from Mayor Lindsay (who spoke to him directly almost daily) to get the Ocean Hill staff to accept their removal from the project. He succeeded with the administrators, all of whom eventually accepted reassignment elsewhere, and two teachers also dropped out of the fight. But 10 of the teachers were made of stronger stuff — and their union was striking to support them.

In Albany, the union was riding the gift horse from Ocean Hill to trample the strong decentralization legislation recommended by Mayor Lindsay and by the Board of Regents, and many good liberals assumed this was the purpose of the strike. The Urban Coalition, the Ford Foundation and even the Mayor's office put pressure on the governing board to prefer charges against the teachers and to present evidence before Judge Rivers.

McCoy went to Kenneth Clark and asked him to persuade the State Commissioner of Education to intervene. He assured Clark that he had gone through all normal procedures seeking the removal of the teachers, and that the governing board had finally acted the way it had because all legitimate avenues had been blocked. It never occurred to Clark that McCoy was not telling him the truth.

McCoy at last files charges against some (not all) of the dismissed teachers.

ON May 25, Donovan put McCoy under orders: Either he would allow the return of the teachers, or he would be fired himself for insubordination. On that pledge, Shanker urged his teachers to return, and they did. McCoy promptly suspended six of them on formal charges. And the strike was on again.

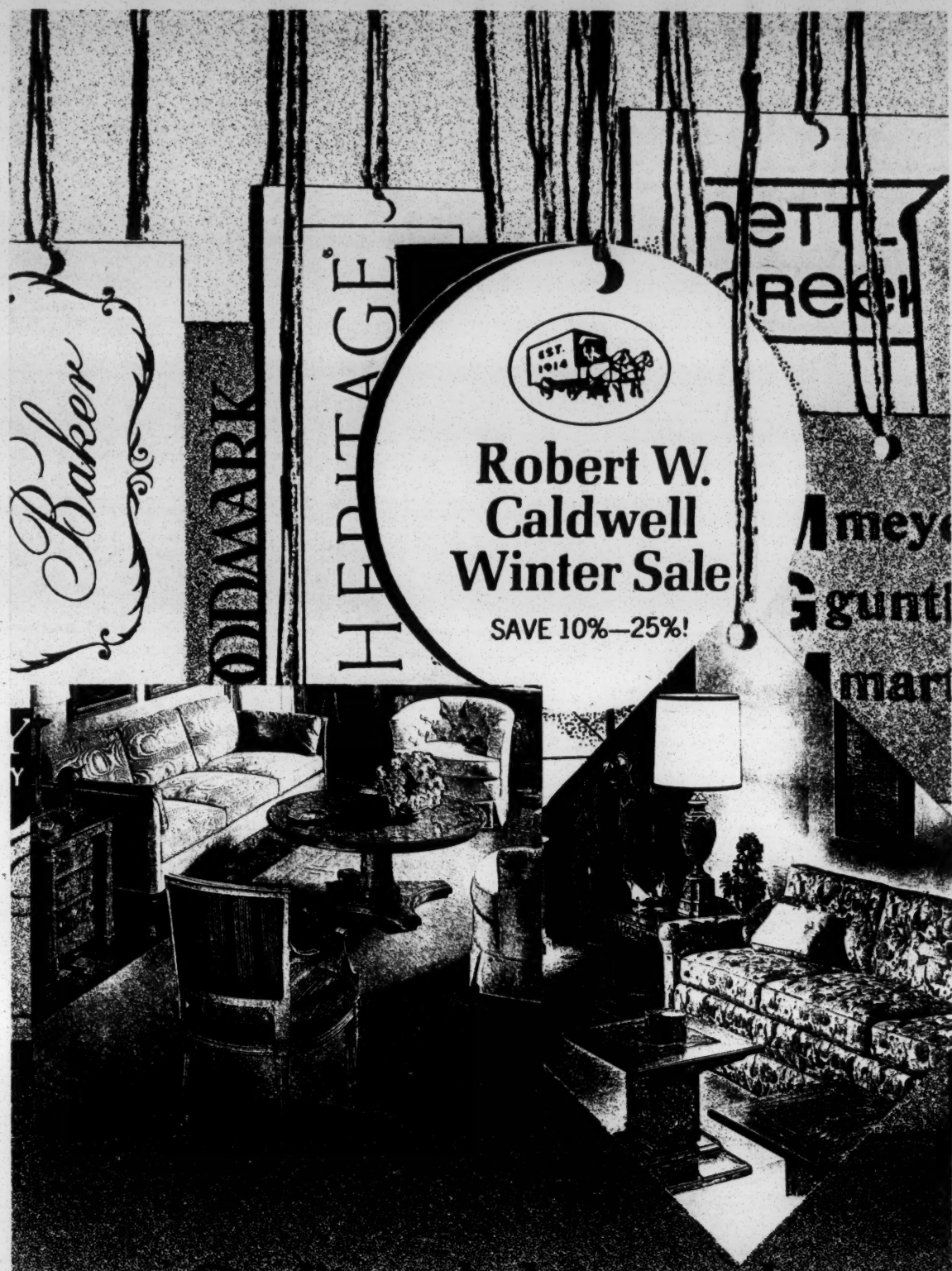
By then, the State Legislature had passed the Marchi bill on decentralization, a weaker measure, supported by the union, and the strike could no longer be considered by anyone as a political gesture to affect what happened in Albany. The union was going to see to it that the teachers kept their jobs.

The governing board tentatively accepts, and then rejects, arbitration.

THE filing of charges made the situation look like a relatively familiar kind of dispute, and the Board of Education was now confident it could be resolved in relatively familiar ways. All parties were summoned to a meeting at the Board for Friday, May 31. Mrs. Rose Shapiro, acting president of the Board of Education, opened the meeting with a statement that nobody was going to leave the building until a settlement had been reached.

And, apparently, a settlement was reached. If the governing board did not wish to go through the usual Board of Education trial examiner's procedure, Mrs. Shapiro suggested, outside arbitration could be invoked and made binding on all parties. The American Arbitration Association was set up to move expeditiously on just this sort of case. Meanwhile, the teachers would go back to work, except for those dismissed by the district, who would be needed at the arbitration hearings, anyway.

A one-page agreement was drawn up and typed, by which the union, Mrs. Marshall of the Ocean Hill governing board and the Board of Education all agreed to arbitration. Just before it was to be signed, Father Powis objected that Mrs. Marshall could not bind the governing board, and that the language should be changed. The document actually signed, therefore, includes a penciled insertion of the word "consider" before the word "arbitration." Nevertheless, the Board of Education and the U.F.T. left the meeting with the feeling that the fight was over. Mrs. Marshall made an optimistic



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statement to the television cameras.

The governing board did consider arbitration—and rejected it. To let the Board of Education know its decision, the governing board first called, not Mrs. Shapiro, but the Mayor's office. The strike against the district went on.

June, 1968—Theodore Kheel offers a mediation proposal. The governing board votes to accept it—and Oliver announces it has been rejected.

THROUGH Clark, the Ocean Hill governing board now appealed to Commissioner Allen to intervene personally. Allen replied that he could not, because as chief state school officer he had to remain available for any possible appeal process. Instead, he recommended Theodore Kheel, the city's most noted labor mediator.

A meeting was set up at Kheel's law office in midtown Manhattan for Friday, June 7. It lasted several hours, and, again, appeared to be productive. In essence, Kheel's proposal was that he study the cases of the dismissed teachers and make recommendations—not binding in form, but understood to be so in substance. Meanwhile, two of his aides — one white, one Negro — would look at the charges. Those teachers against whom charges seemed flimsy would return to Ocean Hill, at least for the time being; the others would be excluded. Both the governing board and the union were given to understand that a bare majority would be kept out of the district.

The U.F.T. accepted the proposal, though Shanker was concerned about the loss of citywide uniformity in disciplinary procedures, and was less than happy about the apparent sacrifice of six or seven of his people.

The union, the Board of Education, Kheel and Clark all say that the dispute came closer to a solution that weekend than at any other time. In fact, it came closer than they know. On Monday, June 10, the governing board met to consider the Kheel proposal. Assemblyman Wright delivered a furious statement. He had not seen the charges against the teachers before the meeting at Kheel's office, and he was shocked at the insubstantiality of some of them. Decentralization had been wrecked in Albany by these damned discharges, he went on, and the children's school year was being ruined by the resulting strike. He considered Kheel's proposal an honorable and fair way out of the dispute, and urged the board to accept its essentials.

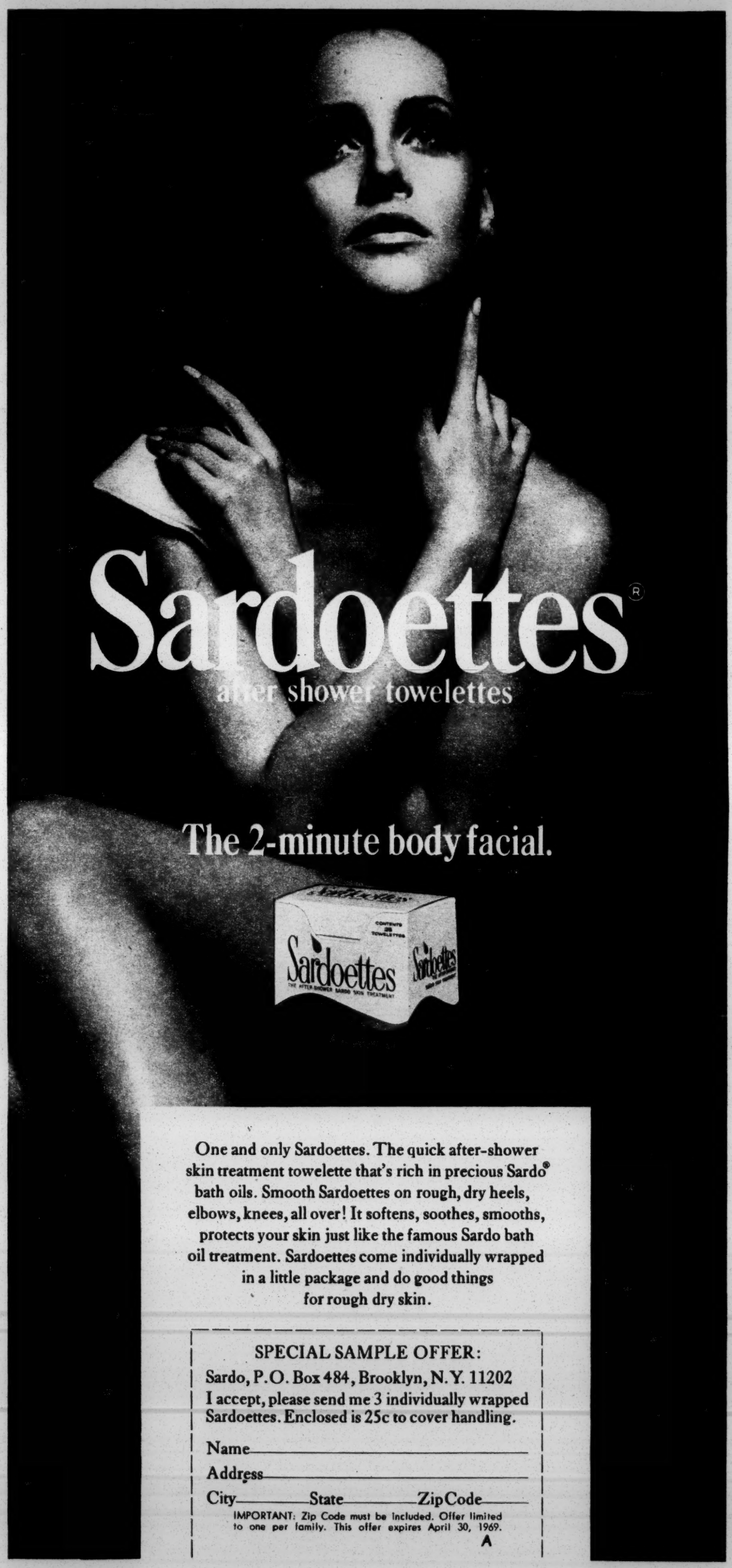
McCoy, who rarely expressed opinions at governing board meetings, and whose image to the outside world was that of a man intent on a fair solution, undertook the reply to Wright. He denounced the Kheel proposal as an establishment trick, and he urged the members of the board to stick to their resolve that these teachers would never again teach in Ocean Hill. The meeting lasted five hours. At its end, the governing board voted 7 to 4 (Oliver in the minority), with four abstentions and four absences (among them, Father Powis), to accept the Kheel proposals.

The next morning, a small committee of the governing board met with the Board of Education, Donovan and the union. Oliver led the group—and at no time did he mention the vote of the afternoon before. Instead, he presented a statement that Kheel was acceptable as mediator, but that the governing board would not be committed to abide by his findings, and that the disputed teachers would never be allowed back in Ocean Hill. At the end of the meeting, he announced to the press—in direct contradiction of the previous night's vote—that the governing board had rejected the Kheel proposals. That evening, with Wright absent and McCoy backing Oliver, the board indeed reversed itself and revoked its own approval of the Kheel proposals. The strike went on.

IN the last weeks of the school year, students supervised by Louis Harris's poll takers interviewed 212 parents in the Ocean Hill area, and found them in a state of utter disgust. Some 61 per cent thought the schools were worse than they had been before (only 8 per cent thought

(Continued on Page 48)

Ocean Hill parents took a dim view of the whole thing



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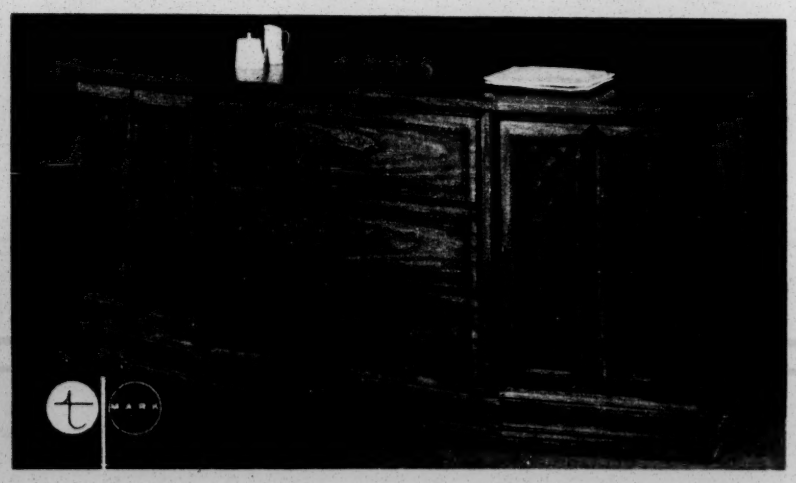

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(*Continued from Page 45*)

they were better); 38 per cent thought they would get still worse (only 20 per cent thought they would get better). Negative opinions outweighed positive opinions on the Board of Education (69 per cent to 24 per cent), the unit administrator (44 per cent to 29 per cent), the governing board (47 per cent to 38 per cent). On the specific dispute, 29 per cent supported McCoy and the governing board in their effort to oust the teachers, while 24 per cent supported the teachers, and the other 47 per cent were not sure.

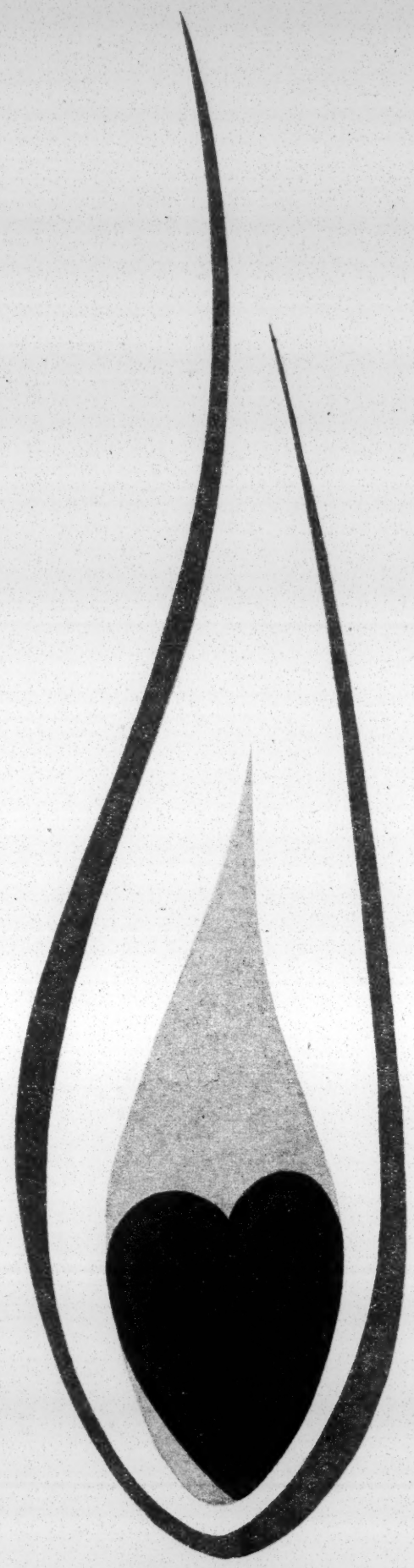
Summer vacation, 1968—The Lindsay appointees to the Board of Education hear what they want to hear.

As the school year ended in June, Superintendent Donovan and his staff took the position that the dispute had passed into the hands of Judge Rivers as trial examiner, and that it could be assumed the governing board would abide by any decision reached on the basis of Rivers's report. Oliver and McCoy met with Deputy Superintendent Theodore Lang of the Bureau of Personnel and asked special help in recruiting new teachers for the fall, and the help was given.

Members of the Board of Education were even more optimistic. Under the new Marchi Law, Mayor Lindsay had been authorized to appoint four new members to the Board of Education. Among his first choices in mid-July were William Haddad, a former newspaperman and Reform Democrat who was building himself a new career in the poverty program, and the Rev. Milton Galamison, an independent, easy-going minister of a Brooklyn Negro church, who had sporadically made himself the center of specific civil-rights drives, including two school boycotts in 1963-64 and the People's Board of Education in early 1967. (He had also announced a one-day boycott at seven schools, to support Ocean Hill in May, 1968.)

In different ways, Haddad and Galamison could claim Ocean Hill as their constituency, and both told the Board that their sources said the people out there were ready for compromise and the whole dispute was going to work itself out peacefully. "I've been meeting with McCoy and Shanker," Haddad

(*Continued on Page 53*)



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(*Continued from Page 48*)
told one meeting of the Board, "and we're right on the edge of an agreement." This being what the Board of Education wanted to hear, everyone believed it.

The reason Haddad and Galamison thought there was going to be an easy out was, simply, that McCoy—at least by indirection—had told them so. (McCoy denies their interpretation of what he was saying. "If I'd been an outsider listening to me at those meetings," he commented recently, "and the subject had been the weather, I'd have bought an umbrella and galoshes.")

In July, however, McCoy and the governing board had excellent reason to wish to play down the prospects of future conflict. Assemblyman Wright had broken with the governing board over the rejection of the Kheel proposals, and was supporting a neighborhood group called the Committee for Democratic Education that was petitioning for removal of the governing board and new elections. (Oliver seemed to doubt the group's good faith. "Our children," he wrote in a public statement, "have now been stabbed in the back by this belated clamor of those who wish to take our children back to the good old days of educational genocide.")

In the last week of July, Wright formally presented to the Board of Education a petition for new elections. At its Aug. 14 meeting, the Board voted to reject the Wright petition and not to hold new Ocean Hill elections until June, 1969.

FROM late July on, Galamison met regularly with McCoy and Shanker, often at convivial lunches at which the long-range prospects of the unit were discussed. Galamison's idea was to remove the issue from the narrow focus of 10 teachers to the more general question of what the union could do to make Ocean Hill a model; then the teachers could slip back in (or some would not slip back in) fairly easily, as part of a larger agreement. All the meetings were amicable. Though a majority of the governing board had voted that it would never, never take back any of the teachers who struck the district, or any of the teachers who had been dismissed May 7, McCoy did not warn anyone of the danger of total intransigency on the part of his board. And he never told the governing board about his meetings with Galamison and Shanker.

McCoy alone was in contact with all parties to the dispute. If what he had wanted was a citywide strike, he could not have been more effective in promoting that result.

August, 1968—Judge Rivers orders the reinstatement of all disputed teachers, and the fat is in the fire.

OUT in the great world beyond Ocean Hill, the Board of Education was wrestling with the problem of transferring to the city's 30 existing, but formerly powerless, local boards some authority over personnel and budget under the restrictive terms of the Marchi Law, which the Legislature had passed in May. The U.F.T. was, to say the least, concerned about how teachers' working conditions and security might be affected, especially in the light of the Ocean Hill experience.

The workhorses for the Board of Education were Galamison and John H. Lotz, a former telephone-union official and executive of the Health Insurance Plan. Shanker had a long list of grievance procedures he wanted spelled out, and, one by one, Lotz and Galamison worked out provisions satisfactory to the union.

On the Ocean Hill question, Lotz suggested a compromise on numbers — the Board of Education would order the return to the district of four of the 10 teachers who were challenging their transfers (which Shanker had already accepted from Kheel), and maybe 35 or 40 of the 100-odd strikers of the spring who still wished to return to Ocean Hill.

Then, on Aug. 26, Judge Rivers handed down his findings, and denied McCoy the right to transfer out *any* of the 10 teachers.

Even the union was a little embarrassed at the unfairness of the decision. ("I could have won cases against at least three of the 10," says one union leader. "The problem is that McCoy and his lawyer don't know how to present evidence.") But now the force of law was behind the reinstatement of all, and Shanker could not yield on any and survive as a union leader. Galamison accepted the need to put all the teachers back in Ocean Hill; the matter was no longer an issue between the Board of Education and the union. It was still, however, very much an issue in Ocean Hill, where the governing board voted not to accept the Rivers findings.

The storm gathers over the city.

IN the last week of August and the first week of September, that year's crop of college graduates who had just been licensed as substitute teachers returned from their summer vacations, looking for teaching assignments —and found they had none. At the Bureau of Personnel, sympathetic junior assistants told them that, although there was a citywide surplus of beginning subs (thanks mostly to draft exemptions for teachers), Ocean Hill still had vacancies. McCoy, whose independent recruiting efforts had mostly failed, took on the new referrals in sufficient numbers to enable Ocean Hill's schools to operate even without any union teachers. Meanwhile, the delegate assembly of the union had voted a citywide strike for the opening of school on Monday, Sept. 9, unless an agreement was reached covering the status of union teachers in all decentralized districts, especially Ocean Hill. Both sides were ready for a showdown.

HERMAN FERGUSON—An outsider (now appealing a conviction of conspiracy to murder), he helped guide Ocean Hill.

On Friday, Sept. 6, McCoy and the governing board were scheduled to meet with the Board of Education at the Hotel Commodore. The negotiating committee of the Board of Education had been working hard all day on the details of the contract with the union, and everyone had relaxed with a few drinks at dinner. The members of the governing board were shocked to find some of the Board of Education representatives gently liquored, and the Board members were shocked to find that the governing board, far from listening patiently to explanations of why they would have to take the teachers back, remained bitterly adamant that neither the 10 involuntarily transferred teachers, nor the 100-odd (the governing board thought 200) strikers who wanted to return would ever again be permitted to darken the door of a school on Ocean Hill.

The totally unproductive Friday night session was followed by a totally unproductive Saturday meeting with the union (to which several members of the governing board refused to come). Finally, Lotz told the governing board that, if they didn't take back the teachers, the Board of Education would simply close down their schools until they agreed to comply, and might dissolve the district as a separate entity.

SUNDAY, all the clans assembled, each in its own room, at City Hall, and Mayor Lindsay met for the first time with the Ocean Hill governing board. They greeted him with a prepared statement, of which the operative sentences were: "Since the legal machinery of this sick society are forcing these teachers on us under threat of closing our schools and dissolving this district, the Board of Education should return to our district any of the teachers who wish to return. Our original decision remains as before. We refuse to sell out. If the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools forces them to return to a community who does not want them, so be it."

Members of the governing board remember that the Mayor seemed insulted by this statement, and said it should not be presented to him. He volunteered the help of his assistants in rewriting it, and they went off to edit it into something the Mayor could accept. One member of the governing board says scornfully, "He made it say something that was in his mind, not in ours."

What emerged was a statement to the effect that the governing board would not consent to take the teachers back but would consent to being forced to take the teachers back. As the Mayor phrased it, in reporting to the Board of Education the results of his meeting with the governing board: "They will not seek to prevent their return." When the Mayor was asked about whether the teachers would be assigned to classrooms, he brushed the question aside, leading members of the Board to believe that this crucial matter had not been discussed. In fact, Lewis Feldstein of the Mayor's office had asked McCoy to pledge that the returning teachers would receive normal assignments, and McCoy had done so, not only to Feldstein but also (Feldstein says) to Vincent McDonnell of the State Mediation Service. McCoy said he could not make such a statement publicly, however, without wrecking himself in the district—and he never told the governing board that he had given such a pledge.

The union was waiting in the Board of Estimate room. The Mayor entered and said: "We've settled it." Shanker asked him how he had settled it, and the Mayor said: "They agreed to take the teachers back."

Then the Mayor went downstairs to a televised news conference to announce that schools would be open as scheduled the next day. Oliver told the cameras that the Mayor was misinterpreting the governing board's position. Shanker told the cameras that there was no contract, that he would recommend a strike to the membership, which would vote that night, and that he did not expect the schools to open as scheduled. The vote to call the strike was 12,021 to 1,716.

Neither the Board of Education nor the Mayor was seriously disturbed. There was

(*Continued on Page 56*)

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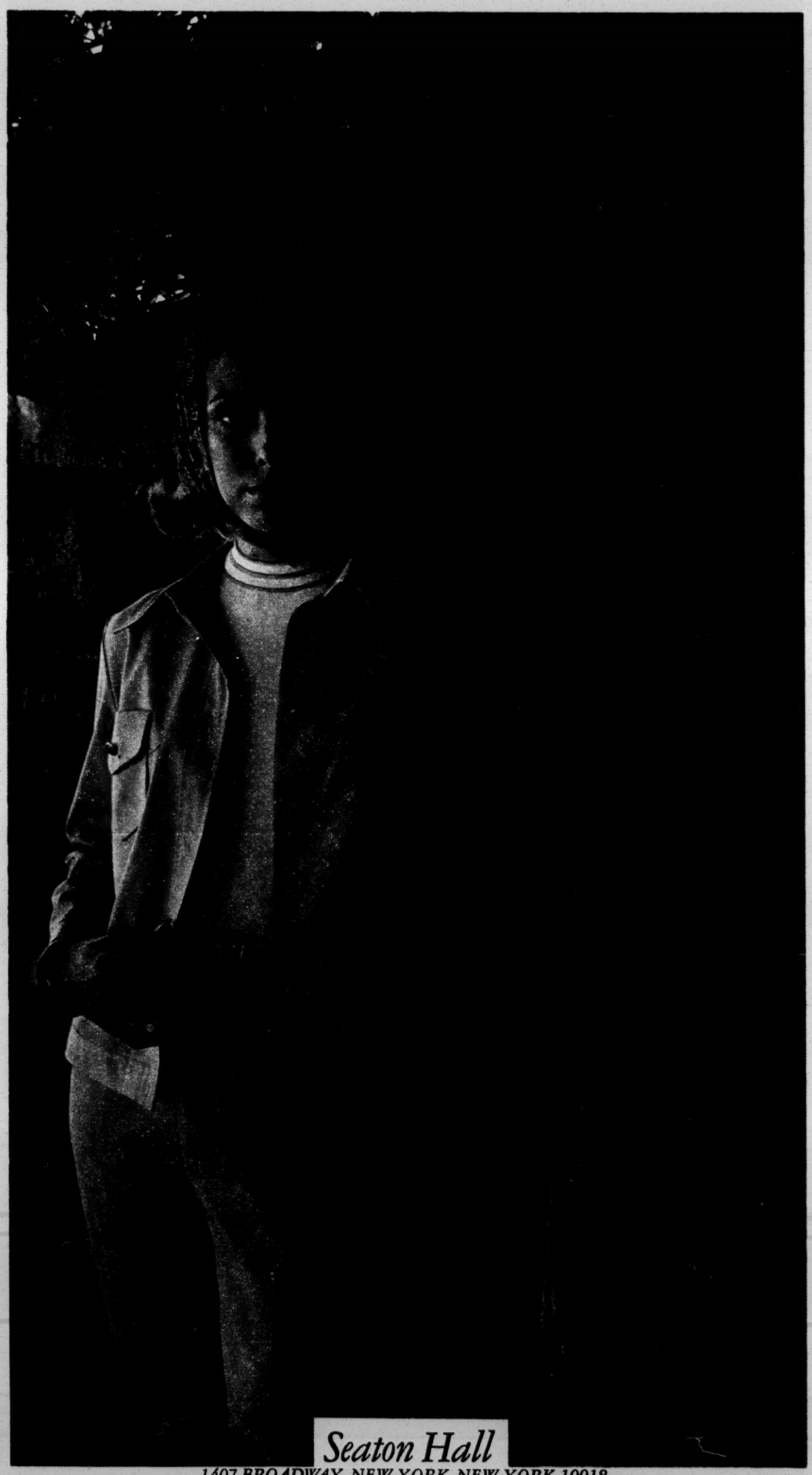

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Galamison voted against the contract he had negotiated

(*Continued from Page 53*)
no major issue still to be resolved between the union and the Board, and they thought Ocean Hill had listened to the voice of reason.

Sept. 9, 1968—School opening day, and the first of the fall strikes begins; it lasts two days.

NEARLY 54,000 of the city's 57,000 teachers stayed out on the opening day of school, Sept. 9, and pickets ringed the buildings, carrying signs demanding "JUSTICE FOR TEACHERS." The principals, who had been through this sort of thing the year before (and who were even more threatened by possible arbitrary actions of local school boards under a decentralized program), declared in 80 per cent of the city's 900 schools that the failure of teachers to report had created unsafe conditions for children, and the buildings were closed. In Ocean Hill, however, a full complement of staff, nearly all nonunion, reported for work. Because the 100-odd union teachers still assigned to the district did not come to work, Ocean Hill was authorized by Board of Education rules to pay on a per diem substitute basis some 100 extra teachers it had "hired" without approval from (or even notification of) the Bureau of Personnel.

Throughout the day, the union and the Board of Education worked on contract terms in reasonably amicable negotiations. There was, in any event, no disagreement about the Ocean Hill part of the deal: The Board would order the teachers assigned to Ocean Hill to "resume their professional duties," with a wistful offer of voluntary transfer to schools in other districts if they preferred to leave. And the board agreed to pay for their time on the picket lines the teachers who had struck the district in the spring, a decision which added fuel to the fires on Ocean Hill. The entire grievance procedure of the union contract with the Board was extended to bind all local school boards and their administrative staffs. In cases where local boards might wish to dismiss teachers, the contract required submission of charges to a panel of arbitrators, whose decision would be binding.

Shanker had also sought an "agency shop," which would require all teachers to pay dues to the union whether or not they were members, and the Board of Education believes that the strike was called more to enforce that demand than for any other reason. No union of municipal employes has such a clause in its contract (though it is an open secret in the labor movement that the city expects to begin granting agency shops in 1969), and the Board was not prepared to give Shanker the triumph of the first agreement of this kind—especially not, as Lotz pointed out at a convivial moment in the negotiations, with Galamison playing piano in the background, as a reward for an illegal strike, one in clear violation of the Taylor Law forbidding strikes by public employes. The binding arbitration clause was offered as a *quid pro quo* in return for the union's temporary abandonment of the agency shop demand.

AGREEMENT on a "Memorandum of Understanding" was reached around 4 in the afternoon on Tuesday, Sept. 10, the second day of the strike. At the Board, leadership in meeting the demands of the teachers had been taken by Galamison, who asked Shanker to give him public credit when recommending the agreement to his members, and Shanker did so gladly: "One of the persons who spent more hours working on a real understanding — and when we have people there who are working we shouldn't go by the impressions given in the newspapers, we should know it—that person is the Rev. Mr. Galamison." William Haddad acclaimed the memorandum as "the first real step toward decentralization."

Shanker offered an olive branch to Ocean Hill with a statement that "McCoy and the governing board are trying to do something in that district." But there were signs that he was less than optimistic that in fact the battle had ended: The motion offered to the membership in settlement of the strike authorized the union's executive board to close the city's schools on 48 hours' notice without further action by the membership, "in the event the agreements with respect to Ocean Hill-Brownsville are broken."

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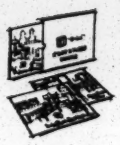

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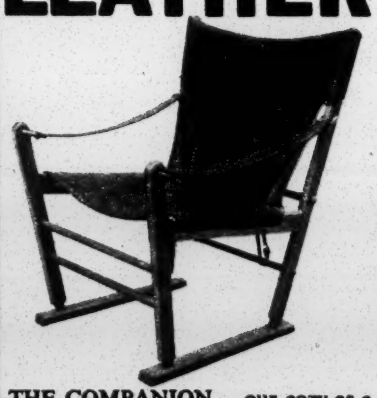

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initialed, the governing board's cause was absolutely hopeless. The full coercive power of the state would have to be applied, if the union insisted, to restore the U.F.T. teachers to the Ocean Hill schools. Men like Haddad and Galamison might soon regret what they had said and done (on Wednesday, Galamison, hearing what were to him surprising screams of outrage from Ocean Hill, voted against the contract he had negotiated the day before). But the results could not be changed, and further resistance was certain to be self-destructive. Nobody seems to have bothered to tell the governing board of the drastic change in the status of its dispute with the union. "If you've already got a broken foot," McCoy said the other day, "what difference does it make that you get a broken hand, too?"

Sept. 11, 1968—The teachers return to work, and are terrorized in Ocean Hill.

SANDRA FELDMAN went out to Ocean Hill a little before 7 in the morning on Wednesday, Sept. 11, and went directly to McCoy's office. She had always liked him, and she thought he had a "warm, paternal feeling" for her. Her purpose was to plead with him to use all his considerable influence in the district to insure the safe and fruitful return of the union teachers. He was noncommittal, but as they sat in his office, with a correspondent from Time, the phone kept ringing and he kept telling callers that, yes, the procedures agreed upon the night before were to be put into effect. Mrs. Feldman, who had done more than her share of demonstrating for various CORE chapters, recognized the syndrome and went off to see what might be going on in the schools.

At J.H.S. 271, a group led by Sonny Carson of Brooklyn CORE, who is widely regarded as terrorist in his inclinations and does nothing to discourage that opinion, had blocked the front door against the returning teachers. Principal William Harris had come out, and with the help of police had escorted the teachers into the building. There he told them, as the other principals were telling the other U.F.T. teachers through the district, to report to the I.S. 55 auditorium for an orientation session with McCoy. When the teachers arrived at the auditorium, they found about 50 Negro men, some wearing helmets, carrying sticks or with bandoleers of bullets, who shouted curses at them. The 83 teachers clustered in the center of the auditorium, terrified, and McCoy entered. As he started to speak, choruses of jeers from the men drowned him out, and after a few minutes he left. The lights in the auditorium were then flicked on and off, and the teachers were told from the crowd that if they came back to the district they would be carried out of it in pine boxes. Finally, McCoy returned. If the teachers still insisted on returning to the district, he said, they should report to their schools at 1 o'clock.

The teachers left the auditorium, caucused and decided to go through with what they had come to do. When they reported to their schools again, they found they had been given no teaching assignments and there were no time cards for them to punch. J.H.S. 271 pupils were encouraged to leave the school by some nonunion teachers and members of the governing board. On their way out, they jeered at the union teachers, and, in some cases, maneuvered as though to assault them. Harris locked the teachers into a room for their own protection, and arranged a police escort for them out of the building at 2:15. That afternoon, the Ocean Hill teachers reported on their experiences to the executive board of the union, which exercised the option in the motion which had ended the preceding strike, and called for the city's teachers to walk out again on Friday.

Sept. 13, 1968—The teachers begin their second fall strike (it will last more than two weeks), and Commissioner Allen and Kheel try their hand at a settlement.

THE explanation from the Ocean Hill governing board was that the community had risen spontaneously in its wrath to keep the union teachers out. The Rev. Mr. Oliver said he hoped the community would do it again. Both the Board of Education and the Mayor's office were paralyzed by the crisis. Though the terrorism on Ocean Hill had obviously been prearranged, there was a strong emotional desire at the Mayor's office to accept the governing board's explanations.

Mayor Lindsay tried to withdraw himself from the situation: On Thursday morning he called Commissioner Allen and begged him to intervene. Allen explained, as he had earlier to the Ocean Hill governing board, that he could not. (The Mayor met with the governing board himself, and they walked out on him.) Then Donovan called Allen

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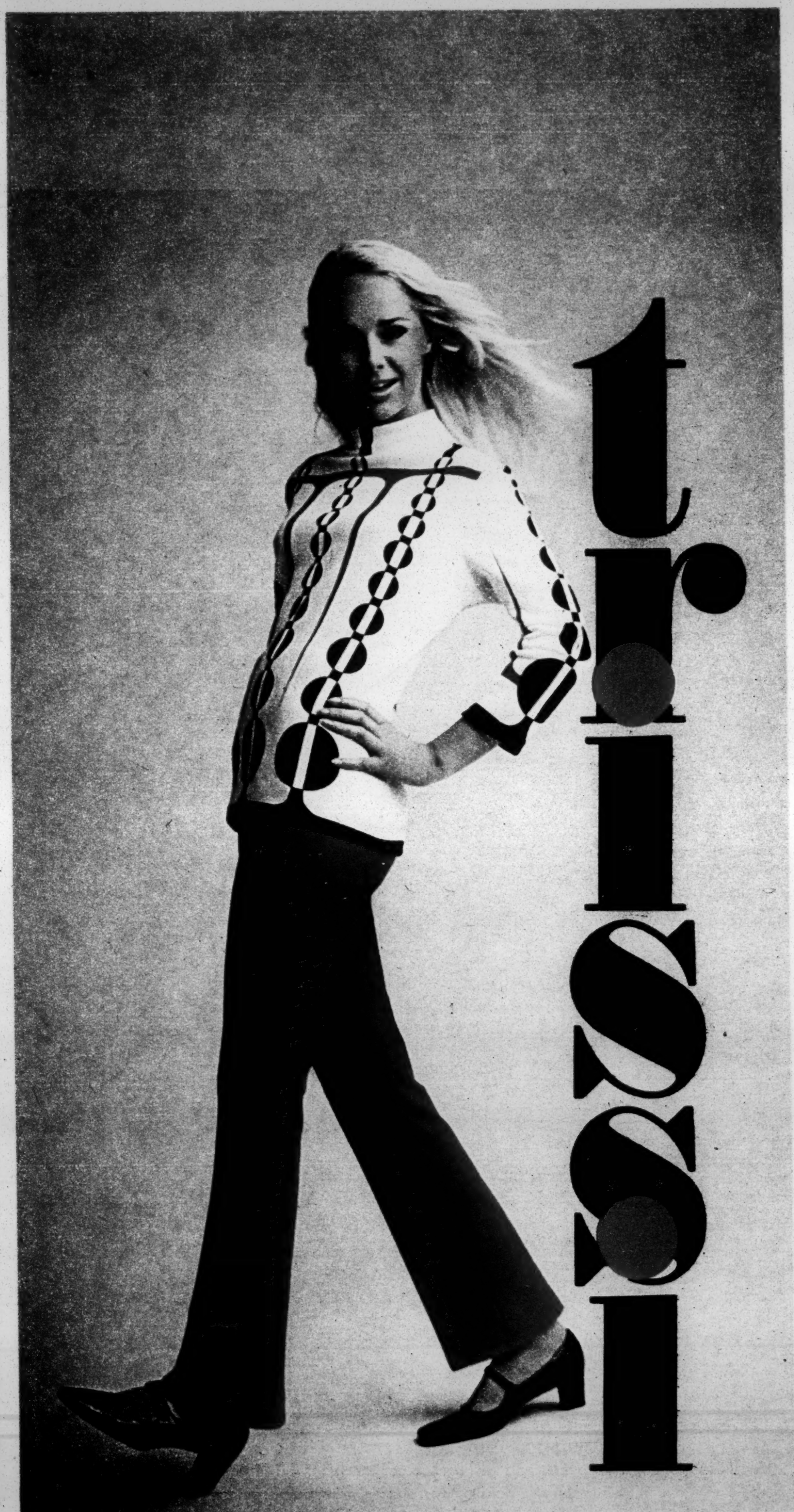
CLARA MARSHALL—She signed the report urging the ouster of Ocean Hill teachers.



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(Continued from Page 58)
and told him that the Board of Education had voted to request his intervention.

Allen agreed to look for an answer. On Friday, Sept. 13, he spoke briefly with some of the participants and then, at 10 o'clock that night, met with Ted Kheel at the Century Association on West 43d Street. Kheel suggested that the solution could be to remove the sources of dispute on both sides—suspend the governing board, and temporarily transfer the 10 teachers to headquarters assignment. That morning, the teachers had begun their second strike.

The next day, which was Shanker's 40th birthday, Kheel invited Shanker to his home in Riverdale and discussed the proposal. After considerable hesitation, Shanker said he thought his negotiating committee might buy it, provided there was a formal agreement that the governing board would not be restored until the 10 teachers were taken back, and that McCoy agreed to take his orders from Donovan.

While Kheel and Shanker were conferring, Mayor Lindsay was facing an angry meeting of parents' associations at J.H.S. 104 near Stuyvesant Town in Manhattan. Among other questions, he was asked how the governing board could be permitted to continue in office after its clear violation of its agreement not to prevent the return of the teachers. The Mayor said he thought the governing board had lived up to its agreement with him—"more or less"—and experienced the first of what were to be several vigorous booings he would receive during the strike. More important, he lost forever any chance to be the guarantor of a strike settlement: The teachers who had been terrorized on Ocean Hill, and all those who spoke to them, would not trust anyone who reacted so calmly to the frightening events of Sept. 11 at I.S. 55.

THAT first Saturday, Allen announced his first Allen Plan—i.e., Kheel's trade-off of the governing board against the 10 teachers. On the same day, Mayor Lindsay swore in three more new members of the Board of Education—John M. Doar, a former Assistant Attorney General under Robert Kennedy, who had prosecuted civil-rights cases in the South and had come north to be head of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Development Corporation (within whose territory lay most of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district); Walter W. Straley, a vice president of A.T.&T., and Mrs. Ana Alvarez Conigliaro, a vocal Puerto Rican leader. Almost from the day of his inauguration, the Mayor had been saying that his office should have control of the Board of Education. Now, for the first time, a majority of that board was of his choice. Nobody congratulated him.

The Board of Education suspends the Ocean Hill governing board, and then restores it.

THE first act of the new Lindsay majority was to follow the Allen directive and suspend the Ocean Hill governing board. The union responded that it would take

SOLUTIONS TO LAST WEEK'S PUZZLES

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(David) ROBERTS: THE MOUNTAIN OF MY FEAR—This was the real thing, now. Matt was climbing skillfully, calmly, but he knew as well as I that the pitch he was leading was the key to the whole face. It was a matter of simply doing what he knew how to, one piton after the other.

the paired suspension of governing board and teachers only on condition that the governing board would not be restored until the teachers were in their classrooms—and then added further conditions. The other union teachers the governing board had rejected would have to be guaranteed classroom assignments, union observers would have to be stationed in the schools with power to close them in case of disorder, and the Mayor would have to promise not to approve actions of unofficial groups harassing teachers.

The Ocean Hill governing board reacted in fury. Kenneth Clark raged at Commissioner Allen for apparently equating the supposed rights of 10 teachers with the educational hopes of the Negro community.

On Sept. 20, Allen permitted the Board of Education to restore the Ocean Hill governing board. That made Clark (and the majority of the Board of Education) happier, but the net effect was to relieve Shanker of any obligation to accept even the temporary *transfer* of the dismissed 10. Now the union's demand was for suspension of the governing board and *restoration* of all U.F.T. teachers.

"What is ultimately disgusting is that there were no real issues—just slogans"

The strike becomes a racial conflict.

THE strike was highly successful, and increasingly nasty. Brushing off a plea from the Mayor, the teachers' union held a mass meeting in front of City Hall on Sept. 16, with something more than 15,000 teachers and other unionists in attendance. Though Bayard Rustin and a number of Negro union leaders were present, the crowd was overwhelmingly white. The awkward fact was that McCoy and most of the governing board were Negro, and every one of the 10 teachers was Jewish. The Mayor's office had seen the clash as racial from the beginning, and now began to say so. And the U.F.T. began to solicit support with the distribution of leaflets reproducing anti-Semitic literature which had appeared in the Ocean Hill district. As several people have pointed out, the union gave this stuff infinitely more circulation than its producers could have dreamed of—and some of it was simply the ravings of a single fanatic with access to a Mimeograph machine.*

In Ocean Hill, attendance was light (even with children brought in from other districts, the schools were never so much as two-thirds full), but all classrooms were manned, most of them by enthusiastic beginners who impressed visitors to the district, especially visitors who were also enthusiastic beginners. Seventy per cent of the new teachers were white, and half were Jewish. Ocean Hill was operating much as its leaders would hope to see it operated if they won their fight. There was no pressure on them to settle. All the pressure was on the rest of the city, where more than a million children were out of school.

Sept. 28-29, 1968—The Mayor settles the strike.

THE Board of Education kept announcing that schools were open, ordering teachers and supervisors back to them, ordering McCoy and the governing board to receive the union teachers back to their classrooms. Nobody paid any attention. The Board ap-

*** The item for which the union was most severely criticized, however, was legitimate. It was a report from the independent journal Education News on a class in which a teacher named Leslie Campbell advocated black separatism and Molotov cocktails. The leaflet reported the class as an "actual lesson in J.H.S. 271," and called it an "example of what the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board feels is suitable curriculum." The New York Civil Liberties Union called these statements "frauds" and "a lie," because the class in question had been observed elsewhere in the city. But Campbell *was* in J.H.S. 271, and he had been hired by the governing board subsequent to the publication of the report in Education News. So the case was apparently even stronger than the U.F.T. leaflet indicated.**

If one goes a cut deeper, however, it begins to appear that the N.Y.C.L.U. did unwittingly expose an unfairness in the U.F.T. literature. Campbell was in the district because he had been punitively transferred from his previous school. Asked where he wanted to go, he said, "Ocean Hill." Donovan called McCoy and asked whether he would take Campbell, and McCoy said, "Sure." Considering who Campbell's friends were in the district, it would have been almost impossible for McCoy to say no. That the governing board was not united in its affection for Campbell is a matter of record in its minutes. At the meeting where the dismissal of the 19 was voted, Mrs. Elaine Rooke, a governing board member sufficiently militant to be among those indicted by a Brooklyn grand jury in December, moved to add Campbell's name to the list of those who must go, and got a second but not a majority. Pity.

pointed John Doar head of a new negotiating committee.

Accepting, somewhat reluctantly, the Memorandum of Agreement which had ended the previous strike, Doar regarded his mission as one of assuring compliance with law. He had made the University of Mississippi accept James Meredith, and now he would make the governing board of Ocean Hill accept the union teachers. For Shanker, however, the question was one of simple labor-relations obligation. He had taken a grievance, and he had won it, and now the boss was permitting middle management to wreck the agreement in a branch office. Neither man had ever seen anything quite like the other, and personally they got on very well. Between late September and mid-November, Shanker and Doar dined together at least once a week, hashing out their intellectual disagreements on a rather abstract level.

But the schools were still closed. On Sept. 24, reluctantly, the Mayor put himself back in the picture, and the strike began to grind toward settlement. Donovan announced (to the great resentment of the governing board) that he was assigning 37 observers to keep an eye on conditions in the Ocean Hill schools, and that the observers would be backed by police, to make sure the union teachers could return safely. Then the talks with the union broke down over the issue of union observers in the schools, and the power of the observers to close schools. And on Saturday, Sept. 28, all parties adjourned to Gracie Mansion for one of those all-night sessions which have been since the Wagner days part of the disease of labor relations in New York City.

OBVIOUSLY, there could be no retreat from the memorandum which had ended the previous strike. The union teachers were going back. Ocean Hill still manfully opposed their return, but Mayor Lindsay for eight hours wore down the governing board's new lawyer, the peppery civil-liberties specialist William Kunstler. The city was, however, prepared to sweeten the pot by awarding the district as many extra positions as might be necessary to keep existing staff while taking back the union teachers, giving McCoy a unique resource of additional teachers to plan and execute new programs for Ocean Hill children.

And the union won its demand for authority to station observers of its own choice in the Ocean Hill schools, even though the Board of Education was fierce in opposition. Doar insisted that the observers whom Donovan had already stationed in the schools would be all anybody needed. What was required now, he felt, was voluntary compliance by Ocean Hill, which could not be got if the Board seemed to be pushed around by the union. Doar refused to yield to the Mayor on this point, and the negotiations went on to other topics.

By dawn's early light on Sunday, Doar, sitting exhausted in a chair, saw Shanker and state mediator McDonnell and Mayor Lindsay's labor adviser, Harold Israelson—all assuming Doar would give in eventually on the issue of union observers—coming down the stairs together and talking about how the children were going to make up the lost time and the teachers the lost paychecks, and how the deductions were to be taken for the weeks of the strike. Shanker was suggesting that one-third of the teachers' monetary loss be deducted from each of the next three paychecks, to minimize hardship, and Doar suddenly sat up straight and said, "To hell with it; I'm not going to give any more." He thereupon departed. Galamison had left some hours before, as had the Ocean Hill contingent, and Walter Straley remained to sign the new contract for the Board of Education.

THEODORE KHEEL—He proposed a mediation scheme that failed by a hair.

Early October, 1968—The schools are open, but Ocean Hill is riotous. Donovan suspends McCoy and the principals, and closes J.H.S. 271.

A FEW peace offerings were made in Ocean Hill's direction that Sunday after the deal was closed. Doar stressed that the Board had managed to avoid a situation where union—or even neutral—observers would be empowered to close a school. And Shanker, selling his deal to his delegate assembly, closed with the words: "Now we shall all have to learn to work with Rhody McCoy." The governing board was silent, apparently too shocked to speak.

School opened Monday, Sept. 30, with more than 1,000 policemen in Ocean Hill, an assistant superintendent from school headquarters in each building, and men from the Mayor's office and the union checking up on what was happening. Doar and Galamison went into the schools themselves to see what they could do to keep things cool.

The first week was messy but not hopeless. J.H.S. 271 had a riot with injuries to 10 policemen and an indeterminate number of local and visiting militants, but when it reopened, with Doar on duty in the building, most rooms were reasonably quiet. In the district's seven other schools, more union teachers received classroom assignments every day. But the governing board had voted that the union teachers should not be given classes to teach, and at the week's end Oliver announced the fact to the newspapers. McCoy said he

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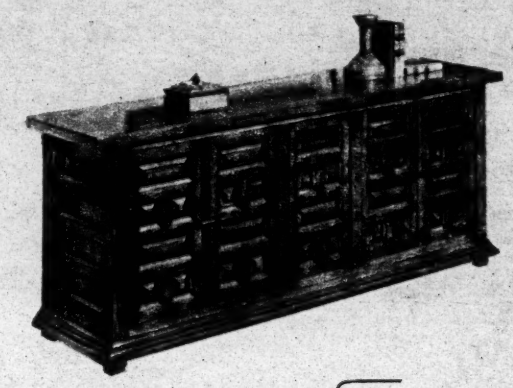

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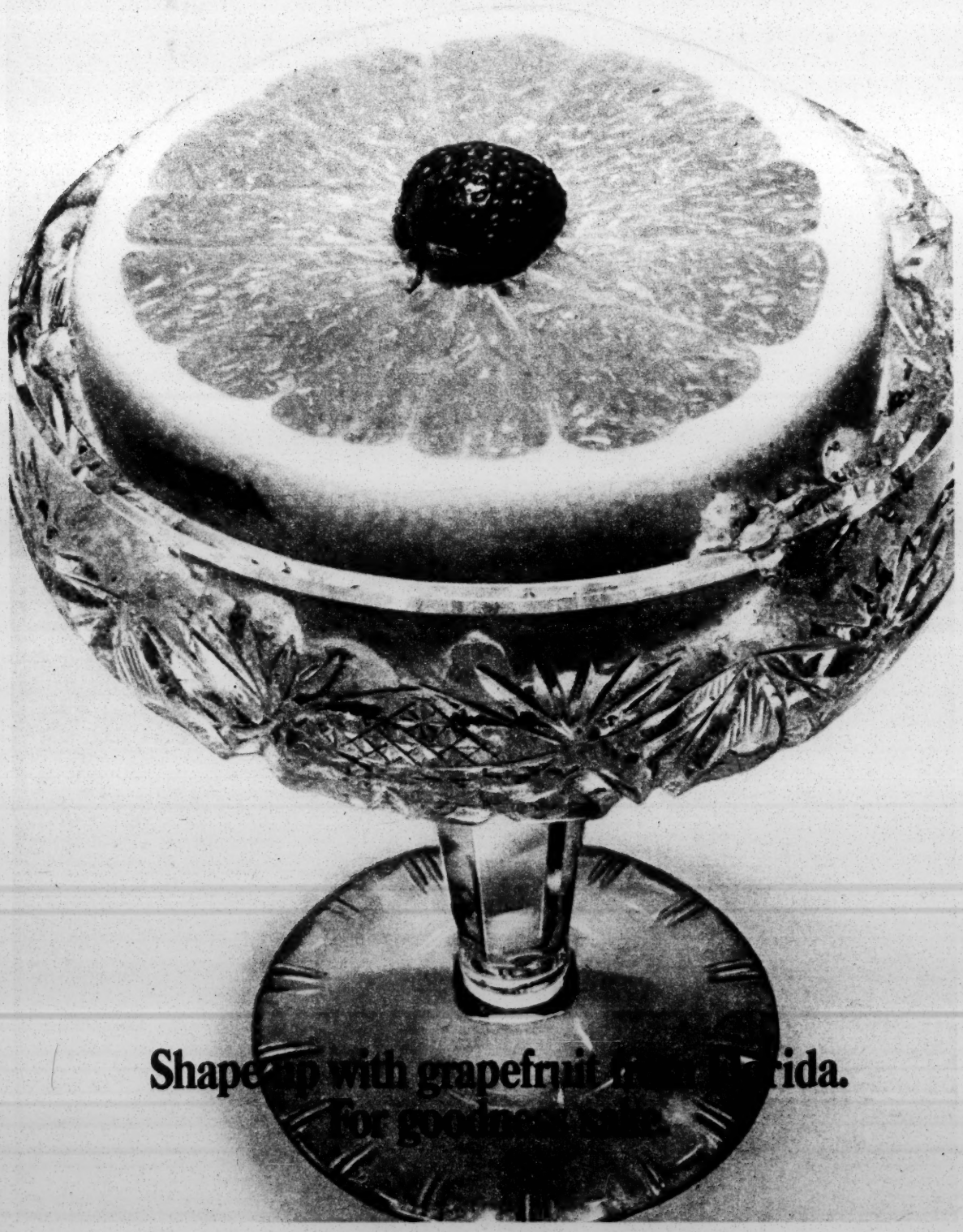


would have to take his orders from the governing board (even though it had been suspended) rather than from Donovan, and Donovan suspended him. Then the principals (with one exception, who requested transfer out of the district) announced that they would have to take their orders from McCoy, and Donovan suspended *them*. The Superintendent ordered the principals to report to school headquarters rather than to their schools, and McCoy told them to go.

On Wednesday, Oct. 9, with principal William Harris gone, J.H.S. 271 erupted again. Members of the governing board, aggressive teachers and neighborhood militants who had been allowed into the building threatened union teachers, union and Board of Education observers and the assistant principal whom Donovan had told to run the school (a veteran administrator, herself a Negro, she applied for and received transfer the next day). Pupils were encouraged to raise hell in halls, classes and, especially, in the auditorium. Donovan closed the school, and ordered the staff, both union and nonunion, to meet with him in one of the Board of Education offices near Brooklyn's Borough Hall early the next day. McCoy, who had remained at his desk despite his suspension, told the staff to go.

Thursday morning, Donovan met with about 125 teachers from J.H.S. 271, and told them that only they could end the trouble in their school. Either they would learn to get along with one another, or he would bring in a new staff. Albert Vann of the African-American Teachers Association said he thought the teachers would like to talk over their problems by themselves, and Donovan left.

Out in Ocean Hill, the assistant principals who had taken charge of the other buildings assigned union teachers to classes, and the district was reasonably placid —for an armed camp.

Oct. 11, 1968—The Board of Education restores the principals, and Shanker prepares to call another strike.

FRIDAY, Oct. 11, the Board of Education held a meeting that was more like a permanent crap game than a session of an official body. Individual members drifted in and out, checking with their constituencies or with the parties to the dispute or making personal phone calls or just walking around. Donovan left the meeting to talk with the J.H.S. 271 teachers, who were meeting down the block. A girl who appeared to be a spokesman for the newly hired teachers rose when Donovan asked for news and said she thought everything was going to work out—and then Al Shanker stepped through the doors at the back of the room and leaned against the wall.

"Why don't you have *him* arrested?" bellowed Leslie Campbell but the other teachers shushed him.

Donovan asked Shanker to leave, and he refused. His people had told him they were concerned that Donovan might push them around, and he wanted to be there to be sure it didn't happen. Donovan explained that it was a private meeting, and Shanker said that he had a right to be at any meeting the Superintendent held with union teachers. Donovan said icily that he did not equate the post of Superintendent of Schools with that of president of the United Federation of Teachers, and Shanker shrugged. Donovan said that unless Shanker left he would leave, and Shanker stayed.

When Donovan left, Shanker followed, and Donovan stopped him. "What's got into *you*, Al?" Donovan said. "I don't know that they can work it out, but this is the best chance we've had." Shanker stubbornly insisted that his people might be bullied in his absence. Donovan said he was going to return to the room, and Shanker said that if Donovan did, he would too. Donovan quit, and the two men left in different directions.

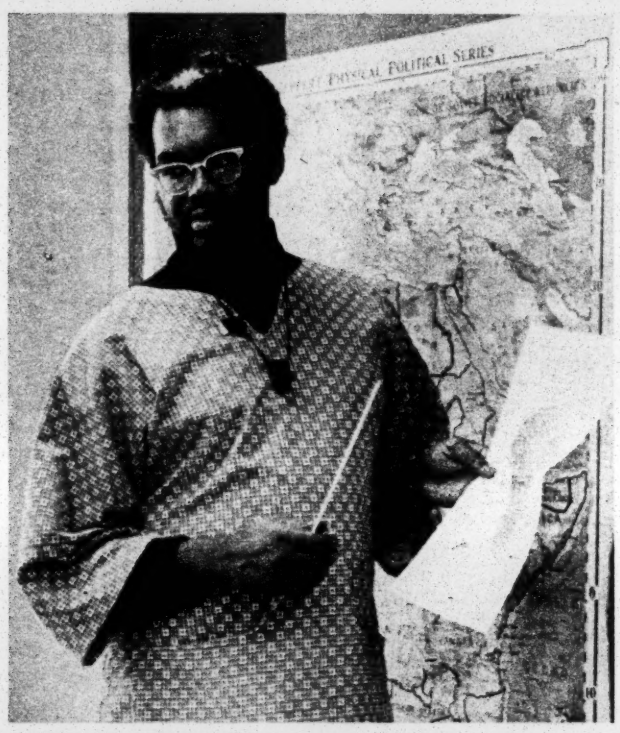
The Superintendent returned to where some of the Board were meeting, and reported on his day (mentioning that he had to be brief, for he was to catch a plane for Denver to make a speech). Galamison said he had spoken with the suspended principals, and they had given him a pledge that they would treat all teachers alike, and that all would be quiet at J.H.S. 271. Doar talked to McCoy, who assured him privately that, governing board or no governing board, the teachers would be given real assignments the next day if the principals were restored. You just couldn't ask the Ocean Hill people for a humiliating public promise—

"rub their noses in it," as Galamison said.

The members of the Board present at the meeting were furious with Shanker for barging in on Donovan's session with the J.H.S. 271 teachers, and they were in a rush because Donovan had to leave. In this mood, a rump committee of the board — diffferent accounts speak of four, five or six members, certainly less than a quorum—told Donovan to order J.H.S. 271 reopened and the principals reinstated, as of Monday. Donovan gave a statement to the press, to that effect, and departed for Denver.

What had happened, so far as the union could see, was that the Lindsay-dominated Board of Education had capitulated to Ocean Hill. The principals, still saying they would follow McCoy's directives, were to be reinstated with full power to assign teachers. J.H.S. 271, where children had been egged on to make life impossible for union teachers, was to be reopened with no guarantee of any sort that the same scenes would not occur again. Worst of all, Shanker had not even been given the courtesy of a telephone call to tell him of the decision: He learned about it from reporters who called him for his reaction. His reaction was to set in motion the machinery for calling a third strike.

Before Donovan's plane had set down in Denver, Mayor Lindsay's office had called every possible stopping place in that city to reach him, and to tell him to come home. That day, Oct. 11, was the Black Friday of the school disaster.



LESLIE CAMPBELL—Here teaching Afro-American studies at J.H.S. 271, he raised a storm reading an anti-Semitic poem on radio.

Oct. 12-13, 1968—A weekend of hardening positions leaves a conflict without issues.

SATURDAY, Oct. 12, was a day of hardening positions. First thing next morning, Mayor Lindsay called Mrs. Shapiro, in her last innings as acting president of the Board (it had already been leaked that Doar would be elected president the following week, and that Galamison, saints preserve us, would become vice president). The Mayor asked Mrs. Shapiro to call a meeting of the Board for that afternoon. Mrs. Shapiro refused — she had seen enough meetings of the Board to last her quite a while — but she put together a smaller meeting of herself, Donovan, Shanker, Harold Siegel (the secretary of the Board), Israelson (the Mayor's labor adviser) and Deputy Mayor Robert Sweet to gather that afternoon in her apartment on lower Fifth Avenue.

FIRST, though, Donovan, Sweet and Shanker met with Israelson at *his* apartment, and Donovan admitted that he had *not* received a pledge of cooperation from the principals: He had simply told them what they were going to do, and they had not denied it. Nor could he be completely confident of what would be done by the J.H.S. 271 staff, which contained what everybody (including the Ocean Hill administrators and governing board) considered some thoroughly disreputable elements in terms of politics or thuggery. Shanker left in a fury, and after his departure Donovan told Sweet that he felt the Friday announcement that the principals would be returned and J.H.S. 271 reopened had been premature, and that everything should be retained *in statu quo* for at least one more day.

This option was not offered to Shanker, however, at the meeting in Mrs. Shapiro's apartment. Doar, who had been less than enthusiastic about Friday's announcement but had gone along with Galamison, was now arguing that to keep J.H.S. 271 closed after the announcement would be to knuckle under to the union, and would foreclose any chance of the Board's establishing itself as a neutral authority—not only on Ocean Hill, but elsewhere in the city. The most that could be offered Shanker was some kind of public guarantee from Donovan.

Shanker arrived late; he had been discussing the prospective third strike with his delegate assembly. Donovan offered to get on the telephone now, call the seven Ocean Hill principals, and secure from each of them an absolute pledge that the union teachers would be free from harassment and would get teaching assignments. Any principal who would not pledge would not be reinstated.

But the fact is that Donovan was not trying to sell the deal. He was vague about how much leeway the principals would have in assigning union teachers to nonteaching chores. Asked for his personal rather than his official views, he told Shanker that he thought things would be kept cool on Monday and probably Tuesday, but that later in the week hell would probably break out again.

Now Shanker suggested that J.H.S. 271 be kept closed and the principals be kept suspended for just one more day, while arrangements for controlling the reopenings and reinstatements were perfected. He was told that was impossible.

There are conflicting recollections of what happened at this meeting, but it seems that the discussions did move. Shanker was willing to admit that the principals would find it next to impossible to issue public statements that they would assign *all* the union teachers. Donovan offered to make the public statement himself, after talking with them. People began suggesting wordings for Donovan's statement, and Sweet called the Mayor to tell him the situation looked promising.

Then Shanker suddenly shook his head and said it wasn't enough: He was not ready to ask his people to remain on the job on the strength of just a statement by Donovan that third parties had said something or other to him. Sweet suggested that Shanker get his strike authorization and keep it in readiness in case the pledges to Donovan proved delusory, but Shanker had now made up his mind. There could be no question that his people would follow him; the city was in terrible trouble.

Oct. 13, 1968—A secret Sunday dinner meeting produces confusion and catastrophe.

ONE last clear chance remained to avoid catastrophe: The Board of Education could still revoke Donovan's Friday statement about the Ocean Hill principals, and give Shanker and Donovan a day to work out something formal with signatures at the bottom. Having failed to persuade Mrs. Shapiro to call a meeting of the whole Board, Mayor Lindsay got Galamison to call a rump meeting of the seven Lindsay appointees, who came together for dinner that Sunday night, Oct. 13, at Armando's Restaurant in Brooklyn. Sweet and Donovan telephoned them from City Hall. Conscious of all the problems that might follow, both men (Sweet speaking for the Mayor) begged the new members of the Board to abandon Friday's position. Israelson had warned Doar separately that if the union did strike again, any subsequent settlement would be worse, from the Board's and from Ocean Hill's point of view, than what was in the existing contract.

HISTORY moves at its own pace; time gallops within. But one should pause here, at this instant of truly fateful decision, to consider those in whose hands the future of the city was now placed. Six of the seven Lindsay appointees were, in one way or another, intimately connected with poverty programs or with "promoting social change." They were, to be marginally unkind, fundamentally in the resentment business—that is, their function was to push on those who made decisions, not to make decisions themselves. Though it was fashionable to say they had "constituencies," in fact, they did not: They had been elected to nothing and they were responsible to no one except for their performance as spokesmen for positions. Their habit was to deal with issues, not with people. None of the six understood how a big organization runs: The fragility and interdependence of *normal* urban life is something they had no way to think about, because their work dealt entirely with pathologies.

The man who had to run the school system and the man who had to run the city now came to this group, recently placed in brief authority over the one by appointment of the other, and pleaded with them to take the one action that could avoid catastrophe for the city. The six could think about the situation only in terms of slogans and personalities and the positions they had taken. Worst of all, they were to make their decisions in secret, for the Mayor's office would shield them. These pages are the first appearance in print of the fact of the meeting at Armando's Restaurant on the night of Oct. 13.

The seventh man in the group of Lindsay appointees, Walter Straley of the telephone company, had the background and training and position to see how profoundly harmful a new teacher strike would be. For five hours, from 7 to midnight, he hammered at his colleagues to get them to reverse the decision so hastily taken on Friday to restore the Ocean Hill principals and reopen J.H.S. 271 without safeguards for the teachers. He could not budge one of them.

THE Mayor on television spoke in agony about Shanker and the teachers' union, about the closing of all the city's schools over a dispute in one of them, about the lack of "moral authority" in the union to do what it was doing. It is no defense of Shanker, who with the third strike of the fall moved his union from a posture of defending its own to a posture of attacking the poor people of Ocean Hill, to say that he was honestly acting in what he considered the best interests of those who had chosen him to make such decisions for them. But it is perhaps a valid defense of the old, supposedly discredited ethnic politics to point out that in a city two-thirds non-Spanish Catholic and Jewish, the political decision to permit the horror of the ultimate teacher strike was taken by a group which did not include a single representative of the

two majority elements, and which acted solely on the basis of the ideological bias and self-esteem of its members.

Oct. 14, 1968—The big strike begins. It is to last five weeks.

FEWER than 8,000 teachers now voted to commit the union to another strike, but on Oct. 14, 50,000-odd teachers were again out of the schoo's, demanding now an end to the Ocean Hill project.

This time, the teachers stayed out for five weeks. Though the Board of Education and the newspapers kept making optimistic noises about schools in operation despite the strike, at no time were as many as one-eighth of the city's schoolchildren in school. In September, the union had commanded the sympathy certainly of a majority of the city's residents and perhaps of a majority of parents. By the end of this strike, parents were frantic and furious

Perhaps it may be noted here without comment that none of the principal figures — not Shanker, not McCoy, not Doar, not Mayor Lindsay — had children in the New York City public schools. And perhaps it should also be noted that all the children of these worthies, and of the teachers, are well-fed at home, while for tens of thousands of colored children in New York the free school lunch they now missed was the one good meal they ate.

The Mayor's first reaction to the new strike was to try to nationalize the dispute, and to secure mediation by three figures whose work was fundamentally outside New York — John Gardner of the Urban Coalition, Whitney Young of the National Urban League and George Meany of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Thought being equal at the Mayor's office to press release, the public knew that the Mayor was trying to gather up this committee at about the same time the Mayor learned that of the three only Young was prepared to serve. The Mayor then put together a more local group, keeping Young, and substituting Harold Israelson and Ted Kheel for Gardner and Meany. Kheel agreed to be a fact-finder only, because there was nothing to mediate.

Meanwhile, the Board of Education had elected John Doar its new president, and Doar had made a few statements which seemed to mean that the Board was, honest Injun, going to try to break a strike by the largest union local in the United States. The response from the labor movement — taken without even consulting Shanker — was quick. At the suggestion of the national A.F.L.-C.I.O. and its Central Labor Council, the custodians' union instructed its members to shut off power and heat and close and lock the schools. In some instances, the custodians thoughtfully changed the locks, so that nonstriking principals and school officials could not get in.

Ocean Hill now went to Federal District Court, seeking an injunction which would forbid its suspension by the Board of Education. The matter was heard by Judge Anthony Travia, who noted with interest that he had all the parties to the dispute in his courtroom. He suggested that they all meet together in his chambers and see if they couldn't work things out, as litigants often do, in pretrial sessions.

The discussion in Travia's chambers on Friday, Oct. 18, set the stage for the eruption of ill-feeling that characterized the last weeks of the strike. Nearly all the governing board attended, sitting suspiciously at the back of the room and glaring at Shanker and Donovan. At this meeting, the governing board for the first time suggested that it might consent to take the teachers back. After all, its new counsel, Morton Stavis, said, the Board of Regents was about to approve new decentralization rules proposed by the Board of Education pursuant to the Marchi Law. Under these rules, a district would be empowered to transfer out anybody without reason, provided only it could find another district willing to accept the transferred fellow. Thus Shanker's teachers could be batted back and forth between, say, Ocean Hill and its friends at I.S. 201. Oliver cheerfully agreed. Thereafter, Shanker, who would have been deeply suspicious anyway, was never willing even to consider any apparent concession offered by Ocean Hill. When Whitney Young announced, the next week, that the governing board at Ocean Hill had changed its mind, and would welcome back the union teachers, Shanker was not even interested.

SONNY CARSON—An activist who does nothing to discourage his reputation as terrorist, he led a crucial demonstration at 271.

Mayor Lindsay seeks a simple answer, and everyone gets mad at him.

THAT first weekend of the big strike, Kheel, Young and Israelson met with the people who had been in Travia's chambers, and reported gloomily to the Mayor that it looked like a long strike. Around the city, in an obviously desperate gesture, parents and nonstriking teachers urged on by Galamison broke into some of the schools the custodians had closed. Everywhere, attitudes were growing ever more ugly.

The Mayor decided that the focus of the situation was J.H.S. 271. The Board had made a mistake in reopening it; now the Mayor would close it. He met with Assistant Chief Inspector Lloyd Sealy, who was in charge of the police in Ocean Hill, and asked how much trouble would result from closing the school by executive order. Sealy said there would be plenty of trouble: People in the district had not been upset when the school was closed before, because they knew that viciousness had been displayed inside it. But now the school was functioning, on the governing board's terms, and closing it would be seen as deliberate, cold-blooded punishment of the community. Still, if need be, his men could control the area.

The Mayor then drove to Brooklyn, where the Board of Education was meeting, and told the Board that he was going to close J.H.S. 271 on his own authority as Chief Magistrate, in hope that this action would end the strike. Some members asked if he objected to their voting on his move, which he did not, though he wanted it understood that he would proceed on his own course whatever the vote was. The Board voted against closing J.H.S. 271, but not, the Mayor thought, passionately. He then returned to Gracie Mansion, called in the television crews, and made his announcement.

Shanker, Commissioner Allen, Kheel, Young and Israelson all learned of the Mayor's action from the news media, and were not amused. The union rejected the Mayor's initiative, and Ocean Hill seethed with feelings of betrayal.

Second week of the big strike—Commissioner Allen produces his second plan.

AT the monthly meeting of the State Board of Regents in Albany on Thursday, Oct. 24, one of the upstate Regents observed that strikes like this one never got settled publicly — which was what everyone had been trying to do — and that the time had come to settle it privately. By unanimous vote, the Regents asked one of their number, Max J. Rubin, a lawyer who was once president of the New York City Board of Education and had negotiated with Shanker, to go down to New York and check out the union's real demands. Fellow Regent Kenneth Clark volunteered to share the limousine with Rubin, and to look in on the Ocean Hill side of the dispute.

Rubin met for two and a half hours with Shanker at the National Arts Club on Gramercy Park, and Shanker made the offer he would repeat that Sunday night in an hour-long television debate with Doar: the union would drop its demand for the removal of the governing board and McCoy and would settle for the status quo of the last day school was open — everybody on Ocean Hill suspended, and J.H.S. 271 closed. This was not, really, much of an offer: with the principals out of the schools and the assistant principals operating under Donovan's orders, little if anything would be left of the Ocean Hill project. Still, it looked like a step forward. Rubin drove back to Albany, found the Board of Regents at dinner, and reported on the substance of his conversation with Shanker.

THE next morning Allen read to the Regents a statement he had drafted after the previous night's meeting. It stressed the "long history of oppression" the Negro has suffered, and "commitments we cannot abandon, either as a matter of educational policy or as a matter of conscience." Most of the Regents were not entirely sure what these sentiments meant in terms of the New York strike, but they were touched by the depth of Allen's feeling, and with only minor changes the memorandum was adopted as a Regents' statement. Specifically, Allen proposed that the union teachers go back, that the governing board and McCoy be officially restored to office, that they agree to receive the teachers and give them classroom assignments, and that Allen himself or a designee stand ready to enforce the agreement, up to and including the dismissal (not mere suspension) of anyone who interfered with it. The Regents then called a meeting for 5 o'clock that afternoon, Oct. 25, at the Hotel Commodore in New York, with all parties present. The earlier idea of settling the strike privately had been abandoned.

Like most unprepared meet-

PICTURE CREDITS

1—DRAWING BY ROBERT M. CUNNINGHAM
18-19—THE NEW YORK TIMES (BARTON SILVERMAN, JACK MANNING, EDWARD HAUSNER); LEONARD KAMSLER
20-21—THE NEW YORK TIMES (DONAL HOLWAY, LARRY MORRIS, NEAL BOENZI)
22-23—THE NEW YORK TIMES (BILL SAURO); LEONARD KAMSLER; THE NEW YORK TIMES (PATRICK BURNS, BARTON SILVERMAN)
24-25—TED CRONER; FRIEDMAN-ABELES
26-26A—THE NEW YOORK TIMES (BARTON SILVERMAN); ASSOCIATED PRESS
26B—FRIEDMAN-ABELES
32-33—NASA; THE NEW YORK TIMES (GEORGE TAMES)
42—THE NEW YORK TIMES (NEAL BOENZI)
53—THE NEW YORK TIMES (EDWARD STOUT)
55—THE NEW YORK TIMES (BILL ALLER)
58—THE NEW YORK TIMES (BILL SAURO)
65—THE NEW YORK TIMES (ARTHUR BROWER)
67—THE NEW YORK TIMES (SAM FALK)
68—THE NEW YORK TIMES (MICHAEL EVANS)
69—A. T. & T.
70—CORNELL CAPA FROM MAGNUM
71, 75—KEN REGAN FROM CAMERA 5

ings, the four-way session at the Hotel Commodore went badly, and it ended particularly badly when a group of angry supporters of the governing board entered and shouted curses and obscenities at the union, Board of Regents and Board of Education alike. The Regents had not been exposed to this sort of thing before, and it made an unfortunate impression. Shanker made an unfortunate impression, too, when he replied to a conciliatory statement by one of the parent members of the governing board with a flat statement that he did not believe she was telling the truth.

Anyway, the second Allen Plan was launched—the first having been the one he developed with Ted Kheel back in the spring—and it became a basis for negotiation among the parties. Whitney Young hailed Allen's statement as "a second Emancipation Proclamation."

On Saturday, Oct. 26, Allen and Shanker and Rubin met for three and a half hours in Allen's suite at the Commodore, while the Regent and the Commissioner tried vainly to sell the union leader something which his membership was almost certain to see as a step backward. Listening to Shanker's replies, Allen was especially struck with the union's unwillingness to trust either the Mayor or the Board of Education to enforce an agreement in Ocean Hill, and with Shanker's concern about what might happen elsewhere in the city after the end of the strike.

Third week—Commissioner Allen tries to meet the union halfway with a third Allen Plan and is rebuffed.

THE following Tuesday, Oct. 29, Allen attempted to remove some of the union's worries with a detailed proposal sufficiently different from what he had said before to qualify as yet a third Allen Plan — and this plan did, indeed, two and a half weeks later, become the centerpiece of the settlement that ended the strike.

In the new plan, the state, instead of being a remote guarantor of peace on Ocean Hill, would be the direct administrator of the project. Allen proposed to put the unit under state trusteeship, with a full-time state trustee supported by a full-time staff of state assistants to assume daily oversight in the Ocean Hill schools. Observers, including union observers, would also be present in the schools, and would report to the trustee rather than to Donovan. The suspension of the governing board would be continued, and McCoy would be reinstated only if he would pledge to follow the orders of the state trustee, regardless of what the governing board (in exile) might say.

Allen called for all parties to accept his new plan by noon on Wednesday, and that morning he met with a very unhappy delegation from Ocean Hill who could not understand why they were so much worse off on Wednesday than they had been on Friday. Ultimately, the governing board decided that it would neither accept nor reject the plan — which meant, functionally, acceptance. The Commissioner's office believes that Shanker, too, was ready to accept — but that his negotiating committee would not go along. They knew Allen only as an antagonist on decentralization and as the author of the previous Friday's emotional statement to the Regents, expressing "commitments" to Negro aspirations.

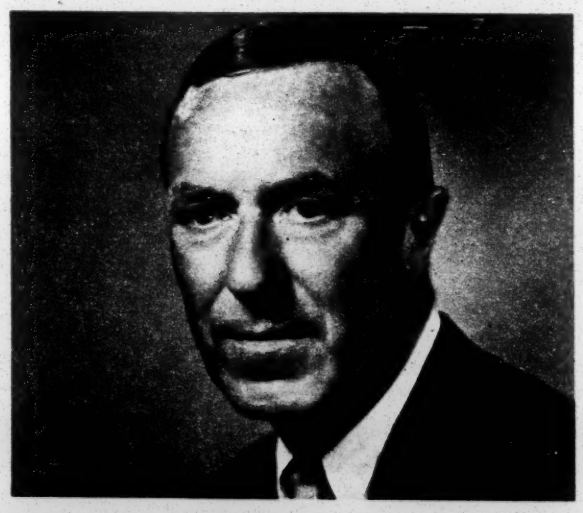
On Nov. 1, the delegate assembly of the union rejected the Allen Plan as "paper promises." It was the gloomiest day yet.

IN despair, the Mayor called for the parties to accept arbitration of the issues — which were not now the return of the teachers (let alone the power of the governing board to exclude teachers without giving reasons), but the right of the governing board to survive and to have the principals of its choice in its schools. There is some reason to believe that Shanker had informally accepted this proposal before the Mayor, who had grown wary, announced it, but in the end, the union, like everybody else, turned it down. The Mayor reacted with a savage attack on Shanker and the union, and an announcement that what Shanker was really doing was seeking to force a special session of the State Legislature, which would almost certainly kill school decentralization in New York.

On Sunday, Nov. 3, Shanker made the announcement Mayor Lindsay had predicted: The union was calling for a special session. With this gesture, Shanker forfeited the support of Negro union leaders, because he had promised them that he would not seek to kill decentralization, an issue to which much of the Negro community has, perhaps unwisely, made a strong emotional commitment. On Nov. 4, Doar, Donovan, Allen, Mayor Lindsay and Joseph W. McGovern, Chancellor of the Board of Regents, issued a joint statement endorsing the Allen Plan and rejecting any possible special session of the Legislature.

Fourth week—The strike turns nihilist.

TUESDAY, Nov. 5, was election day, and the custodians went back to work in the schools. They remained on the job thereafter, easing the task of those who were seeking to keep schools open. The picket lines grew more abusive of nonstriking teachers. (There probably was, and is today, as much verbal harassment of nonstrikers by U.F.T. members as there has been of teachers on strike by parents and community representatives. Many teachers who continued to teach during the strike—including Bernard Donovan's daughter — doubt that they will be able to remain in the schools. They do not, of course, have a union to defend their interests.) In certain areas, most notably Bay Ridge in Brooklyn, the union mobilized mass picketing to prevent the reopening of schools. Sentiment in the city began to change: The teacher strikes had become a bad dream that people hoped to find gone each morning when they woke up, please.



WALTER W. STRALEY—One of the Lindsay appointees to the Board of Education, he tried in vain to change his colleagues' minds.

In this fourth week of the strike, nobody in the Board of Education, the Mayor's office or the Commissioner's office could see how it could ever be settled at all. Kheel came around rather wistfully with a scorched-earth plan — governing board, McCoy, principals and all disputed teachers to be removed permanently from Ocean Hill. Shanker was not interested.

The fact was that the strike had gathered its own momentum, and was no longer directed against Ocean Hill. It had become nihilist, an expression of the teachers' distrust of the board, the Mayor and the Commissioner. Max Rubin, surveying the situation with experience as well as distaste, called Allen with the idea that finally produced the settlement—a State Supervisory Commission, an independent instrumentality without the political (or social) interests or obligations of the public officials, which would be created strictly to maintain the rights of the teachers in the New York schools, and which would be empowered to close any school where these rights were violated.

Fifth week—A gimmick and an indirect trusteeship for all city schools bring an end to the strike.

QUITE independently, the Mayor had called in Shanker, Walter Degnan of the Council of Supervisory Associations and Harry Van Arsdale of the Central Labor Council, and had offered to place in their hands the Chief Magistrate's power to close schools which he had exerted in the J.H.S. 271 fiasco three weeks earlier. Over the weekend before the fifth week, Rubin's proposal coalesced with the Mayor's gesture of despair, and the outlines of the final settlement — state trusteeship for Ocean Hill, State Supervisory Commission for the rest of the city—began to become clear. But another week of hatred in the streets and name-calling on television was necessary before the deal in fact came into being.

During that interval, on Thursday, Nov. 14, the Appellate Division handed down a 3-to-2 opinion upholding Justice Rinaldi's decision that the Ocean Hill principals had been appointed illegally. So the Mayor had something else to give the union: The three principals directly involved in this case would be suspended, supposedly pursuant to rule of law, until the Court of Appeals uttered a final ruling; the other Ocean Hill principals would continue on the job. Though Shanker and the union had no real objection to two of the three principals involved, they had become symbols of the victory the leader could take home to his membership—and of the further defeat that the state trustee would now make Ocean Hill swallow.

Nov. 16-17, 1968—Settlement by exhaustion.

AGAIN on a Saturday, Nov. 16, at the end of the fifth week of the climactic strike, everyone in the story gathered at Gracie Mansion — McCoy, Oliver, Father Powis and a few others from Ocean Hill in the front room, the old part of the mansion; the union on the ground floor in the new back wing built for meetings; the Board of Education and the Commissioner in the basement of the new wing, where the Mayor has his office. Ted Kheel was lunching with Kenneth Clark at Le Pavillon, and they were developing a plan by which the Central Labor Council and Clark's research organization could meet together and create a decentralization proposal everyone could live with. Kheel called the Mayor to tell him about the idea, and was informed that a deal was in the making. The two men went up to Gracie Mansion to help out.

Several separate negotiations were in progress. One was between the union and the Board of Education—essentially, Doar, Straley and Donovan—over the contents of the "laundry list," the schedule of longer days and makeup days which would enable children to catch up on missed lessons and teachers to collect missed paychecks. Another was on the composition and authority of the State Supervisory Commission. A third was on the details of Allen's statement establishing a state trusteeship on Ocean Hill.

And a fourth, wholly separate, really not a negotiation at all, was the effort by the Mayor and Allen and their deputies, and Kenneth Clark and Whitney Young, to persuade the governing board to go peacefully, to accept the inevitable and trust Allen's and Doar's and the Mayor's goodwill to build back their influence in the schools of their district. But, since May, the governing board had turned down too many deals infinitely better than this one.

On every issue except its right to live, Ocean Hill had

lost. Four of the eight principals the governing board had originally recommended were now to be, at least temporarily, out of its schools; the board itself was suspended and its members were to be forbidden to visit the schools; in addition to the union and Board of Education observers who had caused such offense five weeks before, there were now to be representatives of the State Education Department who had the power to countermand orders from principals or McCoy, on the spot. Any school where union teachers were harassed would simply be closed (as J.H.S. 271 was for two weeks in December). The city—even the Mayor's office—was now prepared to endure a race riot rather than another teacher strike: Ocean Hill's last leverage was gone.

Left with a choice between claiming a sell-out or admitting they had been wretchedly ill-advised and wrong since May, the governing board humanly denounced the agreement as a sell-out, and left. On the way out, Father Powis called: "Hey, baby, now we burn down Brooklyn!" and Whitney Young answered bitterly: "It's a pity—isn't it?—that there are only 2,000 blacks you can get killed on Ocean Hill."

CLARK moved down to the basement to be with the Mayor and Allen and Doar, to try to keep a voice for Ocean Hill sounding in the cacophony. Kheel ran upstairs and down, between officialdom and the union, bearing little pieces of paper with clauses written on them. Nobody was keeping track of what had been and had not been settled. The teachers picked at the language of the documents, and Kheel and Israelson patiently rewrote.

Finally there were only two issues left: banning the members of the suspended governing board from visiting any schools in the district other than the one in which the individual member had her own children, and removing from the Board of Education decentralization plan the clause which permitted local boards to transfer teachers out involuntarily, provided only that some other local board would take them.

Clark pleaded that a contract which barred the governing board from its own schools would be an intolerable humiliation. Shanker, in the other room, was adamant: It had been members of the governing board who had made the most trouble in the schools during the previous settlements. The compromise worked out was that there would be nothing in any contract forbidding the governing board access to its own schools, but that Allen would include a statement to that effect in his letter establishing the trusteeship.

SURPRISINGLY, it turned out to be much more difficult to persuade the Board of Education to revise its decentralization plan and withdraw its grant of authority to local boards to transfer teachers to other local boards. Doar absolutely refused to budge on the issue. It dawned on the participants that a lawyer's logic had led Doar to the notion that the whole impact of the troubles since September could be negated if a rule was only allowed to stand, and everyone, including Clark, turned on him angrily. Finally, Doar urged a compromise by which the board would agree that local boards could not transfer people until after Dec. 31, and his colleagues had him on the ropes. If he was willing to change his document to put a time limit on it, then no issue of principle could be involved. "You're just trying to get me to go along with the union," Doar complained, but he yielded.

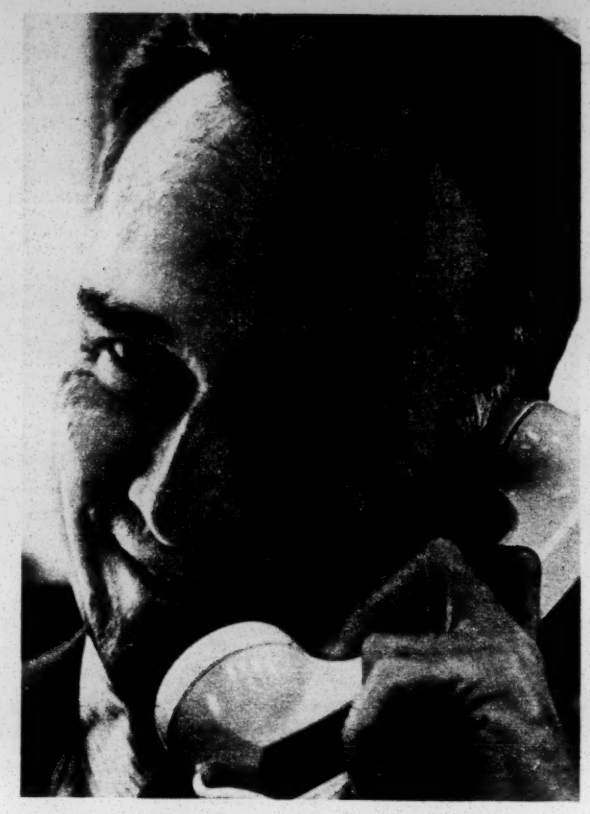
If there had been any ambiguity in the union contract which suggested that the Ocean Hill governing board could successfully stage a confrontation on the issue of involuntary transfer, that ambiguity was now gone. Involuntary transfer had been made a grievance, subject to the full grievance procedures—including arbitration. "Pending such decision," the clause concludes, "the status quo of the employe shall be maintained."

FINALLY, a little after 10 in the morning, some 24 hours after the negotiations had started, the settlement was ready for release. It consisted of two pages of agreements between union and Board, and six pages of a letter from Commissioner Allen. While the city waited to learn whether its agony was over, while the exhausted participants in the negotiations dragged about Gracie Mansion trying to keep awake (Donovan read a detective story), the clerical staff of the Mayor's office took three and one-half hours to type eight double-spaced pages. Nobody's fault, of course: It's the urban crisis.

Why us?

IN real life, of course, there is plenty of fault here.

First, blame lies on the foundations and the Mayor's office for their casual acceptance of confrontation techniques. In an article on Ocean Hill in the August-September issue of Interplay, based entirely on information from within the project, Richard Karp wrote that the governing board had dismissed the teachers with the "tacit approval" of the Mayor's office and "the 'establishment.'" Allowing a little for wishful thinking, I think this statement is true. No representative of the Ford Foundation or the Urban Coalition has spoken critically in public—or to me, in private conversation—about the action of the governing board in "dismissing" the union teachers.



MARTIN MAYER—Author of this article.

Speaking of their April meetings with the governing board—which they had never mentioned publicly until I called to check up on complaints about nonsupport which I had heard in Ocean Hill—the members of the Urban Coalition education task force regretted, not their failure to dissuade the governing board from its suicidal action of May 7 in dismissing the teachers, but their subsequent *success* in convincing McCoy that he would have to prefer charges, thus revealing the arbitrary and deliberately provocative nature of what had been done. Now—*now*—foundation executives are beginning to speak of the troubles they had in the South with projects the Rev. Mr. Oliver was associated with as part of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Until now, everybody lay doggo.

The Ford Foundation, which could easily have uncovered the truth about the May 7 action of the governing board, released a pending grant for the benefit of Ocean Hill-Brownsville at the end of May (and moneys from that grant were paid continuously to the governing board and some of its members as individuals through all the suspensions imposed by the Board of Education and the Commissioner).

None of its large collection of big-time white advisers ever warned the governing board that two can play at the game of confrontation, and that in any direct conflict with the labor movement Ocean Hill would take a fearful beating.

Second, blame lies on the Board of Education both for failing to respond to the anguish of the constructive elements on the governing board in the fall of 1967 and for failing to find a reasoned response to confrontation in the spring of 1968. The Ocean Hill governing board was and is a creation of the Board of Education, upon whom the parent body could have mandated compulsory arbitration by simple exercise of its rule-making powers.

Decentralization is a viable idea only if the plan includes arrangements for some higher authority to assume effective trusteeship over a seriously erring local board. The simplest and least painful way to enforce such a rule would have been to announce that unless the Board of Education was convinced that all teachers in Ocean Hill would be protected against the sort of casual injustice that had been perpetrated on May 7, the Bureau of Personnel would refuse to assign to the district new teachers to replace those who were surely going to leave. This option was available at least until July.

Later, when the new school year opened, the disorders of the first week and the union's response to them gave the Board of Education a clear choice between keeping the schools closed on Ocean Hill or watching Shanker close them everywhere in the city. Inertia, as usual, won, penalizing 1,150,000 children, rewarding and encouraging the terrorist elements in Ocean Hill—and ultimately, of course, leaving the governing board much worse off than it would have been if the Board of Education had lowered the boom at once and announced that the Ocean Hill schools were going to be closed until the governing board cooperated in the reinstatement of union teachers.

Third, blame falls on Mayor Lindsay, whose drive to politicize the school system has been quite exclusive of any thought of the reaction such politicalization might provoke—and whose devotion to his Urban Task Force has left him increasingly at the mercy of a secret service which gains rewards to the degree it can convince its chief that his state is insecure.

In the controversy over decentralization, the Mayor insisted on treating the teachers as just another pressure group, rather than as the only adults who spend all day in schools. In the spring, when the Ocean Hill situation blew up, the Mayor used his influence to work against decisive action to control and localize the dispute — and in the fall he panicked, saying increasingly harsh things about the union in public and offering increasingly grave concessions in private.

Underlying the climactic strike was the ugly fact that the teachers' union was not prepared to accept the Mayor's word, or even his signature on a document, as a pledge of his future actions. Not until the three-man State Supervisory Commission had been created to police the agreement—meaning that the teachers would not under any circumstances have to deal with Mayor Lindsay or his appointees if they felt their rights had been violated—would the union agree to end the strike.

AT the interface between the white world and Ocean Hill stood Milton Galamison and Rhody McCoy, assuring everybody that everything was going to be all right—which was just what they had been saying, most inaccurately, for months. I have the feeling from browsing around Ocean Hill that this time they may have been right. The neighborhood was not at all happy about the games its children had been encouraged to play around J.H.S. 271, and the parents of the children were probably eager in October to see peace return to their schools.

"I can see why Shanker struck the first two times," said one of the most important Negro figures in the Ocean Hill unit. "Though you wouldn't expect it, because I'm out here and I'm loyal to this experiment and to these people, I even sympathize with

him. But that last strike was just a horror."

Through all this tortuous course, one must take account of the extraordinary figure of Rhody McCoy. For six months McCoy kept saying different things to different people. He was against the original confrontation, but helped set it up; while appearing to favor arbitration of the dispute, he opposed even the Kheel recommendations at meetings of the governing board; throughout the summer he was discussing future joint ventures with Shanker while urging the community to continue its total intransigency to the return of Shanker's people; maintaining his image of professionalism and exclusive interest in education, he did not stop the terrorism of the first Wednesday; during the strikes (and in the weeks following the final settlement) he was the source of any number of inflammatory statements and helped set up situations which would reveal what he called (correctly) the "degrading and humiliating" terms of the deal that had ended the strike—but each time one of his actions or statements made trouble he could and did give a plausible explanation in terms of the demands upon him from "the community."

McCoy has an odd locution for his most disruptive statements: They are almost always put in the mouth of some anonymous other. Speaking about the radicalization of the governing board, for example, he said recently, "When a mother sees her own kid failing, she thinks it's her fault or the kid's. When she sees a whole *class* of kids failing, then she begins to think the whole system is designed to keep black children down." The listener can come away from that statement believing either that McCoy himself thinks the school system is a deliberate conspiracy against Negroes, or that he sympathizes with the violent if misdirected feelings of naive women.

A foundation officer said the other day that he wished he could get some confidence that he knew the real McCoy. Members of the governing board would not be so clever about it, but sometimes they share the same view. McCoy keeps his pipe in his mouth, speaks slowly and not often—sometimes militantly, sometimes moderately, always intelligently. In Christmas week, I challenged him with some of the inconsistencies detailed in this narrative, and finally he said: "Everybody else seems to have a public posture and a private posture. Why shouldn't McCoy?" There is, I think, an answer to this, but I'm damned if I know what it is.

IN the end, I suspect, what went wrong was that the fall's second strike was too successful—it was actually *popular*. A member of the Board of Education says almost seriously that he believes Shanker called the climactic strike because he wants to be Mayor—and that if he ran he would win.

The enormous turnouts at the teachers' rallies—5 and 10 times the size of the crowds that the followers of Ocean Hill could muster—ultimately persuaded the union that it could in effect refuse to deal with the elected Mayor of the city, and that it could dictate public policy on the continuance or abandonment of the Ocean Hill experiment. The strike revealed a shocking quantity of racist sentiment in the city, among more teachers than one would have expected—especially given the leadership the teachers had chosen for themselves.

For Al Shanker was the leading integrationist in the New York labor movement. He marched in Selma, served on the steering committee of the Conference for Quality Integrated Education, and led the union's executive committee to a 30-to-2 endorsement of Mayor Lindsay's civilian review board to hear charges against the police. Not long before Ocean Hill blew up, Shanker proposed a civilian review board to deal with complaints against teachers from parents who found the existing disciplinary structure unresponsive to their anger.

Teacher lunchrooms were better integrated than any others I have ever seen, and Negroes probably felt more at home in the teachers' union than in any other white institution in the city. On the real issues that must be resolved in the city's schools, the U.F.T. as an organization was by no means unsympathetic to the Negro position.

But there were no real issues in the strikes—just slogans. What is ultimately disgusting about the teacher strikes and the public officials who failed to prevent them is that words like "community control" mean no more in dealing with the complex of relationships between school administrators and parents than words like "quality education" mean in dealing with the inadequate teacher training and severe multiple deprivations which combine to produce so much wretched work in our slum schools. On words like these, people who knew no better created a confrontation.

During the course of the crisis, a member of the Mayor's Urban Task Force told a meeting of architects that he thought the strikes would do good by showing people how important education is. One can, perhaps, be a little more precise about the impact of the teacher strikes. They accelerated the flight from the city's schools—and indeed from the city itself—of those who can afford to leave. They made companies which had thought of establishing themselves in New York decide to shun the city. They poisoned the wells of human decency which did exist in this cosmopolitan and sophisticated metropolis, which the Mayor only three years ago called "Fun City." And they will very probably reduce to the condition of a Boston or an Alabama, or some mixture of the two, a school system which was wretchedly ill-organized and weakly led but relatively alert intellectually and by no means so completely ineffective as it has become fashionable to say—and which was almost the only real hope the city could offer for the future of hundreds of thousands of Negro and Puerto Rican children. ■

Meantime, Back in Ocean Hill . . .

Harassment of union teachers has stopped in Ocean Hill (if not elsewhere), and the police details are down to one or two men per school. Indeed, the worries of the parents about personnel are now concentrated less on union teachers than on the corps of enthusiastic and loyal beginning teachers, some of whom have proved utterly incapable of controlling their classes, even with the help of paraprofessional aides. Once again, private parties are making lists of "teachers who must go." The *opéra bouffe* aspects of this problem are more apparent from a distance than they are on the scene.

In the schools, several of the district's experiments are proceeding, including programed instruction in reading and some bilingual classes. The Bereiter-Engelman program of intellectual force-feeding for 5-year-olds, much admired by conservatives, is being tried out in classrooms at the Rev. Mr. Oliver's church—for which the Board of Education pays a higher rental per square foot than it pays for any other space rented in the city for instructional use.

The three principals suspended in the settlement of the climactic strike have been returned to their duties following a decision by the Court of Appeals that they were, indeed, properly appointed as part of an experiment. Rhody McCoy is involved in a struggle for control of a new $4-million Community Education Center to be built in Ocean Hill, and his chances of winning are tied to his ability to keep the peace.

Still at issue are the restoration of the governing board and the elimination of state trusteeship. The governing board has agreed to issue a statement recognizing obligations under the Education Law, but as of last weekend the statement was still too vague to convince the Board of Education (let alone the union) that the state could safely leave.

Leslie Campbell, who had been suspended from J.H.S. 271 after the riot in the week before the big strike, was reinstated by the commissioner's office at McCoy's insistence when the Board of Education failed to provide substantial evidence of his participation in the riot. Campbell has been continually in the news ever since, with racist and anti-Semitic statements, including the recital on the radio of a poem, dedicated to Albert Shanker, that began: "Hey, Jew boy, with that yarmulka on your head/You pale-faced Jew boy—I wish you were dead." The teachers' union and a number of Jewish organizations are demanding his suspension.

Quiet returns to J.H.S. 271.

I must say I wish they would leave him alone, and let the parents of the district find a way to force McCoy to request his transfer out. A moment's thought should be enough to convince anyone, whatever his views on social or racial questions, that the parents of Ocean Hill-Brownsville don't want Leslie Campbell in their schools. Campbell, who tried to lead a citywide student strike after the settlement of the teacher strike, considers it his function to get kids riled up. No mother—white or black, revolutionary or reactionary—wants to see her 12-year-old child riled up to throw rocks at policemen and make Molotov cocktails and the like.

—MARTIN MAYER.

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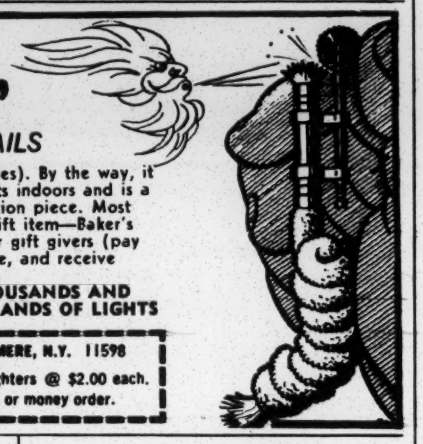

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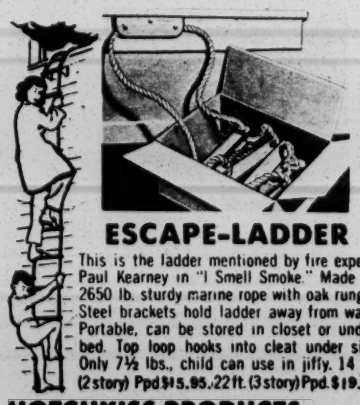

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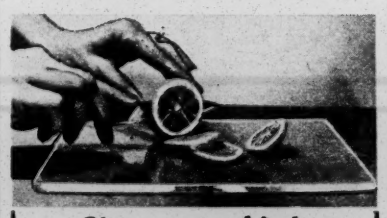

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Blood and ice

(Continued from Page 26A)

gan in a recent game against the New York Rangers when he leaped over a skate behind his goal to push the puck to teammate Glen Sather. Sather moved between two Bruins and skated toward the Rangers' goal. But, within six seconds, the Rangers' two defensemen had elbowed the puck loose from Derek Sanderson, a Bruin forward, as soon as he touched it. Suddenly, two Rangers skated quickly toward Orr and Dallas Smith, another defenseman, who had been crouching near the blue line designating the Bruins' end of the rink. Smith, on cue, skated forward but only slowed down the two Rangers. As the Rangers approached the goal Orr skated sideways without deliberately charging into them, then pivoted and, still obeying hockey's liberal interpretation of the rule on "checking," skated so forcibly into Rod Gilbert's shoulder that the momentum carried both of them against the unpadded sideboards.

After they bounced off the boards, Orr recovered the puck and, though about to fall, passed it to Sanderson. By the time Orr recovered, the Rangers had again separated the Bruins from the puck and were skating toward Boston's net. The puck went to Dennis Hextall, who was instantly slammed against the boards by Orr. Spinning around, Orr passed the puck to his forwards, who were once more stopped by the Rangers. Again, Gilbert skated toward Orr, who poked his stick under Gilbert's arm and stole the puck, then skated until accidentally colliding with the Rangers' Larry Jeffrey. Though Jeffrey fell, Orr continued to skate until hit hard by Brad Park, a Ranger defenseman. Orr knocked the puck to Sanderson while lying on his back.

Though the Bruins substituted defensemen (few hockey players can skate effectively for longer than two or three minutes without resting), Orr got less than 25 seconds off the ice instead of the usual few minutes. Two Bruins were sent to the penalty box for unnecessarily fouling the Rangers. Not unexpectedly, most of the fans in Madison Square Garden cheered as enthusiastically as if New York had scored. It seemed highly probable that the Rangers would do so soon; they would have five men skating against three Bruins. But, it turned out, not against just *any* three Bruins. "We need —— —— body work," snapped Harry Sinden, the Bruins' peppery little coach, as he tapped Orr's right shoulder.

Orr, still breathing heavily, leaped over the rink's sideboards and stationed himself in front of the Bruins' goalie for the face-off, in which a referee drops the puck between two opponents. A Ranger knocked the puck toward Boston's net, but Orr kicked it away. Another Ranger passed the puck, only to have it intercepted by Orr. Then, since the Bruins wanted only to stall until they were again at full strength, Orr skated in circles with the puck while two Rangers pursued him for about 10 seconds. Faking left, he passed to a teammate, who quickly returned the puck. Orr skated sideways, but found himself trapped behind his own goal by three Rangers. There was no way for him to knock the puck out of the area or to a Bruin. Instead of surrendering the puck, he hit it against the rink's sideboards and sent it ricocheting 200 feet to the Rangers' zone. Within 10 or 12 seconds he had recovered the puck.

SUCH work is not as easy as the fast, agile Orr makes it appear. Most forwards are remarkably skilled skaters who can glide like ballet dancers through the narrowest openings while steering the puck and, without even raising an arm, send it flying toward the goal. Each forward, furthermore, has such a distinct style of skating, passing and shooting that, Orr maintains, "you try stopping one the same way as the other and you'll be flat on your back and he'll be heading down your goalie's throat."

To be sure, Orr has convinced opponents that he can react to each style. Consider, for example, how he frequently plays against the Rangers' Bob Nevin, Phil Goyette and Donnie Marshall, who pass the puck so skillfully that they have made competent defensemen appear clumsy. "You find out how good this Orr is when the three of us go in on two defensemen," Goyette emphasizes. "I'll go in with the puck and then suddenly leave it behind me for either Nevin or Marshall and continue skating into the defenseman to block him out of the play. This leaves two guys against one defenseman. You might eliminate yourself from the play, but you don't eliminate Orr too often. He's so fast that he's almost never too far away to block a shot."

If Orr uses speed against the Rangers, he has found that brawn succeeds most often against the Chicago Black Hawks' Bobby Hull, the league's most feared offensive player. Hull not only has exceptionally strong shoulders that enable him to push most defensemen away, but also is the league's fastest skater and has the fastest shot (118.3 miles an hour). Orr, however, similarly exploits his exceptional 5-foot-11-inch, 180-pound physique. Once he senses that Hull will get the puck he usually skates forward and uses his muscular legs (which have, from years of skating instead of walking, developed out of proportion to the rest of his body) to hit Hull somewhat like a football player throwing a body block. If Orr isn't satisfied with the first collision, he hits Hull again. "You also got to have some surprises for him," Orr says, "but mainly it's tight checking."

Hull calls Orr's "checking" something else. "Running into Orr," he tells you, "is like getting hit by a pickup truck."

Orr has a logical reason for bumping Hull even before Hull approaches the Bruins' net. He is not hesitant to admit it: "I have to make him realize that he's got to shoot from the blue line or else," Orr says. "That 'else' is me. Hull's shot rises so fast that, if you're 10 feet away and try to block it with your knees, it'll rise up and take your head off. You'd better believe it'll kill you. Eddie Johnston, one of my roommates, got hit in the head with a puck that wasn't going nearly as fast as Hull's shot. He got a blood clot on his brain and didn't even remember the first 15 days in the hospital. Hull? You can't be bashful about checking him."

Orr is seldom bashful about blocking pucks that have been shot by other forwards. Even when he is several feet from the shooter it is not uncommon for him to lunge and deflect a shot with his thick gloves. It is more common for Orr to use his skates or legs to knock down a shot by a forward he is guarding, push him to the ice with one hand and guide the puck with the other—all before his opponent has landed. Before 10 seconds of a period elapsed against the Rangers, Orr had stolen the puck from Arnie Brown and scored so easily that the Rangers were seemingly demoralized for the rest of the game.

It is usual for Orr to slide

PAR ANALYSIS

SEMINAR ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Concern over the imminent crisis facing Louisiana's public schools, caused by recent federal court decisions on school desegregation, led to in–depth discussions of the issue at a January 16 meeting held in Baton Rouge. The seminar was jointly sponsored by the Council for a Better Louisiana, Louisiana AFL–CIO, Louisiana Manufacturers Association, Louisiana State Chamber of Commerce and the Public Affairs Research Council. Key citizens from throughout the state attended. This ANALYSIS summarizes the major addresses of the seminar.

COURT DECISIONS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

Judge E. Gordon West

Chief Judge, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana

Since lack of support often results from lack of understanding, it was suggested that I could possibly lighten the load of our school board members a bit if I could outline for you, our leading civic and business leaders, the present state of the law in the area of school integration, and point out to you the duties and responsibilities that the law has placed upon the school board members as administrators of the public schools, the teachers without whom the schools cannot operate, and you and I as law abiding citizens of the United States of America. The school boards must now act under compulsion of Federal law, and they desperately need your understanding, help and support if they are to be successful in their endeavor to preserve our system of public education....

I was asked to talk to you this morning not about what I thought the law ought to be, but instead about what I understand the law to be as interpreted by our appellate courts and by the Supreme Court of the United States....

We must first remember that ours is a country of laws, and without the rule of law, only chaos can result. Those who would advocate disobedience to the law, either openly or by subterfuge, are the promoters and champions of anarchy....

Next we must also remember that under our system of government, the United States Supreme Court is the final arbiter of what the law is. Hence, to understand our obligations under the law in desegregation cases, we must look to pronouncements of our Courts pertaining to that subject.

Separate But Equal Doctrine

...(In 1896) the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* was decided by the United States Supreme Court. That case arose in Louisiana and involved the question of whether

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

or not the State had the right to require whites and negroes to sit in separate sections of a train while traveling. In upholding such a segregation law, the Court applied the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine and held that if the State provided separate but equal facilities for both races, the mandates of the Constitution pertaining to due process and equal protection of the laws had been met. That case was to clear the way for segregated facilities in all walks of life, including the field of education, for the next 58 years, for it was not until 1954 that the Supreme Court finally decided that such a doctrine could no longer be tolerated. In that year, in the now famous case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka,* the Supreme Court specifically rejected the "separate but equal" doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson* and expressly overruled the *Plessy* case, stating that "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." And they further stated categorically that "Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected." This finding was based on the conclusion that the segregation of children in public schools deprived those segregated of the equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Thus, the stage was set for the next 15 years of litigation....

Responsibility for Plans

...The first step in the direction of implementation came with the second Brown case, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka,* decided by the Supreme Court ... in 1955. At that time the Court realized that full implementation of its decree would require solution of many varied local problems. And after realizing this, the Supreme Court handed to the school authorities the primary responsibility for "elucidating, assessing and solving" these problems. At the same time, realizing the proximity of the United States District Courts to local conditions, the Supreme Court directed the District Courts to hold such hearings as were necessary, and to "require" the school boards to "make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" with the Court's ruling. The District courts were instructed to "govern their actions by the use of equitable principles so as to achieve a flexibility in shaping remedies and a facility for adjusting and reconciling public and private needs." But it must be remembered that it was upon the school boards and not the Courts that the duty to formulate desegregation plans was placed. The District Court was to lend its assistance, and to approve or disapprove plans submitted by the school boards. It was never intended that the District Court actually prepare plans and administer the school systems, but unfortunately, because of the failure or refusal of some school boards to act, the United States District Courts suddenly found themselves in a position of either taking over the preparation of desegregation plans or...calling the whole thing off. The latter alternative was, of course, unthinkable if our constitutional government, as we know it. was to survive, so the Courts did, in fact, become involved in the preparation of desegregation plans.

In 1958, a crisis arose in Little Rock, Arkansas.... In the litigation there involved—the case of *Cooper v. Aaron,* the Court concluded that:

> "The right of a student not to be segregated on racial grounds in schools so maintained is indeed so fundamental and pervasive that it is embraced in the concept of due process of law."

When it was argued that only chaos and disorder would result from desegregation in Arkansas, the Supreme Court said:

> "...important as is the preservation of the public peace, this aim cannot be accomplished by laws or ordinances which deny rights created or protected by the federal Constitution. Thus law and order are not here to be preserved by depriving the negro children of their constitutional rights."

Interposition Doctrine

...In Louisiana in 1960, in the case of *United States of America v. State of Louisiana,* the State Legislature passed a bundle of segregation laws and then sought to apply the doctrine of interposition, asserting that the Supreme Court decisions amounted to a usurpation of State powers and then sought to interpose State sovereignty between the Court and the Constitution. The Court made short shrift of this maneuver.

In *Griffin v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia,* the County elected to close all of the public schools in that County rather than integrate. ...The Court ordered the re-opening of the schools, stating:

> "...the public schools of Prince Edward County may not be closed to avoid the effect of the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court, while the Commonwealth of Virginia permits other public schools to remain open at the expense of the taxpayers."

Stairstep Plan

During this period of 1954 to 1963, the most widely used plan for compliance with the Court's order was the so-called stairstep plan....Under this plan, a start was to be made toward a desegregated school system by desegregating one grade at a time....Generally speaking, these plans were approved by the Courts as complying with the mandate that a "good faith start" be made which would be continued with "all deliberate speed." But it soon became apparent that most of these plans were being used as delaying tactics and this prompted the Supreme Court to say in the *Cooper* case in 1963 that "The time for mere 'deliberate speed' has run out." This pronouncement brought immediate demands for additional relief by way of speeded up desegregation in all grades of all schools. Relief was granted in some instances by simply requiring a speed up in the stair step plan, i.e., by requiring that 2, 3, or 4 grades be desegregated at a time, rather than only one. But even

this did not produce a very large percentage of integration in the schools....

Unitary Systems

The next logical step was for the courts to require not only an end to forced segregation in the schools, but an end to the dual school systems and the establishment of a single, unitary system, composed of no white schools and no colored schools, but just plain schools. In an attempt to comply with this requirement, the idea of complete freedom of choice for all students in all grades was employed....but even that plan did not produce the kind of race merging apparently envisioned by its proponents. The question then arose as to whether the law, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, required an end to forced segregation or required forced integration of the races. The case of *Briggs v. Elliot,* a South Carolina case, held that the law did not require integration, it merely required an end to forced segregation. But this ruling was short lived....it was specifically rejected by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in *United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education,* wherein it was held that unless a plan of desegregation actually produced a mixing of the races in public schools, the plan could not be considered to meet constitutional requirements....

Freedom of Choice

So the next step was the so–called Jefferson plan, set forth in...*United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education.* This plan was prepared by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1966, and attempted to combine freedom of choice with geographic assignment. The plan was, by mandate, intended to be imposed upon all of the school districts within the six state area comprising the Fifth Circuit. But even *Jefferson* did not produce the results expected, and hence the ensuing attack on the "freedom of choice plan" which culminated in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia.* This case, and the case of *Raney v. Board of Education,* were decided by the Supreme Court in 1968.

While the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has repeatedly spoken in terms of what percentage of mixing the various plans have produced,...the Supreme Court seems to have studiously avoided holding directly that a plan to be acceptable must actually, in all cases, produce substantial integration....what it has now emphatically said in the *Green* case, is that any plan, to be acceptable, must "effectuate conversion of a state–imposed dual system to a unitary, nonracial system." In other words, the Supreme Court said that any plan which fails to show "real prospects for dismantling the state-imposed dual system at the earliest practicable date" must be considered ineffective and unconstitutional....

The Court said in *Green*:

> "The time for mere deliberate speed has run out....the context in which we must interpret and apply this language (of Brown II) to plans for desegregation has been significantly altered. ...The burden on a school board today is to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to...work now....It is incumbent upon the school board to establish that its proposed plan promises meaningful and immediate progress toward disestablishing state-imposed segregation...."

Percentage Mixing

While the Supreme Court has not yet spoken in explicit terms of forced mixing insofar as students are concerned, nevertheless, it is my opinion that little solace can be found in that fact. The Circuit Court and some District Courts have spoken many times in terms of forced mixing and in terms of percentage of mixing, and while the Supreme Court has not so spoken, still it has not seen fit to reverse or overrule any of the decisions that do speak in such terms. And it is ...important to note that in one case involving integration of faculty, the Supreme Court did specifically approve a plan for percentage mixing. In *United States v. Montgomery County Board of Education,* an Alabama case, the United States District Court had ordered a specific percentage mixing of faculty. On appeal, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals...reversed the District Court....On review, the United States Supreme Court reinstated the plan of the District Court and specifically approved the fixed ratio as to faculty set by the District Judge. This...should provide at least a preview of things to come insofar as ultimate integration of students is concerned.

While the Supreme Court now speaks only in terms of ending the "dual system" of schools and of establishing a "unitary, nondiscriminatory" system where race plays no part in the assignment of students or in any of the other school activities, we would be like ostriches with our heads buried in the sand if we did not take cognizance of the language used by the dissenting members of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in *Montgomery County Board of Education v. Carr....* The dissenting Judges said:

> "Loath as Judges are to articulate constitutional goals or actions in the oft-disparaged mechanical terms of arithmetic, this is an area where it is not the spirit but the bodies which count. Anything less inevitably leaves performance to good faith. Good faith is, of course, needed. But good faith is not, and cannot be the standard. Now, and each term, each school year it comes down to figures. If the result is satisfactory it is because of numbers, not the effort or subjective motivation. If the result is unsatisfactory it is likewise because of numbers. The numbers, i.e., the numerical percentage ratios–need to be fixed."

And in *United States v. Greenwood Municipal Separate School District,* a case decided last year, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals...concerned itself more with the question of what percentage of mixing the plan had produced....

While neither the Supreme Court nor the Court of Appeals has undertaken to specifically define the term "unitary system", nevertheless we get a pretty good idea of what is expected from language used by the Court of Appeals in that connection. In *Henry v. Clarksdale Municipal Separate School District,* decided in March of last year, the Court said:

> "The (Clarksdale) Board should bear in mind that it bears the burden of proving that its existing plan of desegregation is adequate now 'to convert to a unitary system in which racial discrimination would be eliminated root and branch'. If the plan does not promise 'realistically to work now', the board bears the burden of taking corrective action. An effective plan should produce desegregated facilities, staff, faculties, transportation, and school activities (such as athletics) along with integrated student bodies. If there are still all-Negro schools, or only a small fraction of Negroes enrolled in white schools, or no substantial integration of faculties and school activities, then, as a matter of law, the existing plan fails to meet constitutional standards as established in *Green* and its companion cases....

Faculty Integration

And finally, one of the most pressing problems facing the school boards is the matter of faculty integration. For many years after the first *Brown* case, the Courts were content to focus their attention on the question of student assignments and such related matters as transportation, athletics and other normal school functions. But it was inevitable that the question of faculty integration was bound to follow. Until the Jefferson case was decided in 1966, the Courts were more or less content to simply mention the fact that sooner or later, after student integration became a "fait accompli," their attention would be directed to faculty integration. In ordering desegregation of faculty in the Jefferson case, the Court said:

> "There is no merit to the suggestion that the relation between faculty allocation on an alleged racial basis and the adequacy of the desegregation plans are entirely speculative.... Integration of faculty is indispensable to the success of desegregation plans."

From this point on, the emphasis has been...on faculty integration. Thus, in 1968, in the *Bessemer* case,... the Court of Appeals held that "there is an affirmative duty on the part of the school boards to do everything within their power to meet the decree-imposed complete desegregation of faculties, and such desegregation cannot be left to the voluntariness of teacher applicants or transfers." Thus the die was cast insofar as faculty desegregation is concerned....The school boards... must take affirmative action by assigning teachers to schools in such a way as to bring about teacher integration if they are to be held in compliance with the law. The burden is on the school boards, not the individual teachers. As the Court in *Bessemer* said:

> "So there will be no mistake about it—we spell out that Jefferson stands for the proposition that there is an affirmative duty on the part of the school boards to do everything—the word is everything—within their power to meet the decree imposed, complete desegregation of faculty."...

And in its latest case, i.e., the *Singleton* case, the Court said:

> "The school district shall, to the extent necessary to carry out this desegregation plan, direct members of its staff as a condition of continued employment to accept new assignments."

It is also of interest to note...that a three judge Federal Court in Atlanta...recently ordered that the faculty in in all schools in the system be made up of 57% negro and 43% white teachers, which is apparently the percentage of negroes to whites in the entire system....

The remaining question concerns itself only with the timetable that must be followed in accomplishing the ends required by law.

The Timetable

...The "all deliberate speed" test of the 1954 *Brown* decision has no further place in our deliberations.... On October 29, 1969, the Supreme Court decided the case of *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education,* which decision puts the "all deliberate speed" doctrine to its final resting place. That case involved the desegregation of several Mississippi schools. The Court of Appeals had granted a request made by the Mississippi School Board, and joined in by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, for additional time to integrate....Despite the fact that the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals determined that the reasons for a few months' delay were justified. The United States Supreme Court reversed them and said:

> "The question presented is one of paramount importance, involving as it does the denial of fundamental rights to many thousands of school children, who are presently attending Mississippi schools under segregated conditions contrary to the applicable decisions of this Court. Against this background the Court of Appeals should have denied all motions for additional time because continued operation of segregated schools under a standard of allowing 'all deliberate speed' for desegregation is no longer constitutionally permissible. Under explicit holdings of this Court the obligation of every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary schools...."

Thereafter, on December 1, 1969, in compliance with that mandate, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals handed down its decision in *Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District,* and other related cases including several Louisiana cases, in which it ordered the District Court to in turn order the school boards involved to desegregate in accordance with terms therein contained. By those terms the school boards were ordered to completely desegregate faculty and staff of all schools not later than February 1, 1970....This mandate was, of course, complied with and since December 1 the school boards have been diligently working with HEW and others to formulate the required plans. Their proposed plans, in most instances, were filed by January 6, 1970, and the Courts have been in the process of drafting orders as required by *Singleton.* But in the meantime, several appeals were taken from the *Singleton* decision based upon the contention that the Court of Appeals had no right, under *Alexander v. Holmes,* to let the school boards wait until September to integrate student bodies. The appellants contended that *Alexander v. Holmes* required total integration NOW—not next September. A glimpse of things to come was gleaned from the interim order issued by the United States Supreme Court on December 13, 1969, in the case involving our own West Feliciana Parish School District. That order provided:

> "It is hereby adjudged, ordered and decreed:
> (1) Petitioners' application for a temporary injunctive order requiring the respondent school boards to take such preliminary steps as may be necessary to prepare for complete student desegregation by February 1, 1970 is granted...."

While it was, of course, hoped by the school boards and by all of those charged with the terrible burden of converting the school systems to completely unitary systems that the Supreme Court would, in its better judgment, uphold the Court of Appeals in its decision to allow a delay until September for the complete integration of student bodies, nevertheless, in view of the order just referred to, it comes as no great surprise that on Wednesday past, the Supreme Court apparently reversed the Court of Appeals and has ordered complete, total integration of all schools, both faculty, staff and students, by February 1, 1970....This is the latest order of which I have any knowledge, and it is the order by which I assume we are all now bound.

Unanswered Questions

While...even this latest order...will be found to leave some questions still unanswered, nevertheless I do believe in all sincerity that the picture is now clear enough to all who would look at it to allow us to get on with the important task of educating our children within the framework of the law. The unanswered questions to which I refer, while not at this time changing our apparent obligations under the latest Supreme Court pronouncements, might nevertheless be worthy of at least brief mention. The Court has still not undertaken to define what they mean by a "unitary system." Must every last school in the system have a pre-determined percentage of white and colored students before the system can be considered a "unitary" one? While the evasive language of the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court on this point seem to cast doubt on that assumption, HEW nevertheless apparently assumes such a mixing is a must. I say this because in every case in this district HEW, in preparing a proposed plan, has started with the racial percentages in the community and then applied that percentage of mixing to every school in the system. Whether such an exact mixing is constitutionally required or not is still an unanswered question.

Another question which the Supreme Court and generally the lower Appellate Courts have not yet seen fit to face up to is what is the legal status of "de facto" segregation? All of these Courts have decreed...that all forms of "de jure" segregation, i.e., segregation compelled by law, is unconstitutional. But what of "de facto" segregation, i.e., segregation resulting from an unfettered freedom of choice of the individuals involved? Rather than specifically declare this type of segregation legal or illegal, constitutional or unconstitutional per se, the Appellate Courts have chosen instead to simply conclude that all of the segregation involved therein, even though resulting from housing patterns, school locations or even from failure to exercise a freedom of choice, is a direct result of and a hold over from the "de jure" segregation that previously existed throughout this area rather than a result of true "de facto" segregation voluntarily maintained. Thus...they have...obviated the need for a direct decision as to the legality or illegality of "de facto" segregation...

School Boards Need Public Support

The time has come when we must all pull together to save and improve, as best we can, our public school system, and to see that it is operated within the framework of existing law. The Courts have no expertise in the operation of school systems, as I believe has been amply demonstrated over the past 15 years. It is your school boards who are charged by law with the duty of administering the schools. Under present circumstances they have an almost impossible task, but it is high time that they were given the community support which they need so that they can proceed to discharge their important duties.

During the past 8 years I have worked closely with the school boards in the 9 parishes comprising this District, and I tell you sincerely that I have never worked with a more dedicated group of people. They have, in the recent past, been inundated with an avalanche of new rules, regulations, orders, and directives, to say nothing of public criticism and harassment in some instances. But they have still conscientiously tried to do their job. I urge you to try to understand their problems and to help them in every way you can. They are being forced to do things they would prefer not to do, but being the law-abiding citizens that they are, they are fearlessly doing their job. Neither we nor they are engaged in a popularity contest. We are engaged in

the serious business of trying, as best we can, to maintain our system of public schools on a quality level while at the same time abiding by the law of the land as we understand it to be. Won't you please join with us and help us with our problem. I know your school boards will appreciate your help and understanding.

DESEGREGATION PICTURE IN LOUISIANA

Edward J. Steimel

Executive Director, Public Affairs Research Council

Though more desegregation occurred in Louisiana public schools at the beginning of the current school year than in all prior history, more will yet occur in the next 8 months than in any like period in our state's history, past or future.

Prior to the current school year, less than 10 per cent of the black students and less than 10 per cent of the black teachers in Louisiana had crossed over into formerly or predominately white schools. And...only 241 white students throughout the state, along with about 3 per cent of the white teachers, had crossed over to formerly or predominately black schools. (See Tables 2 and 3.)

In the current year as of December 1969, there had been a tripling of the black students and a tripling of the black teachers who had crossed over into white schools. And there were 70 times as many white students and twice as many white teachers in formerly or predominately black schools. This year about one third of the black students and more than one fourth of the black teachers had crossed over. (See Tables 2 and 3.) And while the percentages of white crossovers is not great, it is significant that 17,561 white students in 32 of our 66 systems have crossed over this year....

If the decision is to continue the public schools, then it must be recognized that they will be changed. The courts and the Congress have made this abundantly clear. The racial composition of the faculties and student bodies will be different in the future. The wide ranges in student achievements which have normally existed in the classrooms in both white and black schools in the past will now be even wider. This will call for many changes in the instructional approach if all the children in these classrooms are to be given an opportunity to have an education that is challenging, but not frustrating....

Of one thing I am thoroughly convinced: there is no group anywhere that has the knowledge, talent and desire to produce a workable desegregation plan in your local school system that can even compare to that of your local school board and its staff. You personally do not have that knowledge or talent; I don't have it; HEW doesn't; the Justice Department doesn't; and the courts do not.

But the events of the past 5 months in some of our parishes have made it clear that if your local school board does not have the support of the community, the leadership, and the news media, then it will be forced to function in an atmosphere of uncertainty and be subject to domination by pressures that may well represent one or the other extreme of thought in each of our communities. The school board must have the support of the citizen "establishment" or it will not have the freedom to utilize its talent and knowledge in preparing workable plans for continuing the public school system....

32 Critical Systems

The problem of desegregation becomes more and more acute as the percentage of black students and teachers in a school system increases. The reason for this is the disparity in achievement that exists between black and white students which has resulted largely from the great disparity in educational opportunities....This is not only true in Louisiana but has been found to be true all over the nation.

The Coleman report published by the U. S. Office of Education and *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,* published by the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, point out in numerous passages that black students do better academically when they are in schools that are majority white. The studies also show that they do little or no better in schools with majority black students than if they were in totally black schools. The reason is that students learn from students and if the dominant group is white, which would mean that their achievement level would normally be higher, then the black students learn from this dominant group. It has also been found that in such situations the white students do not necessarily suffer a loss in learning.

It is because of these facts that it becomes ever more difficult to design programs that will provide quality education in parishes where the percentage of Negro pupils approaches 50 per cent or even exceeds it. In Louisiana, there are 9 systems with more than 60 per cent Negro pupils. Another 9 have between 50 and 60 per cent; and 14 more have between 40 and 50 per cent. It is these 32 systems which will have the greatest prob-

lems in designing effective programs of school desegregation....(See Table 1 and Figure 1.)

Desegregation Plans

There are two major facets to any plan. One of these involves the mechanical process by which mixing of the races is accomplished. Though the school board is involved, the courts are in charge of determining whether this first facet is acceptable. The other involves a far more important and complex issue—that of providing a quality educational program after the mixing has occurred. This falls entirely upon the shoulders of the local school board and its staff....

Many people ask the question, "Why doesn't the court or HEW lay down firm guidelines for determining what is and what is not a unitary system?" There is no question but that guidelines could be laid down and they could be firm, but anyone who has really studied the 66 school systems in Louisiana—with their tremendous differences in residential patterns, topography, school construction patterns, roads, natural boundaries, racial percentages, and other significant factors—realizes that it would be virtually impossible to set forth guidelines that could truly apply to many parishes. The result is that many decisions as to whether a plan is unitary or not cannot be totally objective. They are largely subjective.

It is for this reason that the courts have moved from one approach to another in their effort to find an effective means of accomplishing desegregation....

Several approaches are in use today and none can objectively be said to be right for any parish. That must be a subjective decision based on a study of all factors in a school system.

Freedom of choice—whose origin is not in any set of enumerated constitutional or civil rights—is really the creature of the federal courts a few years ago as a device which they felt would effectively desegregate schools. Denounced at first by those wishing to preserve segregation as a pernicious move to mongrelize the white race, it was soon to receive its most ardent support from the same group....But the federal courts, finding it ineffective, likewise changed their attitude and discarded it.

Geographic zoning is probably the most used, and we understand it and support it because that is the way most public schools have been run.

Pairing is the mixing the children of a white with a black school of the same grades, for example the first three grades of both schools go to one school and the next three grades of both go to the other.

Oftentimes a combination of zoning and pairing are necessary to meet court requirements.

Sex Separation is sometimes the approach used, but probably holds little promise for permanence.

Bussing, one of the most discussed and cussed approaches to desegregation, has become a very emotional term....It is a device which has been resorted to on rare occasions because of certain patterns that exist in some school systems. Building patterns, residential patterns,

Table 1

NEGRO PUPILS AS A PERCENT OF ALL PUPILS* LOUISIANA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1968-69 SCHOOL YEAR

Parish	Total ADM*	Negro ADM Pupils as Percent of Total ADM*
Acadia	11,557	23.7%
Allen	5,813	26.1
Ascension	9,415	33.6
Assumption	5,215	47.9
Avoyelles	9,329	36.4
Beauregard	6,431	25.3
Bienville	4,547	56.9
Bossier	18,167	23.6
Caddo	59,953	43.6
Calcasieu	38,683	25.6
Caldwell	2,479	32.6
Cameron	1,975	7.1
Catahoula	3,576	35.7
Claiborne	4,500	58.8
Concordia	6,790	46.1
DeSoto	6,302	61.0
E. Baton Rouge	63,467	36.9
East Carroll	4,036	63.6
East Feliciana	4,293	67.0
Evangeline	8,894	36.6
Franklin	7,329	45.5
Grant	3,818	29.5
Iberia	14,876	33.2
Iberville	8,447	59.3
Jackson	3,884	40.8
Jefferson	59,349	21.5
Jefferson Davis	7,968	24.2
Lafayette	26,835	24.8
Lafourche	17,209	14.9
LaSalle	3,295	15.3
Lincoln	6,832	46.5
Livingston	9,664	15.5
Madison	4,481	72.2
Morehouse	9,309	53.2
Natchitoches	9,279	49.9
Orleans	108,683	67.1
Ouachita	17,766	27.4
Plaquemines	5,081	41.5
Pointe Coupee	5,993	61.0
Rapides	28,522	34.1
Red River	2,491	51.2
Richland	6,735	50.2
Sabine	4,506	31.9
St. Bernard	11,796	6.1
St. Charles	8,019	30.7
St. Helena	3,047	65.4
St. James	5,212	53.5
St. John	6,523	56.0
St. Landry	22,461	47.9
St. Martin	8,609	41.4
St. Mary	15,776	34.0
St. Tammany	15,837	25.5
Tangipahoa	17,089	43.8
Tensas	3,251	66.3
Terrebonne	20,286	19.4
Union	4,954	44.6
Vermilion	9,728	17.0
Vernon	8,084	12.8
Washington	5,932	45.6
Webster	10,414	38.0
West Baton Rouge	4,795	50.3
West Carroll	3,753	27.2
West Feliciana	2,457	70.8
Winn	3,897	38.4
City of Monroe	11,050	47.8
City of Bogalusa	5,947	37.1
State Totals	856,691	39.0

Source: As yet unpublished data prepared for the 1968-69 Annual Report of the Louisiana State Department of Education.

*Average Daily Membership.

and bussing patterns have trapped us into situations where some schools would remain almost totally isolated from a race standpoint if some "bussing" did not occur. Yet, in a number of these cases, the courts have not required that bussing be employed and have instead left those particular schools either totally white or totally black. I might also add that it is **not** the policy of HEW to require "bussing," contrary to the popular rumors rampant in Louisiana which are even mouthed by some teachers and worse still by some of our highest state officials....

Role of the Federal Courts and HEW

There seems to be considerable confusion over who is in charge in bringing about school desegregation in Louisiana. There are, of course, three official groups involved. They include two agencies of the executive branch—the Justice Department and HEW, each of which administers some part of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and the Federal Judiciary—a completely separate branch of government. The courts are not beholden to HEW, nor do they have direct supervision over HEW....

In Louisiana, prime responsibility for desegregation of 62 of Louisiana's public school systems rests with the courts, with suits having been filed in 59 of them already (all except Assumption, Caldwell and Franklin). Responsibility for the other 4 systems rests with HEW. (See Figure 2 and Table 4.) The four parishes under HEW compliance are Allen, Beauregard, Cameron and Vernon. These four parishes, about 1965, signed agreements with HEW, agreeing to comply with HEW's guidelines for school desegregation in order to receive federal funds. In effect, they signed blank checks for school desegregation to occur over a period of time and the only way they would become involved with the courts would be to break their compliance agreement and be brought into court at the urging of HEW or others.

While the other systems did not sign compliance agreements with HEW, most of them did not have federal funds cut off. Only 5 of Louisiana's 66 systems today do not participate in federal programs(Assumption, Caldwell, Franklin, Red River, and Tensas). Even so, most of our systems in Louisiana have been desegregated to some degree, but this desegregation has occurred by federal court order rather than by HEW order.

Status of Desegregation

The number one news story in the nation on Monday, January 5 was the desegregation of some 30 school systems in Mississippi involving approximately 135,000 students....

A larger story might have been written on September 2, 1969, when, for the first time, 14 of the local school systems in Louisiana were totally desegregated, involving enrollments of some 200,000 students. Another three parishes are largely desegregated and are committed to total desegregation by September 1970, under voluntary compliance agreement with HEW. (See Figure 3 and Table 4.) (Louisiana had only one parish, Lafourche, totally desegregated before 1969.) Although these parishes

Figure 1
PERCENTAGE OF BLACK STUDENTS
IN PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS

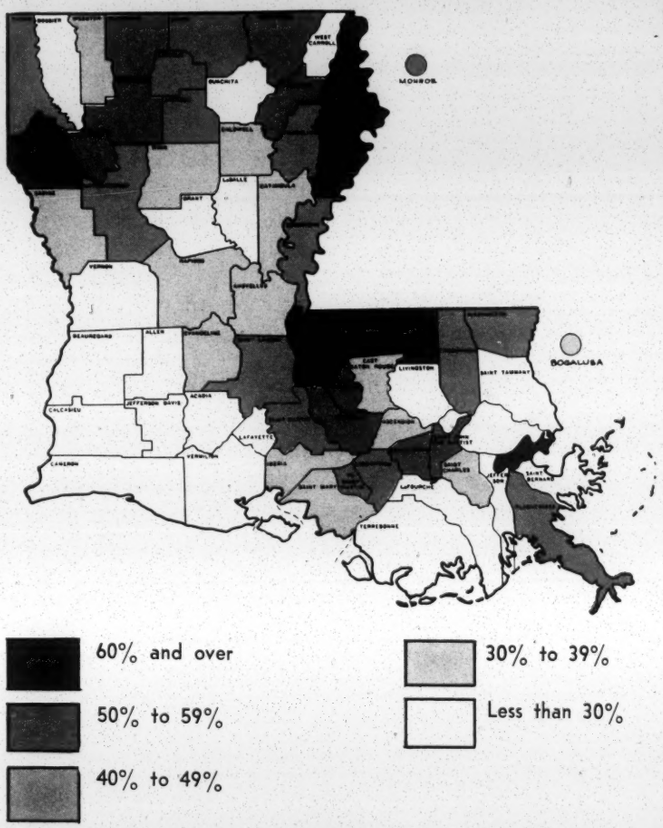


Figure 2
RESPONSIBILITY FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PLANS

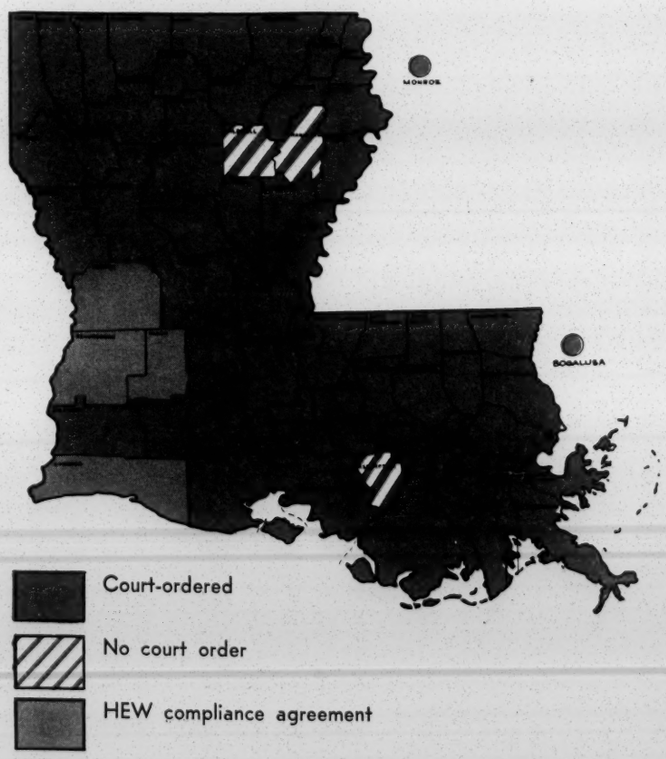
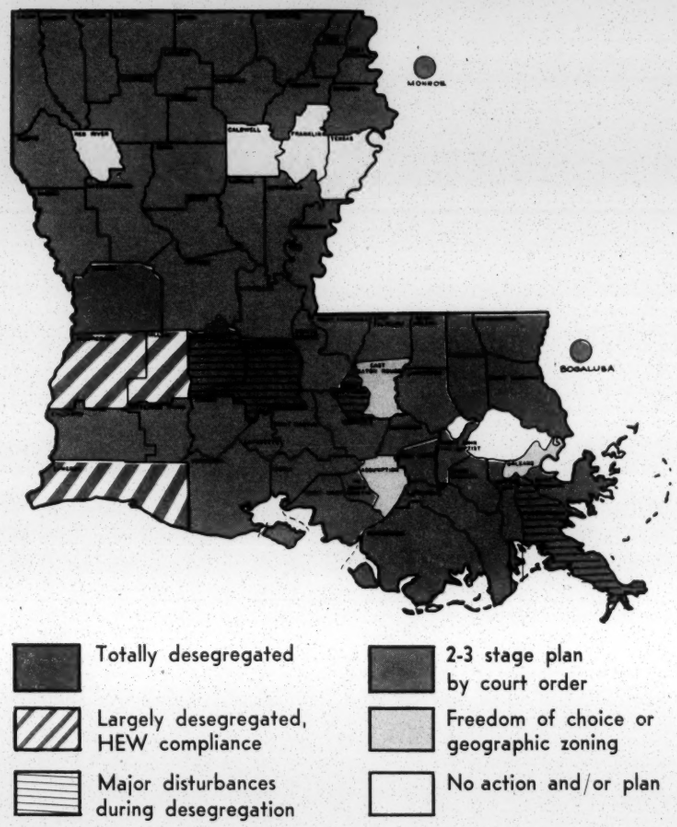


Figure 3

STATUS OF DESEGREGATION



have been desegregated for five months, there have been major disturbances in only four.

The big story in all of this is that in the other 14 parishes, ALL HELL DID NOT BREAK LOOSE, even though 7 of them have 40 per cent or more Negro pupils. The peace that has resulted in those parishes has come from leadership—from a courageous school superintendent, or a school board president, or community leaders, or the press or a combination of these. The community was informed during the desegregation process; the community had a voice in the decisions and the schools were able to make the first big hurdle—keeping majority public support in that first year as they try to provide answers to new problems.

I can think of nothing that will more surely bring total dispair to an area than to have 5,000 or 6,000 school children in a community not going to school. I saw this dispair in St. Landry Parish last September. The problems St. Landry and its people have gone through are problems no parish should want to repeat. Even today some 3,500 white children in that parish are not in the public schools, with about half of them not in any school at all. The parish has had five months of hell that might have been avoided had the local citizen leaders, the press—and the silent majority—given the school board the support it needed to adopt a plan for desegregation as was done in most parishes. Failing to do this, the HEW plan for total desegregation was the only alternative left to the courts and chaos was the result. The leadership did emerge soon thereafter, and their efforts have proved invaluable, but the job is now one of repairing a seriously damaged school system.

The other side was Tangipahoa, Washington, Bogalusa, and a dozen other systems where the children stayed in school. Two years ago with all the national headlines Bogalusa was making, who would have guessed desegregation would ever occur there, much less be peaceful? It is a tribute to leadership.

In addition to the 18 parishes (including Lafourche) where total desegregation has occurred, or has been agreed to voluntarily, there are 41 more parishes which currently are in a two or three-stage plan of desegregation under court order. Sixteen of these parishes have, as of January 26, 1970, been ordered to put unitary plans into effect by February 1, and three additional parishes have court orders pending for total desegregation prior to the fall, 1970.

Only two parishes continue to function for the moment under a form of freedom of choice—Assumption (voluntarily) and East Baton Rouge (court-ordered)—while Orleans continues to function under a court-approved plan for geographic zoning. (On January 16, the federal court ordered the East Baton Rouge system to be totally desegregated by the beginning of the fall term.)

Finally, there are four parishes in Louisiana, two of which did not have suits brought against them until mid-1969 (Tensas and Red River) and two of which have never been brought into court (Caldwell and Franklin). (See Figure 3 and Table 4.)

The Rationale for Saving Public Schools

What is the rationale for saving public schools? Should they be saved or can the public school system be replaced by a massive private school system? First, it should be acknowledged that private and parochial schools, both in the nation and in Louisiana, have performed a very useful role and make a positive contribution both to education and in reduced costs to the state. Private schools will continue to provide a suitable alternative for some students but the evidence is overwhelming that it can only be the alternative for a relative few.

Less than one in eight children in the entire nation obtain their elementary and secondary education through private and parochial schools. In Louisiana, the proportion is less than one in seven children, and the percentage has been declining for years. The principal reason has been the cost factor. It is of such significance that several states are now appropriating money for use in private and parochial schools. Such a bill almost passed Louisiana's legislature last year....

There can be no doubting that those who cannot afford a private education must somehow be provided a quality education, not just for their sake but for the public good. Else they will be relegated to a future of low productivity, low pay, low capacity to spend, and thus become a massive depressant on the entire economy of the state—and this would include a majority of Louisiana's people, black and white.

Uneducated, man tends to be dependent; half educated,

Table 2

CROSSOVER OF STUDENTS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(Registration as of December 1969)

Parish	Students Registered			Registrations in Formerly White Schools			Registrations in Formerly Negro Schools		
	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total
Acadia	8,859	2,792	11,651	8,856	584	9,440	3	2,208	2,211
Allen	4,479	1,495	5,974	4,479	910	5,389	0	585	585
Ascension	5,442	3,477	8,919	4,715	1,454	6,169	727	2,023	2,750
Assumption	2,921	2,498	5,419	2,921	635	3,556	0	1,863	1,863
Avoyelles	6,042	3,678	9,720	6,022	1,378	7,400	20	2,300	2,320
Beauregard	5,066	1,613	6,679	5,066	257	5,323	0	1,356	1,356
Bienville	1,916	2,573	4,489	1,916	526	2,442	0	2,047	2,047
Bossier	14,426	4,284	18,710	14,366	581	14,947	60	3,703	3,763
Caddo	32,276	26,567	58,843	32,256	3,144	35,400	20	23,423	23,443
Calcasieu	29,416	10,194	39,610	28,931	2,633	31,564	485	7,561	8,046
Caldwell[a]									
Cameron	1,974	149	2,123	1,974	63	2,037	0	86	86
Catahoula	2,360	1,221	3,581	2,360	281	2,641	0	940	940
Claiborne	1,684	2,491	4,175	1,684	394	2,078	0	2,097	2,097
Concordia	3,908	3,217	7,125	3,908	575	4,483	0	2,642	2,642
DeSoto	2,321	3,896	6,217	2,321	279	2,600	0	3,617	3,617
E. Baton Rouge	41,453	24,113	65,566	41,450	2,773	44,223	3	21,340	21,343
E. Carroll	1,182	2,501	3,683	1,182	282	1,464	0	2,219	2,219
E. Feliciana	1,295	2,959	4,254	1,290	89	1,379	5	2,870	2,875
Evangeline	2,819	3,197	6,016	2,231	1,647	3,878	588	1,550	2,138
Franklin[a]									
Grant	2,751	1,112	3,863	2,751	120	2,871	0	992	992
Iberia	9,611	4,972	14,583	8,185	3,891	12,076	1,426	1,081	2,507
Iberville	2,904	5,192	8,096	2,750	2,289	5,039	154	2,903	3,057
Jackson	2,191	1,515	3,706	2,191	269	2,458	0	1,248	1,248
Jefferson	50,145	13,283	63,428	49,124	6,352	55,476	1,021	6,931	7,952
Jefferson Davis	5,750	2,170	7,920	5,750	1,435	7,185	0	735	735
Lafayette	21,172	6,983	28,155	20,243	2,533	22,776	929	4,450	5,379
Lafourche (Unitary)[b]	16,058	2,726	18,784	---	---	---	---	---	---
LaSalle	2,781	532	3,313	2,781	218	2,999	0	314	314
Lincoln	3,077	2,339	5,416	3,077	666	3,743	0	1,673	1,673
Livingston	8,582	1,464	10,046	8,582	318	8,900	0	1,146	1,146
Madison	1,165	3,260	4,425	1,165	201	1,366	0	3,059	3,059
Morehouse	4,341	4,946	9,287	4,341	1,897	6,238	0	3,049	3,049
Natchitoches	4,243	4,519	8,762	4,243	963	5,206	0	3,556	3,556
Orleans	37,114	77,177	114,291	37,051	18,381	55,432	63	58,796	58,859
Ouachita	13,068	4,709	17,777	13,068	1,294	14,362	0	3,415	3,415
Plaquemines	2,746	2,076	4,822	2,746	1,121	3,867	0	955	955
Pointe Coupee	624	3,657	4,281	615	1,053	1,668	9	2,604	2,613
Rapides	19,168	9,831	28,999	18,930	2,988	21,918	238	6,843	7,081
Red River[a]									
Richland	3,333	3,388	6,721	3,333	1,239	4,572	0	2,149	2,149
Sabine	3,089	1,375	4,464	3,089	466	3,555	0	909	909
St. Bernard	12,496	818	13,314	12,072	702	12,774	424	116	540
St. Charles	5,647	2,507	8,154	4,965	1,888	6,853	682	619	1,301
St. Helena	967	2,061	3,028	967	291	1,258	0	1,770	1,770
St. James	2,081	3,184	5,265	1,287	1,672	2,959	794	1,512	2,306
St. John	2,516	3,836	6,352	2,088	1,345	3,433	428	2,491	2,919
St. Landry	8,153	11,380	19,533	5,746	5,376	11,122	2,407	6,004	8,411
St. Martin	5,088	3,809	8,897	3,753	2,555	6,308	1,335	1,254	2,589
St. Mary	10,082	5,524	15,606	9,194	2,036	11,230	888	3,488	4,376
St. Tammany	11,829	4,124	15,953	10,517	3,111	13,628	1,312	1,013	2,325
Tangipahoa	7,870	7,700	15,570	6,128	5,017	11,145	1,742	2,683	4,425
Tensas[a]									
Terrebonne	16,609	4,041	20,650	15,264	3,328	18,592	1,345	713	2,058
Union	2,689	2,206	4,895	2,614	340	2,954	75	1,866	1,941
Vermilion	8,183	1,613	9,796	7,963	1,057	9,020	220	556	776
Vernon	7,493	1,061	8,554	7,493	1,061	8,554	0	0	0
Washington	2,601	2,566	5,167	2,574	2,075	4,649	27	491	518
Webster	6,345	3,940	10,285	6,341	409	6,750	4	3,531	3,535
W. Baton Rouge	397	2,456	2,853	273	1,342	1,615	124	1,114	1,238
West Carroll	2,699	983	3,682	2,699	269	2,968	0	714	714
West Feliciana	728	1,691	2,419	728	149	877	0	1,542	1,542
Winn	2,516	1,513	4,029	2,516	393	2,909	0	1,120	1,120
City of Monroe	5,602	5,340	10,942	5,599	859	6,458	3	4,481	4,484
City of Bogalusa	3,149	2,208	5,357	3,149	2,208	5,357	0	0	0
TOTALS	509,492	334,702	844,194	475,873	103,660	579,533	17,561	228,316	245,877

[a]Caldwell, Franklin, Red River and Tensas not included since no desegregation orders are in effect as of January 16, 1970.
[b]Lafourche Parish not included in breakdown since it is a Unitary System.
Source: Office of Parish or City Superintendent, as submitted to the Louisiana State Department of Education.

Table 3
CROSSOVER OF TEACHERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS
(As of December 1969)

Parish	Number of Teachers			Teachers in Formerly White Schools			Teachers in Formerly Negro Schools		
	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total
Acadia	389	140	521	367	50	417	14	90	104
Allen	212	50	262	211	26	237	1	24	25
Ascension	266	161	427	226	65	291	40	96	136
Assumption	122	85	207	122	12	134	0	74	74
Avoyelles	333	127	460	320	34	354	13	93	106
Beauregard	218	57	275	200	21	221	18	36	54
Bienville	122	130	252	111	25	136	11	105	116
Bossier	609	208	817	579	61	640	30	147	177
Caddo	1, 590	1, 184	2, 774	1, 485	181	1, 666	105	1, 003	1, 108
Calcasieu	1, 367	380	1, 747	1, 307	80	1, 386	60	300	360
Caldwell[a]									
Cameron	114	8	122	114	2	116	0	6	6
Catahoula	120	61	181	114	20	134	6	41	47
Claiborne	115	119	234	103	5	108	12	114	126
Concordia	182	159	341	167	38	205	15	121	136
DeSoto	123	176	299	114	19	133	9	157	166
E. Baton Rouge	1, 862	1, 008	2, 870	1, 822	96	1, 918	40	912	952
E. Carroll	77	86	163	66	10	76	11	76	87
E. Feliciana	87	128	215	76	5	81	11	123	134
Evangeline	246	137	383	200	62	262	46	75	121
Franklin[a]									
Grant	142	49	191	139	4	143	3	45	48
Iberia	402	220	622	337	161	498	65	59	124
Iberville	213	227	440	184	77	261	29	150	179
Jackson	116	76	192	111	11	122	5	65	70
Jefferson	2, 159	487	2, 646	2, 076	230	2, 306	83	257	340
Jefferson Davis	305	110	415	301	64	365	4	46	50
Lafayette	973	276	1, 249	910	96	1, 006	63	180	243
Lafourche (Unitary)[b]	757	91	848	---	---	---	---	---	---
LaSalle	144	21	165	142	8	150	2	13	15
Lincoln	178	106	284	166	29	195	12	77	89
Livingston	406	74	480	406	21	427	0	53	53
Madison	74	135	209	58	10	68	16	125	141
Morehouse	224	192	416	224	77	301	0	115	115
Natchitoches	282	196	478	260	31	291	22	165	186
Orleans	1, 955	2, 360	4, 315	1, 892	271	2, 163	63	2, 089	2, 152
Ouachita	513	90	703	465	94	559	48	96	144
Plaquemines	122	62	184	122	14	136	0	48	48
Pointe Coupee	91	148	239	75	36	111	16	112	128
Rapides	902	404	1, 306	875	83	958	27	321	348
Red River[a]									
Richland	181	138	319	169	54	223	12	84	96
Sabine	162	60	222	159	13	172	3	47	50
St. Bernard	548	30	578	528	29	557	20	1	21
St. Charles	253	105	358	221	84	305	32	21	53
St. Helena	71	92	163	65	11	76	6	81	87
St. James	118	144	262	74	68	142	44	76	120
St. John	148	170	318	108	54	162	40	116	156
St. Landry	455	453	908	323	226	549	132	227	359
St. Martin	234	154	388	177	107	284	57	47	104
St. Mary	449	262	711	406	110	515	44	153	196
St. Tammany	579	167	746	505	113	618	74	54	128
Tangipahoa	456	291	747	347	189	536	109	102	211
Tensas[a]									
Terrebonne	724	163	887	667	127	794	57	36	93
Union	141	86	227	141	13	154	0	73	73
Vermilion	386	57	443	373	37	410	13	20	33
Vernon	326	45	371	326	45	371	0	0	0
Washington	171	84	255	158	70	227	13	15	28
Webster	344	164	508	304	31	335	40	133	173
W. Baton Rouge	80	105	185	52	60	112	28	45	73
West Carroll	145	36	181	143	11	154	2	25	27
West Feliciana	43	84	127	42	4	46	1	80	81
Winn	147	62	209	143	17	160	4	45	49
City of Monroe	261	231	492	238	46	284	23	185	208
City of Bogalusa	166	77	243	166	77	243	0	0	0
TOTALS	24, 691	13, 088	37, 779	22, 281	3, 724	26, 005	1, 653	9, 274	10, 927

[a]Caldwell, Franklin, Red River and Tensas not included since no desegregation orders are in effect as of January 16, 1970.
[b]Lafourche Parish not included in breakdown since it is a Unitary System.
Source: Office of Parish or City Superintendent, as submitted to the Louisiana State Department of Education.

half productive; well educated, he returns to society economic benefits that far exceed the costs of his education. The economist, Theodore Schultz, among others, has made this abundantly clear.

Louisiana's economy today trails behind the national economy, primarily because of the lack of education of of its citizens. In the aggregate, the Negro members of our labor force earn less than half as much as the white members. While many factors have contributed to this, the greatest factor today is lack of education. If the Negro citizens in Louisiana had equal capacity to produce and therefore earn, which they can only obtain through education and training, then that in itself would increase the total personal income of the people of Louisiana by at least 20 per cent—almost wiping out the lag Louisiana now suffers in relation to the rest of the nation....

Of increasing importance to industry is the presence of a good quality public school system where its employees may send their children without added and prohibitive expense. The plant manager of a large industrial complex recently stated that a large number of his professional personnel have requested transfers out of Louisiana. The reason is their concern about whether public schools will survive and, if they do, whether their children will get a decent education. How can we hope to bring industry into a state where there is a question as to whether the children of its employees will have a public school system to attend? Can we expect them to go into an area where they have to pay $500, or $600, or $700 a year per child to send them to a private school when there are other states where these industrial concerns can go where there will be public schools? Texas, our number one competitor, **will** have public schools, and no one doubts that.

Conclusion

I have tried to outline some of the facts that must be considered in determining the course of education in Louisiana....

Three years of study in this area has led us to the conclusion that there is no suitable alternative to the public school system for the mass of students in our state, and that our state can be no more than death valley without a public school system. With all its faults, the American system of education has produced a better educated total population than that enjoyed by any other major nation and with that has come the very strength of this nation and the highest standard of living ever enjoyed by any people in any civilization.

Though the most difficult period lies ahead, there is great hope in the fact that 18 systems in Louisiana have desegregated and there has been relative peace in 14 of them.

May I reiterate an earlier statement. Your local school board and its staff has the greatest talent, knowledge and desire available anywhere to produce the most workable plan for operating your public schools under the new court guidelines, and you can give them the

Table 4

STATUS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN LOUISIANA (As of January 26, 1970)

TOTAL DESEGREGATION[a]

Evangeline	St. Tammany
Jefferson	Tangipahoa
Lafourche[b]	Terrebonne
Plaquemines	Vernon
St. Bernard	Washington
St. Charles	*West Baton Rouge
*St. James	City of Bogalusa
St. Landry	

DESEGREGATION VIA COMPLIANCE AGREEMENTS WITH HEW
(Total desegregation of faculty and students due Fall, 1970)

Allen
Beauregard[c]
Cameron

FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Assumption[d]
East Baton Rouge[e]

GEOGRAPHIC ZONING, COURT ORDER

*Orleans

NO DESEGREGATION

Caldwell	*Tensas[f]
Franklin	*Red River[f]

COURT ORDERED DESEGREGATION VIA TWO OR THREE STEP PLANS
(Desegregation of faculty and students due Fall of 1970 and 1971 except as noted)

Acadia	Iberia	*Richland
Ascension[g]	*Iberville[g]	Sabine
Avoyelles	Jackson[g]	*St. Helena[h]
*Bienville	Jefferson Davis	*St. John
Bossier[g]	Lafayette	St. Martin
Caddo[g]	LaSalle	St. Mary
Calcasieu	Lincoln	Union[h]
Catahoula	Livingston	Vermilion
*Claiborne[g]	*Madison[h]	Webster[g]
Concordia[g]	*Morehouse	West Carroll
*DeSoto[g]	Natchitoches	*West Feliciana[g]
*East Carroll[g]	Ouachita[g]	Winn[g]
*East Feliciana[g]	*Pointe Coupee	City of Monroe[g]
Grant	Rapides[g]	

* 50% or more Negro enrollment

(a) Federal courts ordered desegregation in all parishes except Vernon which signed a voluntary compliance agreement with HEW.

(b) Lafourche was the first parish to have a unitary system, accomplished in 1968.

(c) Beauregard is considering a new plan ordered by HEW in December 1969.

(d) Assumption has achieved substantial desegregation under an early compliance agreement with HEW, but does not receive federal funds because of its failure to sign a second compliance agreement.

(e) Federal court has ordered complete desegregation by August 31, 1970.

(f) Court order pending. Tensas and Red River have never received federal funds and the lack of federal aid to these parishes is not due to the failure to desegregate the schools.

(g) Total desegregation of faculty and students due February, 1970.

(h) Court order pending for total desegregation prior to fall 1970.

Source: Prepared by Public Affairs Research Council.

freedom to develop those plans and to make them work—if you decide to do so. They need your open leadership and support, and all the leadership and support that you can muster from your friends and associates. With that, the job can be done and public education can survive in Louisiana.

INNOVATIONS IN EDUCATION

J. O. Lancaster

Superintendent, Ouachita Parish Schools

I believe in a "do it yourself" approach, applying a succession of ideas to get underway the gigantic momentum required to put the South in orbit. The engine for this thrust is education. At a conference about two years ago, our state superintendent, Mr. Dodd, indicated that we had the vehicle in Louisiana—it was polished, shining and with a good engine, but we needed a few dollars to buy fuel.

The South's Problems

The meanest, most persistent problem in the South is learning to live together. The cost of the conflict over desegregation is beyond my ability to measure in dollars and diversion of the people's energy....During the past few years that I've been in public education, we have spent so much time going to and from the courts... that the instructional programs were left out.

The other problem is division within the community.... Our teachers, administrators, school board members and citizens have yet to develop the long-term, positive potentials of schools that bar no child or teacher because of their ethnic background. The South should and I believe eventually will set the pace for the nation in human relations....When parents can be assured that their children, white or black, will make satisfactory progress, regardless of the level of brightness or cultural background, a major source of conflict will disappear.

With new kinds of instruction, adapted and programmed to the pace and ability of individual learning, a better educational system than we have ever known can be built on the unique strength and needs of each child. The requisite technology and know-how already exist....

My primary responsibility is to talk about Louisiana and some programs that we can do or are doing, to carry out some of these concepts. We are in the midst of a teacher retraining program. A request was presented to the State Board of Education a few weeks ago for an additional $42 million, but because of our tax situation, I don't think this money will be available. So the very thing we need to help move teachers along will not be provided. In industry, if a company plans to put in a new process to improve production, they immediately find a way to train their people. They send their employees to school to learn new methods and pay them while they learn. In public education we give teachers three months during the summer; we call it a vacation but no pay is received....

A 12-Month Program

The number one need is to move to a 12-month program of public education in Louisiana. Time and energy might be divided so that teachers could attend school to update and upgrade their certification requirements as well as their ability to teach available materials. One problem in education is that we're teaching things that don't need to be taught because of changes in our society, and failing to add new things. The 12-month program would also permit teachers to teach during the summer—either remedial work for youngsters with problems or advanced work for students who want to progress more rapidly.

We also need some type of program to enable teachers to visit areas where new things are occurring so they can observe firsthand these developments. I can talk all week about programs and problems, but it is the teacher who has to want to do them, know how, and then put them in operation. Atlanta, Georgia, has moved to a 12-month program; this is their second year.

New Teaching Methods

McComb, Mississippi has instituted a new program that holds promise—the use of computers as a teaching tool. There are 2,700 choices of lessons for children. The desired program can be keyed in through a teletype operation and continued the next day....The computer prepares a daily progress report for the teacher as to performance by students....We have the technical know-how and people to do similar things in Louisiana, but we have problems with dollars.

In one Louisiana school system we have developed a nongraded or continuous progress program. Houston has schools of this type and Bossier is moving to this type program in some of its schools. We know that youngsters do not develop in the same way, whether it be reading, walking or talking, but in our educational program we think everybody ought to achieve by a stipulated date. However, this is not necessarily true. It's not that some are dumber than others, but they don't move at the

same pace. Success of nongraded programs depends upon the training of teachers and their desire to work in these programs.

One experiment we attempted involved some 50 students who had problems in arithmetic. We divided them into two groups and had them come to summer school for six weeks to learn what they had not learned, at the rate of speed of which they were capable. Not one of these youngsters failed mathematics the next year. They also showed tremendous improvement in attitude; discipline problems were less, and attendance was better. What happened was that somebody looked at what these students needed to know and developed a program to help them learn.

In another example, a black teacher saw a need for a new approach to teaching general mathematics, and with help from computer companies, he set up a program of teaching children who were poor attenders, discipline problems and from deprived cultural backgrounds. A flow chart was used and problems were worked on a calculator. Children learned to add and subtract for the first time; attendance became almost perfect and discipline problems dropped to zero....

St. Bernard Parish has moved farther than the rest of us in Louisiana toward a nongraded system of public education, and they are doing a fine job, with excellent support from their community.

We need to use more specialists as catalytic agents within our school system. The reading program illustrates this point. Reading is complicated to teach, and teachers need new materials and methods but they don't have the money or time. In the school systems in which I have been associated, we have brought in additional people who work with teachers to improve the reading programs.

Training for Principals

We also need in-service training for principals. In some measure public education has done the poorest job of training people to be managers. It is thought that because a person has been in a classroom, he can be a principal. Most industries don't move people along the ladder of management this way; rather, they provide in-service training programs and opportunities. However, in our formula for distribution of state funds, we don't appropriate the kind of money to have these types of in-service training programs. Hence, principals sometimes find themselves using more time to be the lunch room money collector and answering the telephone than being the manager of a learning factory.

Team Teaching

Team teaching is still another innovation being used. When two people work together to solve some problem, one can stimulate the other. Team teaching does not mean "You take your turn today and I'll take mine tomorrow." This is what sometimes happens, and this creates additional burdens. Team teaching is criticized when actually that's not what is going on.

A Quality Program Possible

A quality program of public education can be carried out by using new techniques. More of this is going on in Louisiana than most of us realize. Youngsters are learning, whether they are black or white. I am very pleased with the performance of black teachers as well as the white teachers who have crossed over. Once we look at children and realize that they need to learn and become productive citizens in our society, then some of our problems can be solved.

If some of you people who want public education to survive would go to your school board meetings and make a public statement supporting the schools, it would help board members because all they are hearing are the people who prance and dance with placards, wanting to get their picture on television or their name in the paper. We desperately need citizen support of public education so that we can have schools which are a place where children go to learn and where there is an environmental situation to measure productivity of their learning. With your support, I think we can have these kinds of things.

PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

William J. Dodd

State Superintendent of Public Education

...Our school officials have been doing a magnificent job and they have been doing it under some very trying circumstances....

In our system og government, representatives—some elected and some appointed—act for the people. These representatives make rulings and take actions based upon facts not always available to the people. This is a good system but for it to work these representatives must do what a majority of the people want them to do.

All of us can't take action at a school board meeting. Our local and state school board members are elected representatives. Theirs is the responsibility to operate, within the state and Federal laws, our public school system....The school board members can't take actions that we want them to take unless we let them know how we feel and then support them after they take that action.

We have an almost perfect school system; all we need to do is get behind these people whose responsibility it is to operate the schools, and make it work and it will work.

These fine public servants have the know-how and have the desire to do what is best for our youth and our state, but they are limited by Court decisions and laws as to what they can do. In some instances, due to Federal Court decisions and Federal statutes, our Louisiana school officials cannot operate and administer our school systems as they and you would like and as good school administration says they should. But they, with your backing and support, can operate a public school system, within the boundaries of the law, within the boundaries of court regulations, and still have a quality education system. Public education is the only hope for a majority of the boys and girls of this state. We have some fine parochial and private schools, but I couldn't have gotten an education and most of you couldn't have if your parents had to pay for it personally. I think it is bordering on the criminal for a majority of children of this state not to have an education ...to be convicted and sentenced to a life of ignorance and poverty....

Our school officials, our school board members and our superintendents should not be criticized for doing what the law directs them to do. They should not be harassed and hindered in their efforts to use their knowlege, know-how and every resource they possess to save and maintain a public educational system for the majority of our children. Parents and students should not be harassed for obeying the law and wanting to have their children in school,...and trying to get an education.

Need for Public Support

These school officials, parents and students need... to know, and the great masses of our people need to know, that when all the pros and cons are considered, when all the facts are in and arguments concluded, public education is the only answer—not just the most practical, most economical or convenient answer, but the only answer for children of the masses of our people. We don't have an alternative. It is the only way they can get a decent, competitive, meaningful education.

I have no specific or detailed plan for you to adopt and implement.

I do have the general hope and prayer that you will let our school officials know that you are supporting them and public education and will do what is necessary to help them through these times of crisis. This can be done. It must be done.

STATEMENT

Patrick Hardin

Office of Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Justice

...I want to say one thing about the problems which you are going to meet or should anticipate in making the conversion with schools reopened in desegregated parishes. In several parishes,...there was some violence, people actually obstructing the entrances to schools, assaulting fellow citizens and even assaulting teachers and pupils. That was rare, thankfully. It could have been prevented altogether, and I would like to suggest what you can do to make sure that is prevented in your own community: that is to make known to your local law enforcement officials where you stand on the question of preserving peace in your community. Don't leave your public law enforcement officers in a state of ambiguity about what responsible citizens in their community want when the schools open—make it clear that you want order and you want any dispute about what's occurring to be decided by reasoned discussion—if necessary even in the courts. You don't want those issues to be decided by crowds of people throwing rocks.

I think you'll find that if your local law enforcement officials understand that you are 100 per cent behind them on that score, you'll be very proud of the job they will all do and you will find that there will be no material violence in your community.

A second phenomena...is absence or loss of enrollment in public schools. That's being corrected in most places. I think with only one exception, possibly all the parishes will be fully desegregated this fall and have experienced substantial return of the white pupils to public schools. You can do a great deal to prevent the loss of enrollment and you can do a great deal to help bring those back who do drop out temporarily if you go away from here persuaded that most rural Louisiana parishes simply cannot afford two school systems. When you split a school system in half, everybody suffers. Nobody gets the benefits that flow from consolidated schools, nobody gets the benefits of sophisticated programs and the entire community is the looser....I want to reiterate that the federal government has not bowed out from these cases with the entry of a final court order. We have resources which are available to assist...and would be eager to hear from you if you feel we can assist in any way.

STATEMENT

Leon E. Panetta

Director, Office of Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare

I have often been asked whether our prime responsibility is the law and to hell with education or whether it is education and to hell with the law. And the answer is that it is both....

The more the law is contested the clearer it becomes as to what the responsibility is. The question now is what is our responsibility to education? I think it would be very easy for many people to say that this is the end of education. Some say private education, escape to other states, escape to other white communities is the answer. But I think that the other side of the coin is what we should turn to—that it offers us great opportunity. I've seen communities sell desegregation on the basis that this is an opportunity to improve education. Too often there is a tendancy for the whole educational structure, not just here but throughout the country, to become entrenched in what you are doing on a day-to-day basis, to not step back and take a look at curricula and grade structure, to see what you are doing to educationally improve the quality....This gives you the opportunity to do that, and it can be sold on that basis. We have gone back to communities that have carried out this process and found that the overall educational quality of not only black students but white students as well has improved in these communities....

What then is the end result that can happen? It can be disastrous. There can be violence, there can be mass escapism, there can be a destruction of the educational system in a community. It is very easy, by just turning our backs on what the situation is.

On the other hand, there can be another result. It can be very successful. Close to 90 per cent of the school districts in 17 southern and border states are in compliance with the law. Thirty districts in Mississippi these last few weeks have desegregated. Over 80 per cent of the students are attending classes in these districts. There has been little if any violence or threat of violence in these districts. It is working successfully now in 18 districts in Louisiana; 14 of these did it without any violence. So there is proof in district after district that it can be done successfully, but it takes the will and the understanding and the leadership of all the people to make it work....

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NEW STRATEGIES FOR SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Statler Hilton Hotel
16th and K Streets
Washington, D. C.

Friday, March 13, 1970, 9:30 a.m.
to
Saturday, March 14, 1970, NOON

Preliminary Agenda

FRIDAY, MARCH 13, 1970

8:30 a.m. - 9:30 a.m. REGISTRATION

9:30 a.m. - NOON MORNING SESSION

"The Current Status of School Integration Law: Implication for Strategy"

Norman Amaker, Esq., Asst. Counsel, Legal Defense Fund, N.Y.
Prof. Harold Horowitz, UCLA Law School, Los Angeles, Calif.
Dr. David Cohen, Center for Education and Law, Harvard Univ.

Case Studies: LDF Attorneys

12:30 p.m. LUNCHEON

Speakers: Senator Walter Mondale
Senator Jacob Javits

2:45 - 5:45 p.m. AFTERNOON SESSION

I. "The Politics of School Integration: Implications for Strategy"

"The Political Climate"
Robert Maynard, WASHINGTON POST

"The Southerners' Strategy"
M. Hayes Mizell
American Friends Service Committee, Columbia, S.C.

"The Collapse of Civil Rights Enforcement"
Leon Panetta
Former Director, Office of Civil Rights, HEW, Washington

"The Congress and School Integration"
Clarence Mitchell
NAACP, Washington, D.C.

II. "What's the Struggle all about?"
Prof. Charles Hamilton, Columbia University
Charles Morgan, Esq., Director, Southern Region, ACLU

8:30 p.m. - 10:00 p.m. DISCUSSION IN THE ROUND

"The Black Mood"
An informal discussion of goals by parents, community leaders, students, teachers.
Leader: Derrick Bell, Jr., Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.

SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1970

9:15 a.m. - NOON CONCURRENT STRATEGY SESSIONS
(Closed to the Press)

Each group will define a problem area, identify issues to which LDF should address itself, prepare recommendations for LDF action and suggest resources available from within the minority community as well as from educational institutions.

1. The Ideology of Equal Educational Opportunity: its Role in Litigation

What is a unitary school system? What about all-black schools? What is the relationship between integration and academic achievement?

2. Big Cities and Medium Sized School Districts: Workable Integration Strategies

Busing, metropolitan or interdistrict solutions; educational parks, staff integration. How can the viability of different solutions be determined?

3. Federal Administrative Enforcement: the Role of Citizens and Private Agencies

HEW's Title VI and Title IV Programs; the Justice Department; Congressional Oversight Committees

4. LDF's Non-Southern Strategy

Legal action outside the traditional southern suits; action under state racial imbalance laws and by state administrative agencies; litigation involving ethnic groups other than blacks; litigation on broad educational issues such as resource allocation, ESEA Title I, etc.

5. Community Control, Decentralization, Alternatives to Public Schools, Voucher Systems

Is this an area for legal or political action? What should LDF's strategy be?

6. Southern Community Action to Implement Court Orders

Problems within integrated schools; white private segregated schools job security for black teachers

NOON: A D J O U R N M E N T

~~Erico, B.W. [redacted] Res. L.H.~~ SDP

Policies That Clarify Student Rights & Responsibilities

Cat. no. 70-50

...a school board policy development kit
prepared by the Educational Policies Service
of the National School Boards Association

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ABOUT:

the School Board Policy Development Kits...

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☐ **Rates:** 1-3 kits @ $2.00; 4-7 kits @ $1.80; 8-10 kits @ $1.60; 11 or more kits @ $1.50. Quantity rates prevail when kits are ordered in quantity. Cost of postage and handling is added unless payment accompanies order—and payment should accompany all orders under $6.00 in value.

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Policies That Clarify Student Rights & Responsibilities

Cat. No. 70-50 *October, 1970*

> *"It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate."*--U.S. Supreme Court in Tinker v. Des Moines.

Dear Colleague:

The U.S. Supreme Court in the landmark Gault (1967) and Tinker (1969) decisions has ruled that age is no barrier to the enjoyment and protection of the Constitution, most particularly the Bill of Rights. The Court has reminded us, says August Gold, a civil libertarian with long experience in teaching and educational administration, that:

> Civil liberties are guaranteed by the Constitution variously to "citizens of the United States," to "person," and to "the people." Nowhere does there appear any age limitation on the application of these liberties. In fact, the 14th Amendment defines citizens as "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof." [Emphasis added.]
>
> Secondary school students are obviously included in the category of "persons" or "people," and, if they satisfy the constitutional requirements they may also be "citizens." Since the liberties vouchsafed to these categories are not conditional upon attainment of a particular age or completion of a level of schooling, students must enjoy equal protection with older people as citizens.

To some school officials, the Court's position has seemed a case of "easy to enunciate, hard to adhere to." Problem after problem arises

that seems to defy solution without some abridgement of student rights.

What about students who publish shocking and offensive views in the school newspapers?

What about dress codes and hair styles?

What about arm bands, and buttons, and peace signs--and the raised, clenched fist as substitute for a respectful flag salute?

Citing the principle of in loco parentis, some school officials maintain that students are posing problems that must be dealt with swiftly and summarily, sometimes to the detriment of their Constitutional rights. Such students are in a special category of society exempt from constitutional protection, goes this argument; freedom of speech, due process, and the rest of the constitutional guarantees are seen as being subordinate to the school's implied responsibility to act in the role of parent.

As student unrest and activism increases, so increases the resistance among many adults to the idea of granting students further freedom. How does the school board--caught between these two forces --approach the task of developing policies in the area of student rights and responsibilities? Even accepting as a "given" that the Bill of Rights (and subsequent interpretation of the Bill of Rights) must serve as pre-emptive policy for every school system in the nation, how does the individual board establish its own criteria for "law and order" among students?

The History of 'In loco parentis'

A good starting point is to consider the principle of in loco parentis. Where did it come from? What does it entail? How far does it extend?

Attorney Allen D. Schwartz of Chicago, an authority on school law and a member of the EPS/NSBA Advisory Board, offers this summary:

> For more than 100 years, in loco parentis was invoked as the authority for school rules governing student appearance. The doctrine originated in Hammurabi's Code, appeared in Roman law, and was imported to America as part of the common law.
>
> But in loco parentis was never intended as a device to govern the child's conduct in areas where the parents could disagree with the school or which were outside the educational province. Even Blackstone limited the application of the doctrine to "restraint and correction." And the concept can survive today only in discipline cases.

What Schwartz is saying is that recent Court rulings have not redefined or curtailed in loco parentis, but that the principle had only limited application, in very narrow and specific terms, to begin with.

Another interesting argument in favor of abandoning in loco parentis as a thumb rule substitute for the Bill of Rights comes from Scott D. Thomson, Superintendent for Evanston Township High School District 202: "I've had parents come in to defend their youngster's underground newspapers that were rife with the most blatant obscenities imaginable. 'Well,' they say, 'if this is what the kids want to do, then let them do it.' As school administrators, we just can't accept this view."

In terms of setting limits to student rights, then, in loco parentis no longer provides satisfactory authority--if, indeed, it ever did.

Schools Without Rules?

If the school board has no a priori right to impose arbitrary restrictions on student behavior, neither has it the right to cease making rules and regulations altogether. It might be simpler if it did--but chaos and anarchy would result, of course. Administrative rules, promulgated under board policies, are necessary to enable the schools to fulfill the educational responsibilities that are theirs as well as to protect students' health, safety, and well-being.

In addition, state and federal laws are binding upon students, just as the Constitution itself is. So certain broad areas of activity are forbidden to students without specific board action--selling of narcotics, for instance, or coming to school naked. But beyond what the law forbids and what the Constitution insures, the board and its administration are faced with a broad field of problems with which they must deal by setting policy and companion rules.

It is interesting to note the continuing appearance--in legal decisions, such as Miller v. Gillis and Tinker, as well as in individual board policy statements--of such phrases as "effective operation of the school system," "orderly conduct of the educative process," and the like. The touchstone appears to be that a ruling, even one that may incidentally infringe upon a student's rights, is likely to be defensible if it can be shown to be necessary if the school is to fulfill its primary obligation to educate students and provide for their physical safety.

The New Jersey School Boards Association has recommended that the following criteria be applied to every proposed rule:

1. Is the rule necessary for the orderly and effective operation of the school system?

2. Does the rule involve some suppression of freedom?

3. If so, is the incidental restriction on...freedom any greater than is reasonably necessary for the orderly functioning of the schools?

What's "Necessary"--and To Whom?

Knowing that policies and rules will be found acceptable when they are necessary is one thing. Deciding and interpreting what is, in fact, necessary is a far more subtle, difficult matter.

In a number of "haircut," "Pledge-of-Allegiance," and similar cases in which student rights' violations were charged, the defending school administrators have often taken the position that the practices in question were "a necessary part of school discipline," and that enforcing school discipline was "a necessary part of the educative process."

Not so, the courts have ruled. School officials may not infringe upon student rights merely to assert their authority over the students.

On the other hand, searches of student lockers, even when conducted under circumstances admittedly out of line with the 14th Amendment, have been upheld by the courts, on the grounds that such inspections are necessary to the maintenance of student health, safety, and welfare.

In essence, then, the legal limits to incidences of abridgement of student rights appear to be fairly well defined; and to insure that any policy you draft conforms to such legal limits, you should solicit the opinions of legal counsel.

Getting Down To Specifics

So far, we have been discussing broad, basic areas of students' rights, particularly those enumerated by the U.S. Constitution as applicable to all citizens--freedom of speech; right to due process; right to counsel; confrontation with one's accusers; and the like.

But schools aren't faced with broad issues of constitutional law as often as they are faced with specific problems that aren't spelled out in so many words by the Constitution. What to do then?

One answer might be to set a basic policy setting forth the board's philosophy about student rights in general. (EPS file: JC--Student Rights and Responsibilities.) Such a policy should specify both the rights that the board concedes to all students at all times under all circumstances and the rights the board reserves to itself and/or to its administrators. Two examples of such "umbrella" policies--one from New York City and the other from Evanston, Ill.--will be found in the exhibit section to this report.

In formulating this expression of philosophy, the board should emphasize the importance of not being swayed by pressure groups in the community that urge repression. "Go as far as you possibly can," says Edward T. Ladd of Emroy University, "in backing up your principals, teachers, and kids in the legitimate exercise of their rights to be different. You can always quote the remark attributed to Voltaire: 'I may disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.'"

And the American Civil Liberties Union, dedicated to protecting all the civil liberties as guaranteed in the Constitution to all citizens, recommends that your general policy be based upon the following three premises:

1. A recognition that freedom implies the right to make mistakes, and that students must therefore sometimes be permitted to act in ways which are predictably unwise so long as the consequences of their acts are not dangerous to life and property, and do not seriously disrupt the academic process.

2. A recognition that students in their schools should have the right to live under the principle of "rule by law" as opposed to "rule by personality."

3. A recognition that deviation from the opinions and standards deemed desirable by the faculty is not ipso facto a danger to the educational process.

Once such a general statement of philosophy is drafted, it becomes comparatively less difficult to deal with specific issues that arise. Such specific matters can be evaluated in terms of the board's general statement, and individual policy consistent with that general statement can then be framed. (This kit includes a sampling of such "specific" policies.)

In addition to simplifying the task of writing policy about each specific issue, the setting of a general policy can also obviate the need for a host of nit-picking rules drafted to cover each and every crisis as it emerges. Problems in the area of student rights have a way of coming in and going out of fashion; resolving each new issue with a hastily-written edict is often less effective then evaluating each new issue in terms of the general, long-standing policy spelling out broad rights.

What About Responsibilities?

It is not true, as it is so often claimed, that every right carries with it a concomitant responsibility. But many rights do carry such responsibilities, and the board should see to it that student responsibilities are spelled out clearly. This is important not only to prevent the exercise of rights from degenerating into the practice

of license, but also because it is educationally valid practice to demand of students a degree of responsibility consistent with their age, maturity, and social development. If students are to learn to act responsibly, they must be given genuine responsibilities, preferably of the kind where the students themselves lose out if they fail to fulfill them.

Where appropriate, the same policy that spells out students' rights in a given area should define the responsibilities that go with the exercise of those rights. (See samples in this kit.)

It should be noted, however, that the spelling out of student responsibilities should be neither an implied punishment for the exercise of their rights nor an attempt to force students to earn rights that are already theirs ("If you want freedom of speech, prove that you have something intelligent to say!") Though there is often a relationship between a student's rights and his responsibilities, they exist independent of one another.

Setting Up Appropriate Apparatus

The school board should also establish the necessary apparatus for involving students in the determination of policy decisions that affect them. Probably no single factor contributes as much to student unrest as lack of communication with teachers and administrators; and any board seriously intent upon putting its house in order in this area has an obligation to establish such lines and forms of communication as are useful in developing and implementing policy: student ombudsmen, student members of curriculum planning committees, grievance procedures, and the like. (Our appendix includes relevant exhibits.)

And, of course, there must be clearly defined apparatus for dealing with violations of policy as well as a program for disseminating among students and staff all policies, regulations, and requirements.

In Conclusion

Sadly, the whole question of re-examining student rights and responsibilities has been muddied by emotionalism in too many cases. Boards and administrators who usually reach decisions exclusively in terms of what will best meet the needs of their students suddenly find themselves, when dealing with expanding student rights and freedoms, in an emotional climate of "us against them."

We have seen no better plea for taking a calm, reasonable approach to solving this problem than the following statement from the committee report, "Student Activism," promulgated by the New Jersey School Boards Association:

"At the risk of being called 'soft on students', the Committee believes that any study of student unrest must proceed from the viewpoint that these are our children--whether they be exasperating, rebellious, selfish, ungrateful, confused, misguided, they are nonetheless ours. They are not the enemy to be conquered and destroyed; their unrest is a symptom of our own disorder, a signal that all is not well with us as parents, as educators, as community and political leaders, and as 'reformers.'

"We need not feel guilty for being what we are nor for what we have done. We have assumed responsibility for the 'system' and have done our best in good conscience. We have succeeded and we have failed. Student perceptions of our system are not necessarily accurate, nor are their reactions necessarily constructive. But these perceptions and reactions are realities and cannot be ignored.

"Students form a special-interest group within our segmented society and react as do all special-interest groups--self-centeredly striving for a voice in their destinies and resisting external control. The thing that makes them a 'special' special-interest group is that they are not yet full-fledged citizens and have not yet been granted a right to the 'peaceful' channels of communication through which adult groups assert their demands. And they do not yet have access to the vote for political leverage.

"If we are to approach the problem of student unrest in the hope of solving a problem rather than merely for the purpose of reinforcing preconceived feelings of self-righteousness, we must start with an exercise in empathy. In its simplest terms, empathy is putting oneself in the other person's shoes (or sandals) and asking, 'What would I do now?' This is easier said than done. We all have conditioned perceptions and reflexive reactions based upon our personal experiences. It's not easy to put these aside and cast oneself in an entirely new role. Yet, unless we make a sincere effort to really understand the younger generation's point of view, we are not even going to begin to find meaningful solutions.

"Put yourself in the place of a youngster--your own, if you will-intelligent, aware, concerned, disenfranchised; looking for guidance but trying to be independent; frustrated by adult domination but not yet faced with the concerns of his own bread and butter; idealistic but not yet inculcated with the values by which we live. What would you do? You can't answer that question because you're not a student living in the most turbulent period in history. If you want to know what makes these kids tick, you're going to have to listen to them. That means giving them the chance to talk--without fear of punishment.

"We don't think they have the answers. They know we don't!"

--Lewy Olfson

NOTE

- The school board policies and policy reference documents which follow represent a selection from the growing files of the EPS/NSBA Clearinghouse and are supplementary to exhibits which appear in the master Educational Policies Reference Manual. Members of the Educational Policies Service should file this kit for permanent reference in the master manual.

- Lewy Olfson of Old Lyme, Conn., author of the introductory essay, is a freelance education writer.

STUDENT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES
(Freedom of Expression)

Freedom of speech is a constitutional right guaranteed to all citizens. The school must make every effort to provide for the free expression of ideas, unless this interferes with the educational process. All students have the right to hear different points of view consistent with their maturity level.

Students must be free to express their point of view as long as they do not attempt to coerce others to accept this view.

Students shall have the freedom to wear buttons, arm bands, and similar insignias to express a point of view unless there is a clear and direct interference with the school program. Such buttons, arm bands, etc., may not mock or ridicule other individuals or groups.

A student has the right to legal protest thru proper channels, providing that such protest does not directly interfere with the educational process or result in harm to other persons or property. This shall be used only after all channels have been exhausted....

A student has the right to pass out political leaflets or any other form of legal literature, with his parents knowledge and with the administration's approval.

Students shall have the responsibility to develop tolerance for the viewpoints and opinions of others and to recognize the right of other individuals to form different points of view.

SOURCE: Greendale (Wisc.) Public Schools
DATE: 5/70

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ABOUT THE NEW YORK CITY STUDENTS BILL OF RIGHTS

NOTE: The policy statement which follows is the final draft of New York City's much-publicized and so-called "Bill of Rights" for senior high school students which was hammered out on the forge of controversy during school year 1969-70. Below is the text of the cover letter which makes it clear that the policy does not "diminish the legal authority" of the Board.

BOARD OF EDUCATION
of the City of New York

June 30, 1970

TO: ALL SUPERINTENDENTS, PRINCIPALS, AND
CHAIRMEN, LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS

For the past year the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools have been engaged in an effort to codify rights and responsibilities of high school students in this period of social change. Students, parents, professional staff, and the city-wide community have been involved in an extended dialogue on this subject. After many reviews and revisions I am issuing this statement of rights and responsibilities of senior high school students.

I am directing that it be implemented as quickly as possible for the commencement of the new school year. It should be disseminated to students, parents, professional staff, the school Consultative Council, and the community of the school. Principals should develop plans for discussion of its provisions and for the initiation of procedures to make it fully operative.

This Circular is for the purpose of stating systematically some of the rights and responsibilities of senior high school students. In no way does it diminish the legal authority of the school officials and of the Board of Education to deal with disruptive students. This recognizes the student's responsibility. It is meant to foster greater understanding so that students, teachers, and administrators can participate more effectively in an active educational partnership.

Sincerely,

IRVING ANKER
Superintendent of Schools
(Acting)

STUDENT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

1. In each high school there should be established an elective and representative student government with offices open to all students. The student government will establish reasonable standards for candidates for office. All students should be allowed to vote in annual elections designed to promote careful consideration of the issues and candidates.

   a. The student government shall have the power to allocate student activity funds, subject to established audit controls and the By-Laws of the Board of Education. Extracurricular activities shall be conducted under guidelines established by the student government. The student government shall be involved in the process of developing curriculum and of establishing disciplinary policies.

   b. Representatives selected by the student government shall meet at least monthly with the principal to exchange views, to share in the formulation of school student policies and to discuss school-student relations and any other matters of student concern.

2. A parent-study faculty consulative council, as established by previous Board of Education resolutions, shall meet at least monthly to discuss any matter relating to the high school. The Consultative Council shall organize a sub-committee to consider matters of school-wide concern submitted by individual students. The sub-committee shall place such problems on the agenda of the consultative council when appropriate. The consultative council shall establish a continuing relationship with the principal to secure information regarding the administration of the school, to make recommendations for the improvement of all school services and to promote implementation of agreed upon innovations. Its structure and operating procedures shall be placed on file with the chancellor.

3. Official school publications shall reflect the policy and judgment of the student editors. This entails the obligation to be governed by the standards of responsible journalism, such as avoidance of libel, obscenity, and defamation. Student publications shall provide as much opportunity as possible for the sincere expression of all shades of student opinion.

4. Students may exercise their constitutionally protected rights of free speech and assembly so long as they do not interfere with the operations of the regular school program.

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a. Students have a right to wear political buttons, arm bands, and other badges of symbolic expression, as long as these do not violate the limits set in 4c below.

b. Students may distribute political leaflets, newspapers, and other literature at locations adjacent to the school.

c. Students shall be allowed to distribute literature on school property at specified locations and times designated. The principal and the student government shall establish guidelines governing the time and place of distribution at a site that will not interfere with normal school activities. They will also provide for sanctions against those who do not adhere to prescribed procedures. No commercial or obscene material, nothing of libelous nature or involving the defamation of character nor anything advocating racial or religious prejudice will be permitted to be distributed within the school. In noting these exceptions it is clearly the intention of the Board of Education to promote the dissemination of diverse viewpoints and to foster discussion of all political and social issues.

d. Students may form political and social organizations, including those that champion unpopular causes. These organizations, however, must be open to all students and must abide by Board of Education policies as developed in guidelines established by the student government acting in concert with the principal. These organizations shall have reasonable access to school facilities.

5. Faculty advisors shall be appointed by the principal after consultation with the student group.

6. Students have the right to determine their own dress, except where such dress is clearly dangerous, or is so distractive as to clearly interfere with the learning and teaching process. This right may not be restricted even by a dress code arrived at by a majority vote of students as Dr. Ewald Nyquist, New York State Commissioner of Education held last year in Decision No. 8022 and 8023.

7. Students shall receive annually upon the opening of school a publication setting forth rules and regulations to which students are subject. This publication shall also include a statement of the rights and responsibilities of students. It shall be distributed to parents as well.

8. A hearing must be held within five school days of any suspension as prescribed by law and the circulars of the Chancellor (Superintendent of Schools).

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9. The extent and definition of student rights and responsibilities are subject to discussion by the consultative councils. Appeals from the decisions of the head of the school, relating to rights and responsibilities herein enumerated, must first be lodged with the assistant superintendent in charge of the high schools, then the Chancellor and finally the Central Board of Education. All such appeals shall be decided as quickly as possible.

10. Rights also entail responsibilities. One of the major goals of this document is to establish a new trust, one based on the humane values of self-respect and respect for others. No student has the right to interfere with the education of his fellow students. It is thus the responsibility of each student to respect the rights of all who are involved in the educational process.

SOURCE: Board of Education of the City of New York
DATE: 7/30/70
REF.: Special Circular No. 104, 1969-1970

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ABOUT EVANSTON'S POLICY ON STUDENT EXPRESSION

NOTE: Oral and written expressions of unpopular and even "offensive" views by students are--within clearly defined limits --"protected activities" under a pioneering free speech policy first adopted during the 1968-69 school year by the Board of Education of Evanston Township High School District 202 in Illinois. The version which follows incorporates the latest revisions as they appear in the ETHS student handbook issued in September, 1970. The Board's preamble to the policy appears in the box below and should be regarded as an integral part of the body of the policy reprinted on the buff sheets which follow.

Preamble

The Board of Education of Evanston Township High School, District No. 202, desires to promote an orderly educational community which reflects traditional democratic values and constitutional principles, including freedom of expression by students.

The Board recognizes that the achievement of a proper balance between order and freedom is among the more perplexing issues confronting secondary education today.

The Board considers it essential to define an appropriate balance in these matters for the guidance of the administration, faculty, parents, and students. Accordingly, as regards the expression of ideas and opinions by students on school premises, the Board hereby prescribes the following policy:

SOURCE: Board of Education, Evanston Township High School, District 202, Illinois (preamble above and the two-column pages which follow).

DATE: September, 1970, revision

Section 1.
STUDENT RIGHTS

Subject to the procedures and General Limitations herein provided, students who legally attend Evanston Township High School may express opinions and ideas, take stands and support causes, publicly and privately, orally or in writing. Such actions shall be referred to herein as "protected activities." There may be no interference with these protected activities based on the belief that any particular idea, opinion, or position is unpopular or is contrary or offensive to community opinion or taste.

Section 2.
EXERCISE OF PROTECTED ACTIVITIES ON BULLETIN BOARDS

At least one bulletin board shall be provided in each school for the use of approved student organizations, informal student groups, and individual students. Other bulletin boards may be designated for official school announcements only. Any bulletin board so designated shall be for restricted use, and materials placed thereon by students may be removed by the school.

All materials posted by students on bulletin boards must conform to the General Limitations herein provided. Bulletin boards designated for students may be used for school activities, out-of-school activities, or matters of general interest to students.

Any posted material deemed to violate the General Limitations herein provided may immediately be removed by the school administration. At the request of interested students or of the sponsoring student organization, the school official responsible for removing the materials will explain the nature of the violation.

All student-posted notices or communications shall be subject to reasonable size limitations and shall be dated and may be removed by the school after seven days to assure full access to bulletin boards for all students.

Section 3.
EXERCISE OF PROTECTED ACTIVITIES THROUGH DISTRIBUTION OF PRINTED MATERIALS AND CIRCULATION PETITIONS

Subject to the procedures and General Limitations herein provided, students may exercise their protected activities through (i) the distribution of handbills, leaflets, and other written materials and (ii) the collection of signatures on petitions concerning either school or non-school matters or issues.

(A) The time for the conduct of any activities under this Section 3 may be restricted by the school administration to certain designated times, such as periods before school begins, after dismissal, or during lunch periods, to the extent that such restrictions are deemed necessary to prevent interference with the school program.

(B) The places for the conduct of such activities may be reasonably restricted by the school administration to permit the normal flow of traffic within the school and at exterior doors.

(C) The manner of conducting such activities may be reasonably restricted by the school administration to prevent undue levels of noise or to prevent the use of coercion or unreasonable interference with students. Littering shall not be sufficient grounds for preventing the distribution of materials.

School officials shall not interfere with the distribution of printed material or circulation of petitions because of their content unless there is contained therein matter which violates one or more of the General Limitations. Where any such decision is rendered the school official shall specify the manner in which it is deemed that this policy has been violated by any distribution or circulation.

Section 4.
EXERCISE OF PROTECTED ACTIVITIES THROUGH SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

Subject to the General Limitations herein provided, students may carry or wear placards, buttons, badges, or armbands on school premises.

Section 5.
GENERAL LIMITATIONS

As an aid to their interpretation and application, it is hereby stated to be the purpose of this policy and the following General Limitations to protect the freedom of student expression to the fullest extent consistent with (i) the maintenance of an orderly and efficient educational process and (ii) the rights of all members of the school community, including the right to the maintenance of a school environment suitable for the healthy growth and development of all students.

(A) No activity which materially or substantially interferes with appropriate student discipline on school premises shall be deemed protected activity.

(B) No activity which materially disrupts classwork or provokes any substantial disorder shall be deemed protected activity.

(C) No activity which invades the lawful rights of other persons shall be deemed protected activity.

(D) No activity shall be deemed protected activity which involves the use or expression of (i) obscenities, or (ii) any sexual or prurient themes where, given the particular context, content, and manner of communication, such use or expression may reasonably be expected to be (substantially) harmful to the normal development of younger, impressionable, and less mature students in the school.

(E) No activity involving the use of false statements or innuendoes which may subject any person to hatred, ridicule, or contempt, or which may injure the reputation of any person, shall be deemed protected activity.

(F) No activity unfairly abusive of, or unfairly injurious to, any school personnel shall be deemed protected activity. Nothing herein, however, shall be deemed to prohibit legitimate criticism for the purpose of redressing grievances actually thought to exist.

(G) No activity involving statements grossly or unfairly prejudicial to any racial, religious, or ethnic group, or any members thereof for the reason of such membership, shall be deemed protected activity.

(H) No activity involving the use of printed materials to advocate that any religious denomination, sect, or point of view is preferable to any other religious denomination, sect, or point of view shall be deemed protected activity.

(I) No activity involving the advocacy, or encouragement through false information, of the use of any substance or materials which may reasonably be believed to constitute a direct and substantial danger to the health of students, or providing any information as to the availability of such substances or materials, shall be a protected activity.

(J) No activity involving advocacy of the violation of existing statutes, ordinances, or other established laws or official school policy, rules, or regulations shall be deemed protected activity.

(K) No activity involving the distribution of written material which has a significant purpose of advertising commercial products or services for sale by profitmaking organizations shall be deemed a protected activity.

(L) No materials may be circulated or distributed in exchange for any payment, whether as a price or voluntary contribution, for such materials. Nor shall any student receive payment for services in the distribution or circulation of any material. No circulation or distribution in violation of this paragraph shall be deemed protected activity.

(M) No printed material published in connection with a protected activity shall be prepared by use of school equipment or property without specific approval by appropriate school personnel.

(N) All copies of any written materials, whether posted on bulletin boards or circulated and distributed on school premises, shall bear the names of approved student organizations or of other sponsoring student groups or students. In the case of a student group, the names of at least two students principally involved in the posting, circulation, or distribution shall be included.

Section 6.
VIOLATION OF POLICY

Any violation by any student of the procedures or General Limitations herein, or any administrative rules, decisions, or action adopted or taken in pursuance of this policy, may subject the student to discipline, including suspension or expulsion in accordance with such procedures as may be provided by law and rules and regulations adopted by, or pursuant to, the authority of this Board of Education; provided, that except in cases involving gross or willful violations, the first violation of this policy by any student shall be followed by a written warning to cease and desist such alleged violation, which warning

shall explain in what way the action violates this policy. A copy of any such warning shall be immediately transmitted to such student's parents. Any further violation of this policy by such student may be deemed gross disobedience subject to the discipline procedures hereinabove provided.

In addition to the discipline provided in the preceding paragraph, any students participating in any activity, whether individually or in concert, constituting a gross or willful violation of this policy shall be denied the privilege of distributing printed materials or circulating petitions on school premises without the prior submission of such materials or petitions to the appropriate principal, or his designate, for review and determination of compliance with this policy. Subject to the right of appeal provided herein, no such materials or petitions so submitted shall be distributed or circulated where a violation of the General Limitations is found to exist.

Any student advised of the withdrawal of said privilege who thereafter distributes materials or circulates petitions without complying with the procedures of the preceding paragraph shall be subject to appropriate discipline.

In the case of any withdrawal of said privilege following the first gross or willful violation of the policy by any student, the privilege shall be withdrawn for a period of time not to exceed one full semester following the semester in which the violation occurs, provided, however, that the privilege shall not be restored unless and until the student submits to his principal a written statement indicating that the student has read the policy and will endeavor to comply with its requirements.

Section 7.
APPEAL PROCEDURES

If any activity is determined by any school administrator to violate this policy in whatever degree, the approved student organization, student groups, or students who have undertaken, or propose to undertake, such activity may, within one week from being advised of such determination, appeal to the superintendent, who shall render his decision as promptly as possible in the circumstances. If the superintendent deems such procedure appropriate, he may attempt to reconcile any differences of opinion as to the requirements of this policy.

The decision of the superintendent shall be final, except as to any case which he may deem appropriate for reference to the Board of Education.

Section 8.
MISCELLANEOUS

(A) The provisions of this policy shall be applied on a non-discriminatory basis and in a manner designed to assure maximum freedom of expression for students in a manner consistent with this policy. No requirement of prior approval shall be imposed on the distribution, circulation, and posting of written materials, except as provided herein and except in such specific circumstances and to such extent as the superintendent may deem necessary on the basis of any clear and present danger to orderly and efficient school operations.

(B) Whenever in the interpretation of this policy it is necessary to determine the meaning of certain words, the superintendent shall make such determination, giving due regard to laws of the United States and the State of Illinois and applicable Court decisions.

(C) Any petitions filed by students with any appropriate school personnel shall be reviewed by a principal or assistant principal, who shall endeavor to adjust any differences of opinion. If substantial differences of opinion are unresolved after 5 days from the date of filing of said petition, the petition shall be forwarded to the superintendent. If the differences remain unresolved for 25 days thereafter, the superintendent shall forward the petition and a report thereon to the Board of Education for further decision.

(D) Whenever in this policy a decision or action, other than the formulation of a general rule, is required by the superintendent, he may delegate his authority to render such decision or take such action, subject to his review, to one or more members of the administrative staff.

Section 9.
PURPOSE OF POLICY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF SCHOOL

It is the purpose of this policy to balance the rights of student expression with the rights of all members of the school community, with the interests of an orderly and efficient educational process, and with the needs of a school environment suitable for the healthy growth and development of all students. It is not the purpose of this policy to regulate student expression in behalf of any other interests. The school assumes no responsibility for the contents of any written matter posted, circulated, or distributed, or for student activities in connection with this policy, insofar as such matter or activities may relate to any interests other than those stated herein.

DUE PROCESS

Policy

Due process procedure will be followed in the exercise of disciplinary authority.

Interpolation

The constitutional rights of students assure protection of due process.

Procedures

1. Disciplinary authority must be exercised with fairness.

2. A student must be given an opportunity for a hearing if he indicates he desires to have one. The hearing would be held to allow the student to contest the facts upon which the disciplinary authority is acting and that hearing should be governed by the following guidelines:

   a. The Hearing Officer, generally the building administrator, should ascertain the facts and if the facts indicate the student's guilt, the Hearing Officer should review the designated punishment to determine its fairness.

   b. The parents should be present at the hearing.

   c. A record should be kept of the hearing.

   d. The student and his parents should be made aware of their right to appeal the decision of the Hearing Officer to either the superintendent or the school board.

   e. The findings of the Hearing Officer should be reduced to writing and sent to the student and his parents.

SOURCE: Shoreline Schools, Seattle, Wash.
DATE: 12/3/69

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INTERROGATIONS AND SEARCHES
(Student Lockers)

Desks and lockers are public property and school authorities may make reasonable regulations regarding their use. Students, however, have the right to privacy in their lockers and desks consistent with the rules which have been established. No school official shall inspect these unless there is a reasonable cause to believe that prohibited articles are kept there. If an inspection takes place, the student or a third party shall be present.

A student has the right to decorate the inside of his locker unless, in the judgment of the Principal, such decoration is considered obscene, illegal, or offensive to race, religion, or national origin or is damaging to the locker.

SOURCE: Greendale (Wisc.) Public Schools
DATE: 5/70

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INTERROGATIONS AND SEARCHES
(Student Lockers)

The right of inspection of students' school lockers is inherent in the authority granted school boards and administrators and should be exercised so as to assure parents that the school, in exercising its "in loco parentis" relationship with their children will exercise every safeguard to protect the well-being of those children.

Nevertheless, exercise of that authority by school officials places unusual demands upon their judgment so as

1. to protect each child's constitutional rights to personal privacy and protection from coercion;

2. to emphasize that schools are educational rather than penal institutions;

3. to act in the best interest of students and the welfare of the total school district.

SOURCE: East Syracuse-Minoa Central School District, East Syracuse, N.Y.
DATE: 4/28/70

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STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN POLICIES AND RULES DEVELOPMENT
(Curriculum)

One of the critical and defensible demands of students in the present period of youth restiveness calls for a role in making curriculum decisions. Black and white students challenge the relevance of course content and methods of teaching. Students are demanding black studies programs. Students demand voice and vote in curriculum decisions.

We recommend that...educators support the principle of students having roles in both shaping and voting upon curricular decisions which affect their education, while recognizing that application of the principle is a complex matter which may differ from situation to situation and which involves establishing relationships between participation and responsibility.

SOURCE: Abridged from a resolution adopted by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
DATE: March, 1970

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STUDENT CONDUCT

All student behavior at Greendale High School is based on respect and consideration for the rights of others.

Students shall have the right to receive annually at the opening of school, a publication listing the rules and regulations to which they are subject. These rules shall be developed cooperatively by the faculty and students, approved by the administration, and filed with the Board of Education. Any restrictions on student behavior must be concerned with speech or action which disrupts the work of the school or interferes with the rights of other students....

Students have a responsibility to know and respect the rules and regulations of the school. Students have the further responsibility to behave in a manner appropriate to good citizenship everywhere.

SOURCE: Greendale (Wisc.) Public Schools
DATE: 5/70

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STUDENT CONDUCT

Students in our schools are expected to act in such fashion that their behavior shall reflect favorably on the individual student and on the school, show consideration for fellow students, and create a harmonious school atmosphere. To accomplish this, all students must recognize their individual responsibilities and obligations and discharge them in accordance with the school regulations.

All students shall conduct themselves as ladies and gentlemen. This refers to their actions toward each other, to their language, to their dress, and to their manners.

Attention is called to behavior on school buses, at lockers, in the lavatories, in the gymnasium, in the corridors, in the cafeteria, in the area outside the school, in the library, in school offices, and, of course, in the classrooms.

In each instance in which an employee acts to help a student conduct himself properly, emphasis shall be placed upon the growth of the student in ability to discipline himself.

SOURCE: Board of Education of Baltimore County, Towson, Md.
DATE: 11/21/68
LEGAL REF.: Ann. Code of Pub. Gen. Laws of Md. Art. 77-Pub. Ed.
#96. Disturbing schools in session
#131.. Suspension and expulsion

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DRESS CODE

The responsibility for the appearance of the students of Greendale High School rests with the parents and the students themselves.

They have the right to determine such student's dress providing that such attire is not destructive to school property, complies with the health code of the State of Wisconsin, and does not interfere with the educational process.

This right may not be restricted, even by a dress code arrived at by a majority vote of students.

SOURCE: Greendale (Wisc.) Public Schools
DATE: 5/70

SCHOOL BOARD POLICY SAMPLES (buff sheets) are distributed for demonstration purposes. Contents are not necessarily endorsed by EPS/NSBA. Editing from originals has been for reasons of space and style requirements only.

DRESS CODE

STUDENTS' APPEARANCE SHOULD BE NEAT AND CLEAN. DRESS AND APPEARANCE WHICH CAUSE DISRUPTION OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS OR PRESENT HEALTH OR SAFETY PROBLEMS SHALL NOT BE PERMITTED; OTHERWISE, DRESS AND APPEARANCE ARE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF PARENTS.

Interpolation

Recent decisions of the courts have limited the ability of school districts to legislate in the area of dress and appearance. The schools no longer stand in the shoes of the parents with regard to these items and are able only to adopt rules and regulations in this area which are reasonably related to the primary function of the school district, the education, health, and safety of the students.

Procedures

1. When a building administrator thinks that a student is in violation of this rule and the student refuses to correct the alleged violation, the building administrator will request the student and the parents to meet with him to discuss the specific problem he sees. Every effort will be made to have the parent deal with the identified problem.

2. If the parent is unwilling or unable to restrain or correct the problem, and the problem is deemed by the administrator to amount to disruption or to endanger the health or safety of the student concerned or others, the administrator then may suspend the student pending correction of the problem.

3. So that the recommendations for dress and physical appearance will be consistent among the different levels, (elementary, junior high, and senior high) a joint student-parent-faculty committee will be constituted at each level to define recommended standards of dress.

SOURCE: Shoreline Public Schools, Seattle, Wash.
DATE: 2/2/70

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STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS AND STRIKES

The Board of Education of East Syracuse-Minoa recognizes that it is the local entity responsible for elementary and secondary education--that educational leadership rests with the Board, its administrators, the school principals, and teachers.

We recognize the right of students to dissent--peacefully--so long as the day-to-day educational process is not disrupted or hampered.

When such dissent includes violation of the rights of other students to an education, when such dissent involves force, threat of force, or actual law violation, those responsible will be summarily suspended from school, ordered from the campus, and, if necessary, law enforcement agencies called in to enforce the order.

Thereafter, the case of the suspended student will be handled on an individual basis in line with the policy of the School Board.

It will be the duty of the teacher or administrator in charge to see that order is maintained and that the right of the majority to pursue their education is not abridged by those who would disrupt that aim.

SOURCE: East Syracuse-Minoa Central School District,
East Syracuse, N.Y.
DATE: 3/24/70

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SUSPENSION AND EXPULSION
(Due Process Procedures Recommended)

Any policy on expulsion and/or suspension should meet at least minimum requirements:

1. In every expulsion case and in any suspension case involving more than 20 school days, written charges specifying the act or acts of the student upon which expulsion or suspension is based should be served upon the student and upon his parents or guardian.

2. Said charges should specify the time, date, and place a hearing will be held on the question of such suspension or expulsion. It should also contain the names of the persons who furnished the information upon which the suspension or expulsion is based. The hearing must also be timely held.

3. At the hearing the student should be permitted to have an attorney represent him if he so desires.

4. The student and his attorney should have the opportunity to question or cross examine the witnesses mentioned in [2] above.

To be sure that due process is afforded the student, the following additional procedures are recommended:

1. The student should be permitted to call other persons to testify at such a hearing.

2. The entire hearing, in the case of every expulsion and every long suspension, should be recorded by a certified shorthand reporter at the expense of the school district.

Any policy should provide that any of the foregoing may be waived by the student with the consent of his parents, guardian, or attorney.

SOURCE: School Law Newsletter, Kansas Association of School Boards.
DATE: 1969

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STUDENT GOVERNMENT

Students have the right to an elected and representative student government. Student government representatives shall share in the formation of general school policies, discuss matters of faculty/student relations, and other matters of student concern.

Some method of establishing faculty, student, parent interaction and feedback to consider matters of mutual concern should be developed. This group may make recommendations for the general operation of the school and policy matters for the school district.

Students have the responsibility to participate actively in the student government process, to make sure that all students are allowed to vote and that offices are open to all who qualify. Students may be invited to school meetings by the administrator conducting the meeting.

SOURCE: Greendale (Wisc.) Public Schools
DATE: 5/70

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STUDENT PUBLICATIONS

We encourage the use of school sponsored publications to express students' points of view. They shall be free from all policy restrictions outside the normal rules for responsible journalism (the avoidance of libel, obscenity, defamation, false statements, or material advocating racial or religious prejudice). Student publications shall provide as much opportunity as possible for the sincere expression of student opinion.

SOURCE: Greendale (Wisc.) Public Schools
DATE: 5/70

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For further reading...

- Student Activism and Involvement in the Educational Program. Written particularly for school board members, this award-winning publication offers an enlightened, forward-looking approach to the phenomenon of student unrest. Offers a series of practical recommendations plus an appendix of helpful exhibits including a model for local community study, grievance procedure for students and parents, teacher evaluation form for students, and sample policies. Highly recommended. New Jersey School Boards Association, 407 West State St., Trenton, N.J. 08605. January, 1970. 60 pp. Price: $2.00.

- Academic Freedom in the Secondary Schools. Chapter on "Students Rights" presents ACLU's position on a variety of issues including student publications, forums, restrictions on political thought, freedom of assembly and the right to petition, due process rights, etc. A basic reference. American Civil Liberties Union, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City 10010. 1968. 22 pp. Price: 25¢; quantity prices on request.

- The Reasonable Exercise of Authority. Legal guidelines on student personal appearance, freedom of expression, behavior codes, student property, extra-curricular activities, discipline, student government, student press, right of petition, and drugs. National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1201 Sixteenth St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. 1970. Price: $1.00.

- Student Unrest: Threat or Promise. A book of readings by public school instructional leaders. Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1201 Sixteenth St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. 1970. 124 pp. Price: $2.75.

- Selected Bibliography on Student Activism in the Public Schools. A listing of about 70 reports and journal articles. ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Administration, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. 97403. April, 1969. Single copy free.

File
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Draft of January 15, 1971

A STATEMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

by

PRESTON EWING, JR.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

ROOM 663 - 53 WEST JACKSON STREET - CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60604

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THE RIGHTS OF STUDENTS

PREAMBLE

Student rights are a subject of much controversy today. However, they shouldn't be because students have been a part of our society for many generations even though the current wave of opposition to student rights may lead some people to believe that students and their rights are both something new to the American scene. When our Constitution, federal and state laws recognized the rights of Americans, students were not excluded, nor were they told that they shed their legal rights at the schoolhouse door.

The education establishment, like the police and the military, is an authority centered institution. The power exercised by the school over students must be controlled by subjecting it to legal guidelines and common sense.

The constant protection of constitutional freedom is nowhere more vital than in our schools. Educators have long claimed that one of the functions of the schools to prepare students for lawful participation in our society. In pursuit of this, one would imagine that the schools would be the one place in society that serves as a model for the respect of laws and the implementation of practices consistent with individual rights. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Instead of being the show place of democracy, most educational institutions are quilty of great disrespect for the constitutional rights of the students they are mandated to train for a life of law and order.

An unnecessary chapter in American legal history is being written today because school officials are opposed to voluntary acceptance of the fact that student rights must be respected. Courts all over America are being called upon to protect the students from the unlawful practices of school administrators. As in the struggle of black people victimized by white racism, the courts have become the protector that the students must turn to in search of relief from oppression. In response to the need, the courts are spelling out to school officials some elementary conclusions of law.

Belated though it may be, careful attention and immediate action should now become a priority of school administrators so that the rights of the student will be removed from the areas of human injustice or benigh neglect. By respecting the rights of students, the only loss the school can incur is that of the uncontrolled and unaccountable use of illegal power. Such a loss is a desirable one in our democracy.

1. RIGHT TO KNOW REGULATIONS AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

Students have the right to receive annually, upon the opening of school or at the time of their enrollment, a publication setting forth all of the rules and regulations to which students are subject. This publication shall also include a statement of the rights of students. It shall also be distributed to parents.

2. RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY, PETITION AND EXPRESSION

Individual students and student organizations should be permitted to hold meetings in school rooms or auditoriums, or at outdoor locations on school grounds, at which they should be free to discuss, pass resolutions, and take other lawful actions respecting any matter which directly or indirectly concerns or affects them, whether it relates to the school or to the extramural world. Peaceful demonstrations should be permitted.

(a) The school administration is justified in requiring that demonstrations or meetings be held at times that will not disrupt classes or meetings be held at times that will not disrupt classes or other school activities.

(b) If a disruption is caused, not by students engaging in a lawful demonstration, but by those hostile to them, the school officials have the legal responsibility to regulate the hostile conduct rather than the lawful activity.

The right to distribute printed materials without prior approval whether produced within or outside the school, should be subjected to only limitations that are designed to prevent libel, or slander.

Expect for reasonable restrictions of time and place, students have the right to collect signatures on petitions concerning school or non-school issues.

The students have the right to wear buttons or badges, armbands, or insignia bearing slo gans or admonitions of any kind as a form of freedom of expression. Teachers or administrators should not attempt to interfere with this right on the pretext that the message is unpopular with any students or faculty, or even with the majority of either group.

Students have the right to refrain from participation in school sponsored activities that are religious, political or involve expressions of nationalism. "If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no officials, high or petty can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, or other matters of opinion, or to force citizens to confess by word or act, their faith therein."[1]

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1 Statement in U. S. Supreme Court decision (in West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barrette, 319 U.S. 624) where court held that students could not be forced to salute United States flag.

3. RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION

Students have the right to organize associations within the school for political, social, athletic, educational or other lawful purposes, provided that no such group denies membership to any student because of race, sex, religion or nationality, or for any reasons other than those related to the purpose of the organization.

The school has not jurisdiction over its student's non-school activities, their conduct, their movements, their dress, and the expression of their ideas. When a student involves himself in out-of-school activities that result in police action, the school has no right to punish the student or make entries on his school record concerning the activity.

4. RIGHTS IN SUSPENSION AND EXPULSION

The following procedure should be followed by school administrators in dealing with suspensions and expulsions:

1. Notice to the accused student and his parents in writing of all charges against the student and the grounds for the charges.[1]

2. A hearing on all the charges with an opportunity for both sides to be heard in considerable detail.

3. Giving the accused the names of witnesses and written report of the fact to which each will testify.

4. An opportunity for the student, his parents or representative to question the complainants and all witnesses.

5. Right of the student to call witnesses on his behalf and/or present written affidavits for that purpose.

6. Opportunity for the student and his parents to provide counsel, if they so desire, with counsel retaining full participating rights in the proceeding. Provide counsel for those parents and students unable to secre counsel because of their economic standing.

7. The right of the student to be supplied with a report of the findings of the board or hearing body, and the results of those findings where the decision is not made directly at the conclusion of the hearing.

(a) In instances where the concern is primarily the relationship of the student to the school, and where the decision must involve careful consideration of student records which are required to be kept confidential, the hearing should not be public unless it is requested by the student and his parents to be made so.

8. To insure fairness, hearings should be conducted by persons not connected with the school administration.

9. An effective and fair appeal procedure should be available to parents and students.

5. RIGHTS OF MARRIED AND PREGNANT STUDENTS

Students should not be excluded or expelled from school because they have entered into marriage. They continue to have the right to participate in all school activities.

Pregnant students can be excluded from school only where it can be shown by qualified medical personnel that such expulsion is necessary for the health and safety of the mother and child. The student should be allowed to return to school after the birth of the child.

In cases where temporary exclusion from school takes place, the school officials should provide a continuing education if the desire is expressed by the student.

6. RIGHT TO BE FREE OF POLICE OPPRESSION

When police are involved in the schools, their activities should not consist of intimidation or harassment. Policemen or other security officers in the schools should wear some type of badge of identification, but they should not carry weapons. The badge will permit ready identification. It must be generally accepted that firearms and other normal police weapons are not for use against children.

Police do not have the right to question children with or without the consent of the school employees. Students, like adults, have the right to be informed of their rights and remain silent. The right to submit students to interrogation rests exclusively with the parent and the student. School teachers and administrators have the responsibility of protecting these rights.

When there is contact between the student and the police, the school administrator has the duty of notifying the parent and obtaining the identity of the policemen.

Student records and communications are confidential and the police should not be allowed access to them unless the student, parents, or the court give permission to school administrators for their release.

When police or security officers are in the schools on either a short term or long term basis, all of their duties, responsibilities, and powers should be made known to the student body, staff, parents and general community.

7. SEARCH AND SEIZURE

School authorities should respect the right of the student to the privacy of his locker, his property and his person. The school has the right of periodic inspection of lockers for physical condition and cleaniless. They can search the lockers in an emergency such as a bomb threat.

The following procedure should be followed when the privacy of the student's locker and its contents are to be invaded:

1. The student should be given reasonable notice and the opportunity to be present. The inspection or search should not be made without his presence in the absence of a search warrant unless an emergency exists.

2. Personal clothing in lockers should not be searched without the student's permission in the absence of a warrant.

3. Personal items should not be disturbed unless it is identified on a warrant or it is the object of a search occasioned by an emergency.

4. In the event of an emergency and the lack of availability of the student assigned to a locker, the school officials should notify the student of the action as soon as possible.

8. RIGHT TO DRESS AND GROOM

So long as a student's appearance is not obscene and does not constitute a threat to the health and physical safety of others or himself, it should be no concern of the school.

Dress and personal adornment are forms of self-expression; the freedom of personal preference should be guaranteed along with other individual rights. If there are to be any regulations written by the schools, they should be within this framework. At no time should school officials force their personal preference on students.

If any rules of dress and grooming are adopted and meet the above standards they should be clear and detailed in such a manner they leave no room for the imposition of misinterpretation.

Schools do have the right to prohibit the wearing of such items as metal cleats which could damage floors, the wearing of restrictive clothing in physical education classes or clothing that is dangerous to the student in the environment of machines and other situations where clothing or long hair constitute a safety hazard.

9. RIGHT TO VALID AND UNBIAS TESTING

Students have the right to be free from subjection to achievement, intelligence, aptitude and performance tests that are culturally bias against them. Such tests label some student as uneducable, place some in special classes and schools, assign students to so-called ability groups or tracks, deny students higher educational opportunities, and prohibits postive growth and development, and perpetuates inferior education. Students from a non-English speaking background should be given the option of taking unbias tests in their primary language. Academic assignments should not be made on a basis of scores from culturally bias tests.

10. RIGHT TO PROPER EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

Students have the right to study from testbooks and other instructional materials that are honest, comprehensive in their presentations of the true history of America and the contributions and the roles of all its peoples.

11. RIGHT OF REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES

Students and their parents have the right of easy access to an effective system for the redress of grievances against school employees and practices. Among minority group students and parents there exist widespread distrust for internal school redress procedures. For this reason it is necessary that all complaint systems demonstrate effectiveness and freedom of prejudice in favor of school employees.

12. RIGHT TO LISTEN

Students and student organizations have the right to invite and listen to speakers of their choosing even if the speakers espouse views on politics, social and religious matters that are contrary to those of the school administration.

13. RIGHT TO READ

Students have the right to reading programs that will guarantee them the achievement of a reading level necessary to academic and career success. Reading programs should exist at all grade levels.

14. RIGHT TO CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

Students have the right to a curriculum that includes programs designed to teach them to understand and appreciate the cultural differences of the various ethnic groups that make up America.

15. RIGHT TO A COMPREHENSIVE MENU

Students have the right to eat from a school menu that contains a variety of foods some of which are common to their cultural background and are prepared in a manner consistent with that culture.

16. RIGHT TO FREEDOM FROM UNJUST MAJORITY DECISIONS

The rights of one or more students may not be denied or restricted even by decisions arrived at by a vote of the majority of the student body. This protection also covers unjust decisions of the faculty affecting students.

17. RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Systems of selection for student participation in school activities should not discriminate against any student because of academic standing, sex, religion, political beliefs or minority group status.

Staff persons should have veto power over student decisions only when clear evidence exists that the system of selection and/or its application is discriminatory and denies equal opportunity for participation to all its students.

18. RIGHT TO SHARE IN POLICY MAKING

Students have the collective right to an appropriate share in the making of institutional policy generally affecting their social and academic affairs. An institution which fails to provide an opportunity for students to make themselves heard with respect to its politices, is not performing adequately as a training ground for citizens.

19. RIGHT TO FREE EDUCATION

Students have the right of access to a system of public, free common schools. No fee can be required for attendance and the use of instructional materials incidental to the education process. There can be no withholding of transcripts, textbooks or the denial of participation in graduation and other aspects of the education because a student fails to pay so-called "fees" demanded by school administration.

Schools do have the right to establish a fee for certain things relating to extra-curricular activities.

20. RIGHT TO COMPETENT TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

Students have the right to be free of educators and administrators that are unqualified for their educational and administrative responsibilities. Such educators should be from an educational training background that includes comprehensive training in the various cultures of the several ethnic groups that make up America.

21. RIGHT TO A COMPREHENSIVE CURRICULUM

Students have the right to a comprehensive curriculum that will give them the basic academic skills needed to prepare them for numberous creer opportunities after the completion of secondary school. In cases of a specialized curriculum in a vocational or so-called technical area, the student's curriculum should contain academic courses that will allow adequate preparation for wide choice of careers.

22. RIGHTS OF STUDENTS OF LOW INCOME FAMILIES

Students from low income families have the right to all programs created by local, state, and federal agencies to provide benefits needed to enchance the educational opportunities such students.

The school administration should pursue all steps necessary to provide such programs.

AFL - CIO - Civil Rts Dept

Report of Civil Rights Department
to the Executive Council

Bal Harbour, Florida
February 19, 1971

A civil rights leader said recently; "We have lived through a decade in which race was the focal point of our domestic politics and we have entered a decade in which the spotlight is shifting to economic justice."

The struggle to eliminate discrimination and segregation from American society is not finished. There is still much to be done; indeed re-segregation of many areas of American life remains a constant danger.

However, what the AFL-CIO said in 1964 is all the more cogent today:

> "It cannot be said too often that for equal rights and equal opportunity to be meaningful, there must be full opportunity as well; full employment, full educational opportunities and all the rest. The right to be hired is empty indeed when there are no jobs to be had; the right to be served in a restaurant or hotel has no meaning for those with no money to spend.
>
> "In that sense the fight to create jobs for all and to abolish poverty in America, are themselves civil rights campaigns, indispensable to the success of the law which bears that title. The AFL-CIO will press for these goals as vigorously as we campaigned for the Civil Rights Act itself."

Since the 1954 Supreme Court Decision, we have had increasing success in eliminating discrimination and segregation from one area after the other in American life: public accommodations, voting, ending dual school systems as such, changing employment hiring patterns and even in eliminating housing discrimination.

But ending discrimination is not enough. After all, discrimination cannot explain why millions of white American families are left out of the mainstream of the American economy.

The reduction of racial discrimination alone is salutory but cannot alone solve the problems of millions of minority citizens, nor the crisis in our cities.

- over -

From the 1954 Supreme Court Decision until the 1964 Civil Rights Act, while discrimination was being reduced, the income gap between Negroes and whites widened again. The gap widened not because of increased discrimination but because of economic stagnation due to the policies of the Republican Administration, and the impact of technological change.

From 1963 to 1968, that income gap narrowed markedly. Minority median income in 1963 was 53 percent of white median income. By 1968, it had reached 63 percent.

There are four basic factors that account for this significant progress by minority group citizens. One to be sure was the reduction of discrimination, the second was increased levels of education and skills, the third was manpower, anti-poverty and other social programs, and last and extremely important, the reduction of unemployment in those years, which got as low as 3.3 percent overall, and as low as 3.1 percent for adult males in poverty areas.

What America needs is a health economy and full employment, adequate housing construction, federal aid to education, the completion of the job of ending discrimination and segregation, and a more effective and intelligent manpower policy.

We have not had these in the past two years. It is of little consolation to the minority group worker, that white unemployment rose faster than black. The overall rate of unemployment for black workers in the past year climbed from 6.4 percent to 10.3 percent, with the largest increase occurring among adult men.

The Labor Department itself reports that "the general decline in economic activity in 1970 reversed the improvement in jobless rates that had been made by poverty area residents between 1967 and 1969."

Meanwhile within an economic context that inhibits instead of encouraging upward mobility of minority workers, the AFL-CIO and its affiliates continue their work both to eliminate discrimination and to develop affirmative programs for the employment and upgrading of minority and hard-core area citizens.

The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee reports that the Papermakers, Molders, Tobacco, Oil and Carpenters International Unions have completely eliminated segregated locals. The Railway Carmen have merged all but one of 64 separate locals, the Musicians all but one of 54 separate locals. Ten other international unions still have some separate locals -- two of them have one remaining, one has two and the others have varying numbers. The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department is working with them to help facilitate mergers of the remaining separate locals.

In the last year, the number of Outreach programs has increased from 58 to over 80. The number of minority apprentices placed, from 5,100 to over 9,000. The efforts of the international unions, the Building Trades Department, the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, the Human Resources Development Institute and the Outreach Programs have resulted in significant numbers of minority workers getting journeymen cards.

The Chicago Plan reports over 200 minority journeymen receiving cards, (over 100 of these from electricians and plumbers locals). The Joint Apprenticeship Program (Workers Defense League/A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund) reports 270 minority journeymen receiving cards through its efforts and the Urban League reports too, that through the efforts of its LEAP Outreach Programs, similar numbers of minority journeymen are receiving cards from building trades local unions.

Nevertheless, there are continuing misguided efforts being made to attack and even to destroy apprenticeship and to ignore and even undercut Outreach programs. Fortunately, they have not been able to interfere with these successful efforts to increase minority participation in the unionized sectors of the construction industry.

It is increasingly recognized that the Administration's Philadelphia Plan has been -- as the AFL-CIO predicted -- a failure. After one year of its operation, the Labor Department found that on 25 federal projects in the Philadelphia area, each more than one half million dollars in volume, there were 41 minority workers out of 180 in the mechanical trades, or 22 percent.

However, the Labor Department had found 97 minority journeymen in the local unions cited, prior to the institution of the Philadelphia Plan. There is no indication that any of the 41 came from sources other than existing union members or apprentices recruited by Outreach.

- over -

The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee remains of the opinion that the answer to increased minority participation in the building trades will be found in:

1 - Apprenticeship -- with the help of Outreach programs.

2 - The recruitment of existing qualified minority journeymen and their acceptance by local unions.

3 - Sound upgrading programs for those minority workers who are not of apprenticeable age and not presently qualified journeymen but have some construction experience. (This is the program adopted by the Building Trades Department, AFL-CIO, and its affiliated international unions at the 1969 convention.)

The implementation of this three-point program, especially if aided by the end of the recession in construction, can produce significantly increased participation of minority youth and workers in skilled trades without reducing standards and skills and without harming the securities and conditions of the workers already in the industry.

Under these circumstances, it is irresponsible to promise "hundreds of thousands of jobs" to minority workers based on the mere pencil exercise of selecting a quota and saying to the minority community, "this is your share of the jobs", while providing neither the jobs nor the means of acquiring the skills to enter the industry.

The answer for continued progress still remains:

1. The elimination of discrimination

2. Full employment

3. The development of affirmative manpower programs.

The AFL-CIO will continue to press forward on all three.

Ala. Youth Together CO: Sch Desegr Proj

9 1971

March 28, 1971

The meeting was officially begun at noon after one hour of introductions of persons present and waiting for other members of the organization to arrive.

The general outline of the first meeting of Alabama Youth Together (formally called Alabama Students United) was given by various people who had been there and summarized by Sherrill Marcus.

Jim Zeigler from the University of Alabama presented information and handbills describing IMPACT '72, an organization working toward the 18 year old vote. After this presentation it was decided that our group should set up priorities for discussion. These were as follows:

I. School Desegregation

Some of the major problems resulting from school desegregation were:

A. Police on campus and arrest of Black students
B. Black students not allowed to park cars on campus
C. Suspension of Black students
D. White principal at predominantly Black school
E. Massive flight of White students into segregated academies
F. Closing of formerly Black schools
G. Segregated bussing
H. School ignoring academic needs of Black students
I. Racism on the part of White teachers
J. Lack of interest and support from Black teachers
K. Restrictive dress codes
L. Racism in the naming of schools
M. Discriminatory disciplinary practices
N. Discrimination from Guidance Counselors on college opportunities
O. Mistreatment of recruiters from Black colleges
P. Extra-curricular activities segregated or dropped completely
Q. Racist indoctrination on White students by the school

Following the discussion of these specific problems, we attempted to develop a list of suggested methods of attacking these problems.

1. Formation of local student organizations
2. Raise awareness of students through a newspaper
3. Urge students to maintain their own records
4. Create an alliance between students and sympathetic teachers and parents
5. College students participate in tutorial programs of high-school students
6. Black students give support to non-racist White students
7. Demand a uniform grading system for the entire state
8. Open lines of communication in the community
9. Disseminate information on high-school equivalency test
10. Find legal aid for student related issues
11. Involve parents in students problems
12. Spread information about A.Y.T., establish a center for this
13. Alabama Youth Together send out a newsletter
14. Demand equal number of Black and White teachers
15. Each student collect the facts about his particular area
16. Regular meetings between the races
17. Encourage and aid students in college enrollment

Sherrill Marcus presented an outline for the alliance of any groups that might participate in Alabama Youth Together. These groups would include student organizations, individual young people and organizations who would give resources and support to A.Y.T. He suggested the temporary structure of this group include a steering committee and subsidiary committees on various specific issues. The Steering Comm. would include a representative of each participating group. Such representatives would report to the Steering Committee on their particular problems and objectives. The Steering Committee would attempt to

coordinate youth efforts throughout the state and seek to use the influence of the entire organization in support of individual groups. Names of representatives of groups who had not attended the previous meeting were asked for.

It was agreed that Tuskaloosa would be the central base of operation for the time being. The name Alabama Youth Together was adopted to replace Alabama Students United by a vote of 21 to 11.

Columbus Keepler will continue to act as temporary Chairman of the Steering Committee. It was suggested that the following standing committees be established.

1. Research and publication
2. School desegregation
3. Eighteen year old vote
4. Legal matters
5. Consitution committee

Volunteers for the committees were:

Research and publication
- Jeanette Hill

School desegregation
- Richard Pogue
- Sylvia Knight
- Edward Kelly
- Willie Jones
- Harry Williams

Eighteen year old vote
- Delores Thomas
- Larry Jones

Legal matters
- Anita Showers
- Jerry Brown

Constitution Committee
- John Kennard
- Richard Pogue
- Edward Kelly

Any questions about Alabama Youth Together should be referred to
Louise Moody
Selma Project
PO Box 2628
Tuskaloosa, AL 35401
758-2301
758-3926

Mr. Leon Hall of the Southern Regional Council will serve as a resource person for school desegregation.

Next business was discussion of the proposed state-wide conference. It was agreed that the conference should be held before school is out. The week-end of May 8, 1971 was suggested. Greene County is a possible location for the conference.

New members of the Steering Committee are
Langston J. Walker - Ala. A & M Student Gov't.
Thelma Chambers - Greene County
Thomastine Leggett - B'ham Southern College
Willie Jones - Greensboro High School
Edward Kelly - Alabama State University

The Steering Committee will be informed by letter or phone of the next meeting.

This list is a combination of those attending both meetings.
February 14 and March 28

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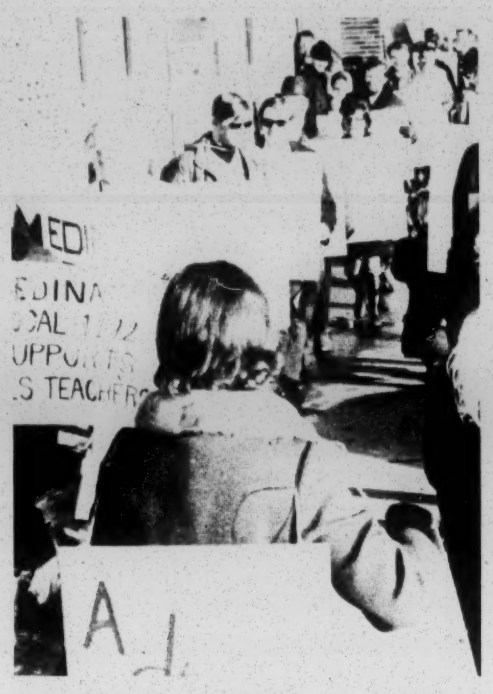

"Informational bannering" to protest a court order to the Minneapolis school board to collect some $600,000 pay from teachers that was part of a strike settlement last spring, has been going on at each board meeting since late February. At the first demonstration, members of 28 of the 33 suburban locals rallied to support Minneapolis, and picketers included Flora Rogge, state Federation president, and Barry Noack, AFT vice-president from Robbinsdale. The threat of collection of seven days' pay, the non-picketing portion of a 14-day strike, came after a Hennepin County judge's decision which in turn followed a state supreme court decision that the strike settlement was illegal. The AFT members are working for special legislation to permit the teachers to keep their pay, and eventual passage of a real collective-bargaining law in Minnesota.

Southern QUEST conference probes desegregation, staffing, 'quinmester'

By RALPH LLOYD
(Special to the American Teacher)
JACKSONVILLE, Fla.

"I can see the banner of economy waving over this whole thing. The color is ominous and, in the final analysis, punitive."

Ted Fleming, a Jacksonville science-department chairman, thus summarized the first of a series of descriptions of the extent to which the "accountability" movement is pervading Southern school districts. The occasion was the AFT-QuEST conference here March 13.

Behavioral objectives, the quinmester system, performance contracting, indiscriminate faculty desegregation, and differentiated staffing are either in practice or the planning stages in the school districts represented by AFT members from 14 locals in four Southern states who attended the conference.

After Fleming outlined the three-year history of behavioral objectives in Jacksonville, Mrs. Mercedes Hill, a special-education teacher and member of the teacher-evaluation committee in the Duval County, Fla., school district, demonstrated how these behavioral objectives were being used in inservice training and teacher evaluation.

Through behavioral objectives, said Hill, "Teacher evaluation appears to be a checklist with each item checked off at the same rate a cashier rings up our purchases at a supermarket. Principals have the sole responsibility of totaling that cash-register tape and deciding how we pay." The committee responsible for revamping Duval County teacher evaluation consists of 12 administrators, principals, parents and students, plus two teachers.

The tragic educational effects of administrative bungling of faculty desegregation in the South were dramatized by Gene Didier, president of AFT Local 527 in New Orleans, when he cited the case of a black teacher in a virtually all-black school with fewer than 25-percent black teachers who was charged with "failure to meet his class" during a school disturbance. What actually happened was that the teacher assembled 600 angry students in the school auditorium and persuaded them to leave the grounds peaceably. He is being fired after 17 years in the system for "incompetency" and "willful neglect of duty."

KICKERS AND KICKEES

"But I know," said Didier, "if he hadn't had the guts to meet with those kids, as angry as they were, and persuade them to leave in an orderly fashion, they would have burned that school down. The moral is that in the desegregation process in the South, when your senior colleagues, the principals, have to make a choice between who is going to be the 'kickers' and who the 'kickees,' at least in New Orleans, out of 135 schools, we got kicked 135 to zero."

The quinmester system is a plan based on the philosophy that "schools standing empty are schools losing taxpayers' money," according to David Woertendyke, president of the Brevard (Fla.) Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2098.

Laura Lloyd of the Dade (Fla.) Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 1875, told the conference participants that Miami, the nation's sixth largest school system, will be in session for five nine-week segments each year. By that time there will have been 800 new courses written to accommodate the curriculum to the new schedule.

Nevertheless, the schools will be able to save money on staffing. "Under the quinmester plan," said Lloyd, "a school with a capacity of 2,000 students could enroll 2,500 students and still have in attendance only 2,000 during any given quin. Theoretically, this increases plant capacity by 25 percent. Also, to save money the instructional staff is decreased by 4 percent." In teacher-salary dollars, this amounts to $4 million a year.

A similar, four-quarter system already in effect in Atlanta is almost a total failure, according to President Ryburn Stephens of the Atlanta Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 1565. Some children who attend all four quarters have no more than three or four classes a day; with no jobs available to them, they are fair game for juvenile delinquency, said Stephens, who spends his summers as a job counselor.

"These same children are deprived of what most adults need and enjoy, and that's a vacation period every year," Stephens said. "But one of the saddest things is the way the curriculum was handled. In many cases, they just took a textbook, divided it into four parts, and use each part as the curriculum for one quarter."

CUTTING STAFFS IN HALF

Since the 1968 teacher strike in Florida, legislative appropriations have been financing experiments in differentiated staffing in three counties: Sarasota, Leon, and Dade. Norma Roitstein, treasurer of Local 1875, reported that the most recent advance in an elementary school differentiated-staffing experiment has been to reduce a staff of 26 certified teachers to 13. With the hiring of teacher aides and noncertified student-teachers the school will save money during the 1971-72 school year. All phases of planning for the new North Miami Beach Senior High School, scheduled to open next September, have been geared toward a differentiated-staffing system.

After a description of performance contracting by a Jacksonville project director, AFT Vice-President Frank Sullivan noted some of the safeguards insisted upon by industrial contractors which are not available to classroom teachers. These include "trick questions" on the initial diagnostic tests to assure that the class "starts" as low as possible, refusal to be accountable for any child who is absent more than 20 days per year, and refusal to teach children who have IQs below 70.

"But you know teachers have to teach every child in the school system," said Sullivan, "and you know you will be accountable from time to time for what the child does. But the contractor doesn't have to do that."

AFT President David Selden concluded the conference by predicting that there will be a "wave of corruption in education that we may be many years recovering from" as the influence of big business increases in the education industry. "I'm afraid we are in a fight and this aspect of it worries me, but at least let us adhere to a positive approach as long as we can."

OKs DIFFERENTIATED-STAFFING RESOLUTION

Council plans hotel-integration drive

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A revised resolution on vertical (differentiated) staffing and a set of guidelines to govern the choosing of AFT convention hotels on the basis of employee integration within the hotel, were two of the policies adopted by the AFT executive council at its March 5-6 meeting.

The council also heard a report from Dr. John Phillip Linn, chairman of the AFT's Public Review Board and a professor of labor law at the University of Denver; approved proposals to amend the AFT constitution which will be presented to the convention; and adopted a resolution on revenue-sharing legislation (See "Washington Report," Page 15).

In addition, it chartered the United Professors of California Council No. 1; heard a report from Argie Thomas, president of the East St. Louis Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 1220; and granted the Providence Teachers Union, AFT Local 958, funds toward the defense of a probationary teacher whose dismissal was successfully challenged by the local through the grievance procedure.

Following the adopted guidelines for choice of convention hotels, the executive council's civil-rights committee will prepare a questionnaire to be sent annually to hotels which will indicate the extent of union organization and of integrated staffing patterns in the hotels. Hotels will be informed that the AFT will base its decision on which city and which hotel for the next AFT convention, "on the basis of the extent of employee integration within the hotel," and the civil rights committee will make recommendations to the executive council after examining returned questionnaires.

The resolution on vertical staffing notes that such patterns "create a hierarchy of salary, status, and authority, and thus tend to destroy the cooperative and communal effort necessary for a successful teaching effort." Also, they "create arbitrary and artificial 'levels' of responsibilities in terms of salary differentials and thus result in a new version of the merit salary system," and "create a divisiveness within the teaching staff and are of dubious value in improving the learning process among students.

"Therefore, be it

"Resolved that the AFT go on record as opposing any vertical staffing patterns which reduce the total number of fully certified staff responsible for the education of pupils, which results in an arbitrary reduction of financing for education, and which is a movement away from the concept of the single salary schedule, and, be it further

"Resolved that any plan dealing with staff utilization must be developed in consonance with the teachers union through the process of negotiation in all phases of decision-making in matters of policy and processing, and be it further

"Resolved that all AFT locals investigate thoroughly any and all plans promulgated by school districts which violate the above precepts."

In Dr. Linn's report on the AFT's Public Review Board, he briefly described the board's activities during its four-year existence. He noted that no cases at all were heard during the first year, although then-chairman Theodore Kheel received a number of complaints and handled them through his office. The first case involving the disciplining of a member by a state federation is expected to be decided soon, Linn reported. The case had been moving slowly "because there were two very fine lawyers in the case." Another case heard was on the election of delegates to the AFT convention, although the whole board did not sit on this one. "We decided we didn't need the full board to conduct each hearing," Linn said, "as long as all five board members had an opportunity for input." Two additional cases have been heard and settled, one of them informally.

Linn told the council, the board (created by the AFT but now independent of it) will give the involved AFT body 15 days to grant authority, with extensions of time granted for good reason.

At least one local union, the Detroit Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 231, has included the PRB in its constitution as a mandatory final resort in a member's grievance procedure against the local, and Local 231 President Mary Ellen Riordan, a council member, said her local has found "the service of great help in untangling differences."

Juanita Freeman, center, a second-grade teacher at Pittsburgh's Thaddeus Stevens Elementary School, won a $500 prize drawing in a Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers QuEST fund-raising drive to provide two $1,000 scholarships for high-school seniors in the city who are interested in teaching careers. Co-chairmen of Local 400's QuEST committee are Rufus Jordan, left above, and Paul Francis, right.

each family regardless of what courts, schools, or doctors might say. That after all, is what freedom is all about. Whether after making that decision, the state can then deny the child all public education is an issue the courts should never have to, but just as surely, will face.

FOOTNOTES

1. The assumption is here indulged that the only issue concerning a lawyer is a case of controversy, a client who actually refuses to submit to the consumption of drugs (or is comtemplating such refusal) and a school system which refuses to admit the child unless he is taking drugs to remedy his "hyperactivity." Admittedly, that assumption may be erroneous; for lawyers are properly notorious for wanting to get involved in social problems to create legal controversy. The assumption, however, will focus the constitutional analysis. That analysis may well suggest some policies which should be fully considered and implemented by an enlightened, if still confused, medical and school community well before any litigation.
2. Whether these "rights" belong to the child, his next friend, the parent, or the family is a nettlesome issue. For purposes of the analysis which follows, I presume their interest and rights are the same. That presumption falls, however, when the parents and child disagree on what they want.
3. For example, *Skinner* purports to be an equal protection case; *Griswold* seems to call upon a host of constitutional parts to gain a majority decision, if not opinion; while many of the other decisions rely on more "traditional" 1st amendment bases. Indeed, it is not absurd to argue that autonomy over one's own body, without intrusion by drugs which modify behavior – *no matter how beneficial* – is a matter of ultimate personal concern, the very fount of expression in any form.
4. If any particular race or social class is disproportionately over-represented in the class of children labeled hyperkinetic in any school or school system, the court should be even more strict in the review of the classification. But one theory of causation of hyperkinesis is systematic environmental deprivation of the child, from poor diet of the pregnant mother to difficulty in labor to polluted air. Such conditions are probably more common for minority groups than others. Given this past environmental deprivation which may have already left its mark on the child, is that child to be denied the benefits of amphetamine treatment because the drugs are given disproportionately to blacks? Our skepticism about the benefit of drugs should not provide the entire answer. But if there is a "de facto" race classification, courts certainly must scrutinize the process, the benefits and the alternatives with particular care to insure that such classification is benign. Yet in the end we suspect that any judicial decision will be made quite properly to depend on the individual will of each family – black or white – not the view of any court about what is proper for an entire class.

Codes For High School Students

By Patricia M. Lines

Growing student activism in high schools seems to be inspiring the wholesale manufacture of new rules, regulations, student codes, and statements of "rights and responsibilities." Many such codes have been created by school administrators and teachers seeking to control the school environment. These codes typically prescribe acceptable standards for conduct, appearance and speech. Some have been challenged in the courts and found invalid, but many remain on the books. In contrast, students, sympathetic teachers and administrators, and lawyers groups have also been developing codes. Generally, these codes acknowledge the existence of students' rights, define and list offenses, outline a fair procedure to follow if a student is accused of some such offense, and state specific punishments for specific offenses.

Whatever its origin, the proliferation of codes raises several questions: Why should anyone want a code at all? Where do school officials get the authority to promulgate codes? What limits are there on this authority? If there must be a code, what should it say? This article aims to provide some answers to these questions. There is a brief discussion of the case law relating to codes, but no attempt will be made here to provide an exhaustive analysis of students' rights. There is also an outline of a code which would recognize both the constitutional rights of students and the school administration's duty to maintain a school atmosphere which is conducive to learning. Finally, there is a discussion of how students should proceed if they wish to implement such a code in their school or district.

Why Have a Code?

1. To clarify the law

At first blush, the code seems unnecessary. Teachers ought to be able to perform their function as teachers adequately by relying on already existing laws prohibiting criminal activity. Serious classroom disruptions – threats of violence, violence, carrying drugs or weapons — would merit a telephone call to parents or police. Conversely, students possess constitutional rights whether or not they are recited in some official Board of Education document. A code is not needed, then, unless it requires or guarantees something which is not clearly already required or guaranteed.

Unfortunately, however, the existing law governing students' rights and obligations is not very clear or precise. Despite the Supreme Court decision in *Tinker*, upholding the right of students to express their views by wearing black arm bands,[1] lower courts have subsequently undercut *Tinker*.[2] Despite countless cases upholding the right of students to determine their own dress and grooming styles,[3] just as many courts still permit school districts to regulate these private matters.[4] Similar judicial conflicts exist over the validity of corporal punishment.[5] A code can, therefore, eliminate the gray areas in the law for both teachers and students.

2. To create new rights

Secondly, a code could create students' rights which have never been established by any court. This might include the right to have a student government[6] and to participate in decisions affecting student extracurricular activities, curriculum, and student disciplinary procedures. It might make available grievance procedures to students who wish to bring charges against a teacher or principal. Or the code might provide for a student ombudsman.[7] Any number of processes could be created which would give students a voice in decision-making and which provide an opportunity to learn first-hand how to function in a democratic framework.

3. To detail offenses

Just as a code can guarantee rights to students which are not necessarily guaranteed under the Constitution, it may also regulate behavior which is not necessarily culpable under existing criminal or civil laws. In some cases the need for the regulation hardly seems to justify the restriction on the student's liberty. For example, many recent cases betray the schoolman's penchant for restricting beards, long hair (even, in at least one case, bangs on females), criticism of teachers and their ways, and political expression. To be fair, however, school officials do have legitimate reasons for regulating some noncriminal conduct. A good teacher does not allow major and continued disruptions in his or her classroom, and he or she will protect students from their fellow students. Hazing, water fights, firecrackers, and the like are the traditional foibles of mischievous students. Respected and effective teachers mete out fair punishment in these cases. The key to reasonable rules of this type is their relevance to the essential functions of the school.[8] Of course, as discussed below, there are constitutional and other legal restrictions on what any school official may do. It would be illegal to impose severe punishment (suspension, expulsion, corporal punishment) except for the most severe offenses and then only after procedural due process has been scrupulously observed.

4. To replace the "unwritten code"

A code which does no more than describe which activities will get students into what kinds of trouble may not seem advantageous to students, but it is better than an ambiguous "unwritten code." A published code at least gives a student fair warning, and is easier to challenge in the courts. Thus, even such a code can help prevent teachers and principals from imposing arbitrary and *ad hoc* rules. This protection could be specifically included in the code. For example, the 1965 Discipline Code of the University of Oregon provides that "no sanction or other disciplinary action shall be imposed on a student . . . except in accordance with this code."[9] Although the unwritten code probably should be challenged in court as "void for vagueness," the uncertainty facing the student before hand makes this a somewhat more hazardous course. Although it seems grossly unfair to the student, some courts have upheld disciplinary procedures, even physical punishment, executed by a teacher in the absence of any specific rule.[10]

5. To spell out procedural due process

The law detailing procedural due process is fuzzy indeed. Sometimes one or two unfair elements in a whole process will be tolerated by the court, but the implication is that additional unfair actions would taint the entire proceeding. An unwritten disciplinary procedure may be difficult to challenge, because its full scope may not be revealed in any single case. Without a code, school officials and students must submit to the awkward and tedious trial-and-error methods of testing and retesting in order to establish what is fair and what is not. Worse, time and cost might well discourage students from asserting their rights, especially where the punishment is not thought severe, or the right, not important. Although it seems most sensible and necessary to reduce disciplinary procedures to writing, this is not always done, and such omission has not yet been declared unconstitutional by the federal courts.[11]

6. To guide teachers and students in democratic processes

A good code can be instructional. Teachers and students are not expected to know the fine points of constitutional law. A good code can guide teachers in deciding what they should and should not do when faced with a disciplinary problem. Conversely, the same document, if readily available to the student, tells him what his rights are and what procedures he should follow to assert them. Codes which are intended to be instructional should be simple in style and organization, should acknowledge existing laws and constitutional requirements, and should be widely distributed. The "Statement of Students Rights and Responsibilities" issued by the Seattle School Board fits these criteria. It is a single sheet of paper, makes brief references both to existing constitutional rights of students and to criminal laws, and outlines procedural due process requirements. The code of the University of Oregon, although somewhat longer, is also clear, well organized, and widely distributed.[12]

More than this, however, a good code can teach students the fundamental principles of democracy by involving them in the rule-making and decision-making processes. Order in the classroom is less easily attained when only school authorities want it. It is a natural achievement where students have the authority to regulate themselves. Such thoughts lead to codes which allow students to participate in rule-making, and to participate in adjudicating cases brought under these rules. This philosophy is incorporated in the code promulgated by the Board of Education of New York City, which provides that "The student government shall be involved in . . . establishing disciplinary policies."[13] It is also reflected in Philadelphia's code, which gives students "the right to participate in the establishment of regulations regarding discipline . . . "[14] Some universities, such as Oregon, have established courts (a majority of the members of which are students) which hear all disciplinary cases, subject to appeal to a court composed of half students and half faculty members.[15] The concept of including students in the actual disciplinary process has been adapted to high schools in the model codes prepared by the Juvenile Law Center[16] and the Youth Council of San Francisco.[17]

Where do School Officials Get the Authority to Promulgate a Code?

Public school officials[18] receive their authority to regulate student conduct either from the legislature or from parents.[19] The legislature expressly delegates authority through general or specific statutory grants. Parents, on the other hand, presumably place school officials *in loco parentis* when they send the child to school — public or private. The doctrine has become increasingly irrelevant since the advent of compulsory education laws, for children may be in school against the wishes of parents.[20] Thus, to be valid, school codes must be within the scope of delegated legislative authority and, as discussed in the next section, must not infringe on the constitutional rights of students, parents or teachers.

Until the 1930's the judiciary took a narrow view of the scope of any government's authority. This meant that the courts would strictly construe a school district's statutory authority.[21] Thus, restrictions on students' social activities have been deemed *ultra vires*[22] – beyond the power of the school board – unless the restriction was confined to that which would be necessary to assure performance of studies.[23] Other acts deemed to be *ultra vires* in similar decisions included requiring a child to perform chores,[24] and requiring school patrols.[25] Excessive punishment could also be deemed *ultra vires*, even if the school rule was itself valid. For example, in a state where the law required a flag salute in school, the court refused to permit school authorities to expel children for failure to comply, because the law provided no specific punishment.[26] This court found it unnecessary to consider the constitutional questions. As another example, a state court has held that school officials have no authority to withhold the diplomas of students who refuse to wear caps and gowns in a graduation ceremony, although they may exclude them from the ceremony.[27]

This doctrine should not be confused with constitutional limitations on school authorities. A school rule might be permissible under the Constitution, but it can still be invalid if the state legislature has not delegated power to school officials to pass the rule. For example, legislatures might prohibit membership in fraternal organizations by statute,[28] or expressly delegate this authority[29] but school boards, in the absence of an

express law, may not.[30]

The *ultra vires* principal is not often cited today,[31] but it remains a sound doctrine. Although courts today are more willing to imply specific authority from general statutes, *ultra vires* may be a useful ground for objecting to certain school rules. For example, although not necessarily unconstitutional, it would be beyond the authority of the school board to attempt to regulate conduct of students in places and at times which are totally unrelated to school activities. Legislatures do not normally give school officials the authority which they might give to municipalities to police unlawful acts taking place outside of school. As stated in dicta in a 1967 case in Iowa:

> . . . it is not within their power to govern or control the individual conduct of students *wholly* outside the school room or play grounds. However, the conduct of pupils which directly relates to and affects management of the school and its efficiency is a matter within the sphere of regulation by school authorities.[32]

In effect, the *ultra vires* doctrine gives students a right to be free of school discipline in all off-campus activities. If school officials are upset by something a student has done when beyond their official reach, they should handle the matter just as they would if an adult had committed the act. That is, they should complain to the police or sue the student for tort, libel, tresspass, or whatever is appropriate.

Constitutional Limitations

Even if the legislature grants school officials a clear mandate to regulate specific conduct, a regulation may be unconstitutional. Both legislature and school officials must always act within the bounds of both federal and state constitutions. Therefore, for the benefit of future code writers or revisers, examples of relevant judicial decisions which are favorable to students are summarily reviewed here.[33] Readers in need of extensive legal analysis are referred to the bibliography contained in the Students Codes Packet.

1. The scope of students' rights

The Supreme Court in *Tinker* declared that "students in school as well as out of school are 'persons' under our Constitution."[34] In other words, students are people and are entitled to the full range of constitutional rights granted to any person. The student, like anyone else, does not have unfettered freedom to do as he pleases, however. For example, just as it is relevant to note that a man shouting "Fire!" is in a crowded theater,[35] so is it relevant to note that a person may be in a schoolhouse. The fact that the individual is a student in school does not mean he is a second-class citizen. It is relevant only if it helps establish a clear justification for a restrictive rule.[36] Under the test applied by the courts, before school authorities may in any way limit the rights of students, they must show that the limitation is "compelling and necessary" to prevent material disruption in the class, or to prevent the invasion of the rights of others.[37] In cases involving both students' rights and school discipline, the courts must balance the competing concerns for the individual freedom of the student and regulation of the school environment. For example, in some of the cases discussed below, the courts were more attentive if the case involved student expression of a point of view on a "serious" issue, such as the war in Vietnam or school operations. In these cases, school officials were asked to tolerate minor disruptions resulting from such activities. The courts were less inclined to help students who were seeking protection for expression in areas the court considered vulgar or trivial (e.g., profanity). Finally, courts seem most ambivalent where two important rights must be balanced against one another. For example, a few years ago New York City students published anti-religious views in a state-supported student newspaper. A group of offended religionists brought suit. The court deciding the case gave religion priority over speech, and said that state facilities could not be used to propagate any religious or antireligious point of view.

2. Freedom of speech and press

With freedom of expression, students, or any other citizens, have the weapon needed to win other rights. Without it, criticism of repressive tactics can be stilled. Few indeed are the situations where the need for regulation would outweigh the need for free and unhampered exercise of the right. The Supreme Court reaffirmed the particular importance of free expression for students most recently in *Tinker*, when it upheld the right of students to wear black armbands as a symbol of their disagreement with the Vietnam war. Other recent decisions have recognized the right of

students to publish their views, even when they are critical of the school administration.[38] As in the adult world, freedom of speech extends to freedom from regulation of the content of the speech,[39] freedom from prior censorship or restraint on speech,[40] and freedom to distribute literature, subject only to reasonable-time-and-place regulations.[41] It protects students in a wide range of activities from publication of underground newspapers[42] to the simple wearing of buttons[43] or armbands.[44] It includes the right to hear outside speakers[45] and read printed matter[46] and the right to obtain space in official school newspapers to publish their views, no matter how unpopular they might be.[47]

Most courts would also recognize that school officials have a valid interest in maintaining order in the classroom during class hours, and in regulating the traffic flow in school hallways. Thus, activity which causes a substantial disruption to the normal conduct of the school may be proscribed. Minor irritations are not sufficiently disturbing to warrant major punishments, however. A Houston case provides an example: An underground newspaper appeared at a Houston high school, littering the lavatories and inspiring teachers to confiscate it during class. The court ruled that this commotion was not a substantial disruption and school officials could not expel the student publishers.[48]

Punishment for something a student has said, written, published, or distributed violates not only the Constitution, but the educational process itself. Where students, teachers, and other citizens are encouraged to express their views on any subject, the free flow of ideas should stimulate learning in a way that cannot be achieved in a less open atmosphere. Moreover, students are not likely to emerge into the adult world and contribute fully to the workings of government if they have been taught only to parrot their teachers. Therefore, teachers and administrators who are genuinely interested in the education of their students will encourage them to express their views in every available medium.

3. Freedom of assembly and association.

The courts have been less clear in defining the rights of students to engage in demonstrations free of reprimand, or to gain the blessings of school officials for student organizations. Where free speech is not directly in jeopardy, the courts seem more willing to allow restrictive school measures. Of course, participation in a peaceful demonstration is very much akin to the exercise of free speech, and is entitled to much the same protection as free speech.[49] However, where the demonstration is disorderly, or clearly could become disorderly, the courts will undoubtedly uphold school disciplinary measures against demonstrating students.[50]

The right of students to associate together is indisputable,[51] of course. However, in a 1915 decision [*Waugh v. Board of Trustees*], the Supreme Court held that a university could refuse admission to anyone who would not sign a pledge repudiating membership in a fraternity.[52] Although not overruled, this case has been distinguished recently in the lower federal courts in a variety of situations. In departing from *Waugh*, courts first of all have required equal treatment of student groups, if any are recognized at all. School officials may not selectively refuse official status only to these groups which have sponsored unpopular causes. For example, in deciding against southern school officials who refused recognition to a local chapter of ACLU, a federal court noted that the school recognized other political groups (Young Republicans and Young Democrats).[53] Second, as pointed out in another case, political organizations are entitled to greater protection under the first amendment than are social organizations, and *Waugh* is not entirely relevant. This latter court overruled officials who had denied recognition to an independently organized Students for a Democratic Society. The court ordered a hearing on the matter, noting that if substantial evidence was produced to show that the club had "violent activism" as a purpose, the university could exclude it. The court said:

> No student group is entitled, per se, to official college recognition. Rather, once a college allows student groups to organize and grants these groups recognition, with the attendant advantages, constitutional safeguards must operate in favor of all groups which apply. This requires adequate standards for recognition and the fair application of these standards.[54]

Although these are cases involving colleges, the principles apply to high schools as well. If students are sufficiently mature to desire to organize a group, school officials should be

sufficiently mature to state a rational and fair basis for identifying those groups which will be "recognized" by the school.

4. Freedom from vague, uncertain or overly broad regulations

Worse than a restrictive regulation, a vague regulation of uncertain scope might effectively block the free exchange of ideas which should flourish in any school. These ambiguous and uncertain rules are invalid. Thus, a university rule prohibiting "misconduct" has been held void for vagueness.[55] In another case, a court held "unduly vague, uncertain and ambiguous" a dress code which provided that "students are to be neatly dressed and groomed, maintaining standards of modesty and good taste conducive to an educational atmosphere. It is expected that clothing and grooming not be of an extreme style and fashion."[56] In the Houston case, the only written rule which school officials could invoke against students for distributing their underground newspaper was as follows: "The school principal may make such rules and regulations that may be necessary in the administration of the school and in promoting its best interests. He may enforce obedience to any reasonable and lawful command."[57] The regulation was ruled "void for vagueness."[58] The court held that students are entitled to "a rule which is drawn so as to reasonably inform the student what specific conduct is prescribed."[59]

Often this infirmity of vagueness or overbreadth appears at the statutory level. The laws of many states allow suspension or expulsion from school for "misconduct," or where student conduct is not "in the best interests of the school." Where state laws are this vague, school officials ought to promulgate more narrow and specific rules defining "misconduct" and "best interests."[60] If they do not, both regulation and law should be challenged.[61] The most insidious situation of all occurs where there are no regulations at all, but school officials nonetheless punish students willy-nilly. Few censorship laws could be more chilling in their effect on free speech than an "unwritten code" proscribing any expression or activity which meets the arbitrary disapproval of an omnipotent school official. Students and lawyers should examine existing school codes, and where needed, obtain revisions so that they proscribe only specific, serious offenses or the alternative, the codes can be challenged in the courts.

5. A right to privacy in personal affairs

Inside and outside the school setting, the scope of an individual's right to privacy remains mostly undefined. The most frequent instances within school concern hair and grooming regulations. Many courts have found that the spirit of the first, ninth, and fourteenth amendments, when read together (that is, their penumbra), provides a basis for recognizing the right of the individual student to determine his own appearance; hair and grooming restrictions invade a sphere which is of a peculiarly personal and private nature, these courts say.[62] Just as many courts have said they do not.[63] The Supreme Court has refused to hear these cases, despite the eloquent objection of Justice Douglas, who found it shocking that school officials would attempt to control so personal a matter.[64] The student's right to keep his own personal space inviolate is likewise unclear. On one hand, a state court has ruled that a child has a cause of action for trespass against a teacher who searched his person on mere suspicion, or if the search was for the benefit of someone else (e.g., another child who alleged that a theft had taken place).[65] Likewise, the right to privacy has been extended to a student's living quarters so that the unwarranted search of a dormitory room would require the exclusion of illegally seized evidence in a criminal case.[66] At least one court has stated, "[U]niversity students are adults. The dorm is a home and it must be inviolate against unlawful search and seizure."[67] On the other hand, however, courts have been reluctant to extend this protection to the lockers of high school students, on the grounds that the lockers belong to the school, not the student.[68] Until decisions like these are reversed in the higher courts, students would be wise to treat their lockers as public rather than private places.

Intrusions into more personal matters (e.g., sexual behavior, family relations, pregnancy) most certainly seem invalid as an infringement of the right to privacy.[69] However, in view of the uncertainty of the case law in this area, a student facing punishment for his private, outside-of-school life should not rely solely on his right to privacy. Many such intrusions also violate the rule against unlawful regulations and the equal protection clause of the fourteenth amendment. Most

cases upholding the rights of students who have children or who are married or pregnant or both have been decided on one of these two latter grounds.[70]

6. A right to procedural due process

The courts have uniformly held that the rudiments of due process are required before severe disciplinary action can be taken against a student. Generally, due process includes at least the right to advance notice of charges, and an opportunity to present a defense. A statement of minimum requirements was included in *Esteban v. Central Missouri State College.*[72] According to the court in *Esteban,* due process requires adherance to the following rules:

(1) a written statement of the charges should be furnished prior to the date of a hearing; (2) a hearing should be conducted before the individual ultimately responsible for student conduct; (3) students should be permitted to inspect in advance any affidavits or exhibits which school officials intend to use at a hearing; (4) students should be afforded the right to present a defense to charges against them and to present affidavits, exhibits, and witnesses if they so desire; (5) students should be permitted to hear the evidence presented against them, and students should be allowed to question any witness who gives evidence against them; (6) the hearing officer should determine the facts of each case solely on the evidence presented at the hearing and should state in writing his finding as to whether or not the student charged is guilty of the conduct charged; (7) either side may, at its own expense, make a record of the events at the hearing. The list in *Esteban* has been widely accepted by the courts. Unfortunately, some procedural safeguards which are available as a matter of course in a criminal or quasi-criminal proceeding were not mentioned. As a result, the courts seem to be splitting hairs in deciding such items as right to counsel in student disciplinary proceedings. The court in *Esteban* conceded that counsel should be present, but he was not to question witnesses, a task which was left to the student. In another case, where school officials had obtained a senior law student to "prosecute" other students, the court ruled that the accused students had a right to have counsel actively represent them.[73] Some courts have denied a right to counsel on grounds that proceedings were "investigatory" or "preliminary."[74] Others have found the outcome of very similar proceedings to be clearly punitive, however, and have upheld a student's right to counsel.[75] The Supreme Court in *In re Gault* ruled that a youth in juvenile court has a right to counsel, regardless of the noncriminal nature of the proceedings.[76] Given the very serious consequences of expulsion from school, legal scholars believe that *Gault* should logically be extended to school disciplinary proceedings where expulsion or long-term suspension may be an outcome.[77]

The privilege against self-incrimination has fared no better. There seems to have been only one case in which a court recognized the likelihood that school officials might intimidate students while investigating a situation.[78] A student's confession which is obtained by an insistent and overbearing school official cannot be trusted to be accurate. Even if the privilege against self-incrimination is not legally applicable in student disciplinary proceedings, officers hearing student disciplinary cases should give little weight to those confessions obtained from students before they have had an opportunity to consult with a lawyer or some other person. Nor should much weight be given to the argument that such techniques are not illegitimate because the aim is not punishment, but the gathering of information necessary to help the child.

Finally, almost no attention has been given to the situation where the same school officials act as victim, accuser, prosecutor, judge, jury, and jailer.[79] Even if due process were limited to criminal cases, the chances for bias and error in such proceedings should be examined. It may be a mistake to distinguish rules of due process simply because they were formulated in criminal cases. Where the rules were developed in an effort to maintain objectivity and aid in the search for the facts of a case, they must offer sound guidelines for student disciplinary proceedings as well.

Drafting a Code

When the time finally comes to sit down and draft a code, what should be done? First, it seems eminently sensible for school officials to encourage the students themselves to draft the code. They should have an opportunity to consult with teachers and lawyers, of course, and they should examine examples of codes from other jurisdictions. Student involvement at this initial, creative stage will foster a better understanding

among students for the disciplinary process, and indeed, for the machinery of government. Since internally motivated discipline is likely to be the most durable and long-lasting, the student-drafted code is likely to be more effective than even the most elegantly-worded code imposed on students by school officials. The final result would not simply be a code; it would be an educational experience for students; it would give students a stake in the successful enforcement of the code; and it could promote good relationships between students and school officials, who are no longer viewed as arbitrary authoritarians.

Once the student drafters are assembled, the next logical step would be a survey of the law relating to students rights, with emphasis on the local jurisdiction. Lawyers could be most helpful at this stage. They can instruct the students on such items as the statutory grounds for expulsions or long-term suspensions and the nature of local judicial decisions. Depending on the state of the law locally, it may or may not be necessary to spell out certain rights. For example, in New York, the courts and the State Commissioner of Education have ruled against restrictive grooming codes, and knowledge of these decisions is widespread. Therefore, a general reference to constitutional rights is all that is necessary; a specific reference to hair length is unnecessary. On the other hand, if there is a widespread violation of specific rights, the code would help instruct teachers and administrators if it contained specific references to the invalid practice. In this situation, legal advisers to the students might supply annotations to be included in the code.

After this initial work has been done, students and their advisers can begin their drafting. Generally, the code should be simple and brief. If it is to serve well as an instructive device for students and school officials, it must be widely distributed; a single-sheet leaflet is an ideal size.

The code should contain three basic sections – (1) students' rights, (2) rules of conduct and sanctions for violations, and (3) hearing procedures.

The rights section would best begin with a very general statement about the applicability of state and federal constitutions. It seems advisable not to itemize these rights to avoid narrow interpretations which are limited to the official list. It might be helpful to refer to *Tinker* and similar cases; if desired, specific rights could be set forth as examples, or the code might provide that constitutional rights "include but are not limited to" those listed in the code. The code could also guarantee students' rights which they do not otherwise have. It could provide for an elected, representative government, and briefly describe the power and authority of this body. The student government might be given a voice in curriculum, extra-curricular programs, teacher evaluation, and disciplinary proceedings. Finally, reasonable-time-and-place regulations for the exercise of free speech rights without prior restraint – use of the school paper, bulletin boards, loud speakers, the school's p.a. system, hallways etc. – should be included.

Second, the code should specify which misdeeds will get students into what kind of trouble. Severe punishment (expulsion or long-term suspension) should always be limited to statutory grounds; these may be more narrow than state law, but may not be broader. Many educators feel that expulsion should never be used and long-term suspensions should be limited to a few specific occasions where the student's misconduct involved serious injury to persons or property and took place on school grounds or at a school-sponsored activity. The code might provide for short-term suspensions for specific disorderly acts which have created a "substantial disruption" at the school. Finally, it might allow teacher suspensions of not more than one-class hour for substantial disruptions in a single class. Even if the code is drafted by students, it must remain within the confines of the constitution of course. Vague statements should be avoided. Punitive action for speaking, writing or distributing literature is invalid. Therefore, the rules of conduct should forbid specific acts and no more.

Third, the code should state simply the required elements in a disciplinary hearing. The elements of due process discussed above should be present in any hearing where the student may be expelled or suspended for any length of time. Right to counsel should be recognized. The hearing board should be an impartial body which has not had prior contact with the matter before them. Preferably, the hearing board would include student representatives who were chosen in some fair and impartial manner.

In most situations, students will find some help in this task from at least a part of the adult world. In Seattle, the legal counsel to the school

board requested students in the city's high schools to prepare the first draft of a code which the board finally adopted. Students and volunteer lawyers worked on the final version together and the city-wide student government retains the responsibility for recommending revisions in the code in the future. In Philadelphia, school officials encouraged students to participate in drafting a code in the aftermath of disorders at one of the city's schools. In New York City, a city-wide student organization drafted a code and successfully obtained approval from the board. In Boston, sporadic disorders in the schools led to student demands for a statement of rights in the school environment. At the suggestion of the school committee chairman, a task force is going through initial procedures of preparing such a statement.

When a good draft is ready, the code must be taken to the school board for approval. If the drafters have done their work well, they will have consulted frequently with the board's counsel and with as many board members as possible. Sympathetic teachers and administrators will also have been involved in the development of the code. If this preliminary politicking has been done, the chances for acceptance on the part of the board are much greater.

If early attempts to enlist the aid of school officials has failed, or if past experience indicates that seeking their cooperation would be futile, students seeking adoption of a code face a difficult path. They should consult with the lawyers advising them and enter into negotiations with the board. While the board has the power to approve or disapprove the code, the students have the power to bring suit, to appeal to the general public, or to seek support from specific organizations in the community. If the board is elected, the students could move into the political arena and work against the candidacy of the more recalcitrant board members. Whether members are elected or not, students can certainly unnerve them with their potential to organize a major effort to publicize their grievances. Board members who realize that students can take any or all of these actions will probably find themselves ready to negotiate with the students long before the students find it necessary to appeal to the public or the courts.

Copies of codes which are cited here and other examples of student codes are included in a codes packet, available on request by writing to the Center for Law and Education, Harvard University, 38 Kirkland Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District,* 393 U.S. 503 (1966).
2. In *Butts v. Dallas Indep. School Dist.*, 306 F. Supp. 488 (N.D. Tex. 1969) the court distinguished *Tinker* on grounds that evidence of potential disruption justified the ban. In *Williams v. Eaton*, 310 F. Supp. 1342 (D. Wyo., 1970), the court did not even cite *Tinker, supra* note 1, let alone attempt to distinguish it. The court never reached the merits, but based its decision on lack of jurisdiction due to 1) conflict with the eleventh amendment, and 2) an insubstantial and speculative claim for damages. In so holding, the court ruled that it would violate freedom of religion provisions in the state and federal constitution to allow plaintiffs to protest in this way at a football game. The court cited only cases involving religion and not speech. The *Williams* case has been appealed, and a decision is expected soon.
3. *E.g., Kahl v. Breen,* 296 F. Supp. 702 (W.D. Wis.), *aff'd,* 419 F.2d 1035 (7th Cir. 1969), *cert. denied,* 398 U.S. 937 (1970); *Richards v. Thurston,* 304 F. Supp. 449 (D. Mass. 1969) (male hair length), *aff'd,* 424 F.2d 1281 (1st Cir. 1970); *Watson v. Thompson,* ___F. Supp. ___ (E.D. Tex. 1971) (39 LW 2394); *Crossen v. Fatsi,* 309 F. Supp. 114 (D. Conn. 1970) (beard and mustache); *Dunham v. Pulsifer,* 312 F. Supp 411 (D. Vt. 1970) (barring long-haired male student from athletic activities not permissible); *Reichenberg v. Nelson,* 310 F. Supp. 248 (D. Neb. 1970) (hair or beard growth); *Sims v. Colfax Community School District,* 307 F. Supp. 485 (S.D. Iowa 1970) (hair length of female student); *Olff v. East Side Union High School District,* 305 F. Supp. 557 (N.D. Calif. 1969) (male hair length, court relied on free speech rights); *Westley v. Rossi,* 305 F. Supp. 706 (D. Minn. 1969) (male hair length); *Miller v. Gillis,* 315 F. Supp. 94 (N.D. Ill. 1969) (same); *Hopkins v. Ayres,* ___ F. Supp. ___, No. WC 6974-S (N.D. Miss. Oct. 25, 1969) (same); *Zachry v. Brown,* 299 F. Supp. 1360 (N.D. Ala. 1967) (same, equal protection grounds).
4. *E.g., Ferrell v. Dallas Indep. School Dist.,* 261 F. Supp. 545 (N.D. Tex. 1967), *aff'd,* 392 F.2d 697 (5th Cir. 1968) (2-1), *cert. denied,* 393 U.S. 856 (1968) (Douglas, Dissenting); *Griffin v. Tatum,* 425 F.2d 201 (5th Cir. 1970) (Court upheld lower court's finding that hair rule was unconstitutional as applied to plaintiff (boy with blocked hair) but overruled part of lower court decision invalidating entire regulation, leaving longer hair unprotected); *Davis v. Firment,,* 408 F.2d 1084 (5th Cir. 1969) (per curiam); *Jackson v. Dorrier,* 424 F.2d 213 (6th Cir. 1970), *cert. denied,* ___U.S. ___ (1971); *Stevenson v. Wheeler County Board of Education,* 306 F. Supp. 97 (S.D. Ga. 1969), *aff'd,* 426 F.2d 1154 (5th Cir. 1970); *Lindsey v. Guillegeau,* F. Supp. (N.D. Ga. 1970); *Bishop v. Colaw,* 316 F. Supp. 445 (E.D. Mo. 1970); *Carter v. Hodges,* 317 F. Supp. 89 (W.D. Ark. 1970); *Farell v. Smith,* 310 F. Supp. 732 (D. Me. 1970); *Brownlee v. Bradley County,* 311 F. Supp. 1360 (E.D. Tenn. 1970) (no evidence to show the hair style in question conveyed an opinion); *Schwartz v. Galveston Independent School District,* 309 F. Supp. 1034 (J.D. Tex. 1970); *Giangreco v. Center School District,* 313 F. Supp. 776 (W.D. Mo. 1969); *Brick v. Board of Education,* 305 F. Supp. 1316 (D. Colo. 1969); *Crews v. Cloncs,* 303 F. Supp. 1370 (S.D. Ind. 1969).

5. Compare *Murphy v. Kerrigan*, civ. action no. 69-1174-W (D.C. Mass.) (consent decree) June 3, 1970 (forbidding corporal punishment in Boston) with cases cited note 11 *infra*.
6. See e.g., School District of Philadelphia, Bill of Rights and Responsibilities for High School Students, adopted Dec. 21, 1970; City School District of New York, Rights and Responsibilities of High School Students, Sept. 1970.
7. See, e.g. School District of Philadelphia, *supra*.
8. This was the "controlling premise" behind the promulgation of the 1965 University of Oregon Code, which began with the general policy that:

   > The University may apply sanctions or take other appropriate action only when student conduct directly and significantly interferes with the University's (a) primary educational responsibility of ensuring the opportunity of all members of the University community to attain their educational objectives, or (b) subsidiary responsibilities of protecting the health and safety of persons in the University community, maintaining or protecting property, keeping records, providing living accomodations and other services, and sponsoring non-classroom activities such as lectures, concerts, athletic events, and social functions.

   For a discussion, see Linde, *Campus Law: Berkeley Viewed from Eugene*, 54 *Calif. L. Rev.* 40, 67 (1966).
9. *Id.* at 52.
10. See *Indiana State Personnel Board v. Jackson*, 244 Ind. 321, 192 N.E. 2d 740 (1963); *Fertich v. Michener*, 111 Ind. 472, 14 N.E., 68 (1887); *Deskins v. Gose*, 85 Mo. 485 (1885). The School Board had a statutory duty to make rules, but did not. *Held*, the teacher may punish a child who starts a fight on his way home.
    The test has traditionally been whether a teacher's action was reasonable. In *Andreozzi v. Rubano*, 145 Conn. 280, 141 A.2d 638 (1968), the court held that a teacher may slap a student to restore order, but not to punish him, since the rules allowed only the principal to mete out corporal punishment.
11. In one federal district court case, the judges did acknowledge the wisdom and fairness of putting these rules in writing: "We strongly recommend that disciplinary rules and regulations adopted by a school board be set forth in writing and promulgated . . . ," but they upheld the expulsions of college students. *Zanders v. Louisiana State Board of Educ.*, 281 F. Supp. 747, 761 (W.D. La. 1968).
12. A copy can be found in *Linde, supra* note 8 at 67-73.
13. New York City Board of Education, Rights and Responsibilities of Senior High School Students, July, 1970.
14. School District of Philadelphia, Bill of Rights and Responsibilities for High School Students, Dec. 21, 1970, Section 6.
15. University of Oregon, Code of Student Conduct, Part I, sec. 6, as amended July 1, 1970, and part F, as amended March 4, 1970.
16. National Juvenile Law Center, St. Louis University, High School Disciplinary Statute, Feb. 12, 1971.
17. City-wide Youth Council of San Francisco, Student Rights and Responsibilities Manual for the San Francisco Unified School District, final draft (1971).
18. In addition, the authority of a private school to regulate student conduct may be based on a contractual theory. See *Robinson v. Miami*, 100 So. 2d 442 (Fla. App. 1958); *Carr v. St. John's University*, 17 App. Div. 2d 632, 231 N.Y.S. 2d 410 (1962). The contract terms may be found in bulletins and college catalogs. *Stein v. New York Educ. Comm'r*, 271 F.2d 13 (2d Cir. 1959). See also Comment, *Private Government on the Campus – Judicial Review of the University Expulsion*, 72 *Yale L.R.* 1362 (1963).
19. See Goldstein, *The Scope and Sources of School Board Authority to Regulate Student Conduct and Status: A Nonconstitutional Analysis*, 117 *U. Pa. L. Rev.* 373, 373-387 (1969).
20. " . . . the doctrine [of *in loco parentis*] is of little use in dealing with our modern 'student rights' problems." *Zanders v. Louisiana State Board of Educ.*, 281 F. Supp. 747, 756 (W.D. La. 1968) (college case). See also Buss, *Procedural Due Process for School Discipline: Probing the Constitutional Outline* __ *Pa. L. Rev.* ___(1971) (to be published soon). See also *Breen v. Kahl*, 419 F.2d 1034, 1037-38 (7th Cir., 1969), *cert. denied*, 398 U.S. 937 (1970):

    > "Since the students' parents agree with their children that their hair can be worn long . . . in the absence of any showing of disruption, the doctrine of "in loco parentis" has no applicability.

21. See, e.g., *Matthews v. Board of Educ.*, 127 Mich. 530, 86 N.W. 1036 (1901) (striking down a school board requirement making vaccination a prerequisite to attending school in the absence of express statutory authority); *Rhea v. Board of Educ.*, 41 N.D. 449, 171 N.W. 103 (1919) (same); but cf. *Johnson v. Dallas*, 291 S.W. 972 (1927).
22. *Dritt v. Snodgrass*, 66 Mo. 286, 27 Am. R. 343, (1877) (dicta); *State v. Osborn*, 32 Mo. Op. 536 (1888).
23. *Mangum v. Keith*, 147 Ga. 603, 95 S.E., 1 (1918).
24. *State v. Board of Educ.*, 63 Wis. 234, 23 N.W. 102 (1885).
25. Opinion of the Deputy Attorney General to the Superintendent of Public Instruction Re Student Patrols, 11 Pa. Dist. and County Rep. 660 (1929).
26. *Commonwealth v. Johnson*, 309 Mass. 476, 35 N.E. 2d 801 (1941).
27. *Valentine v. Indep. School Dist.*, 191 Ia. 1100, 183 N.W. 434 (1921).
28. *Waugh v. Board of Trustees*, 23 U.S. 589 (1915).
29. *Hughes v. Caddo Parish School Board*, 57 F. Supp. 508 (W.D. La. 1945), *aff'd*, 323 U.S. 685 (1945).
30. *Wright vs. Board of Educ.*, 295 Mo. 466, 246 S.W. 43 (1922). But see *Coggins v. Board of Educ.*, 223 N.C. 763, 28 S.E. 2d 527 (1944).
31. It was cited in *Alvin Indep. School Dist. v. Cooper*, 404 S.W. 2d 76 (Tex. 1966) (exclusion of a mother of a child held *ultra vires*) and applied in *Sullivan v. Houston Indep. School Dist.*, 307 F. Supp. 1328, 1340, 1345 n.1 (S.D. Tex. 1969) held, off-campus activities in distributing underground paper are not within the reach of the school board.
32. However, the court permitted the school board to maintain a rule which barred married students from participation in extracurricular activities. *Board of Directors v. Green*, 259 Ia. 1260, 147 N.W. 2d 854 (1967).
33. For lawyers seeking case law and authority, a collection of recent case briefs on students rights is available from the center on request.
34. *Tinker v. Des Moines Indep. Community School Dist.*, 393 U.S. 503 (1968). See also, e.g. *Scoville v. Board of Educ.*, 425 F.2d 10, 13 (7th Cir. 1970), *cert. denied*, ___U.S.___(1971). *Dunham v. Pulsifer*, 312 F. Supp. 411, 417 (D. Vt. 1970); *Sims v. Colfax Community School Dist.*, 307 F. Supp. 485, 487 (S.D. Ia. 1970); *Sullivan v. Houston Indep. School Dist.*, 307 F. Supp. 1328, 1339 (S.D. Tex. 1969).
35. "The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic." *Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47, at 52 (1919) (Justice Holmes).
36. *Breen v. Kahl*, 419 F.2d 1034, 1036 (7th Cir. 1969), *cert. denied*, 398 U.S. 937.
37. *Tinker v. Des Moines Community School Dist.*, 393 U.S. 503, 513 (1968). See also *Aguirre v. Tahoka Indep. School Dist.*, 311 F. Supp. 664 (N.D. Tex. 1970) (The wearing of brown armbands, even with a few incidents, was protected expression of dissatisfaction in the school's treatment of Chicanos). But

cf. Esteban v. Central Mo. State College, 415 F.2d 1077 (8th Cir. 1969), *cert. denied,* 398 U.S. 965 (1970), where the court refused to extend *Tinker* to a case involving "aggressive violent demonstration." *Id.* at 1087.

38a *Panarella v. Birenbaum,* 60 Misc. 2d 95, 302 N.Y.S. 2d 427 (Sup. Ct. 1969).

38. *Scoville v. Board of Educ.,* 425 F.2d 10 (7th Cir. 1970), *rev'g,* 286 F. Supp. 988 (N.D. Ill. 1968), *cert. denied,* ___U.S.___(1971); *Aguirre v. Tahoka Indep. School Dist.,* 311 F. Supp. 664 (N.D. Tex. 1970) (brown armbands were worn to express dissatisfaction with school policies); *Sullivan v. Houston Indep. School Dist.,* 307 F. Supp. 1328 (S.D. Tex. 1969).

39. *Eg. Tinker v. Des Moines Ind. Community School Dist.,* 393 U.S. 503, 511 (1968).

"Students in school as well as out of school are persons under our Constitution. They are possessed of fundamental rights which the State must respect, just as they themselves must respect their obligations to the State. In our system, students may not be regarded as closed-circuit recipients of only that which the State chooses to communicate. They may not be confined to the expression of those sentiments that are officially approved. In the absence of a specific showing of constitutionally valid reasons to regulate their speech, students are entitled to freedom of expression of their views. As Judge Gewin, speaking for the Fifth Circuit, said, school officials cannot suppress 'expressions of feelings with which they do not wish to contend.' "

Scoville v. Board of Educ., 425 F.2d 10 (7th Cir. 1970). Two high school students sold copies of their off-campus paper which contained critical remarks on school officials. The court held that "the reference undoubtedly offended and displeased the dean. But mere expressions of the students' feelings with which school officials do not wish to contend . . . is not the showing required by the *Tinker* test to justify expulsion." (Punctuation omitted.) *Id.* at 14. Some of the contents of the paper might also have been considered in poor taste. *Scoville* is a typical case where contents of speech disturbed school officials. See also, *Riseman v. School Committee,* ___F.2d ___(1st Cir. 1971); *Antonelli v. Hammond,* 308 F. Supp. 1329 (D. Mass. 1970); *Sullivan v. Houston Indep. School Dist.,* 307 F. Supp. 1328 (S.D. Tex. 1969).

40. Cases cited note 39 *supra.* In *Riseman v. School Committee*___F.2d___ (1st Cir., March 11, 1971), in upholding the right of students to be free of censorship of written materials prepared by them, the First Circuit ruled that, "no advance approval shall be required of the content of any such [student] paper . . . [or] any written forms of expressions." See also *Brooks v. Auburn University,* 412 F.2d 1171 (5th Cir. 1969), *aff'g* 296 F. Supp. 188 (M.D. Ala. 1969). The court enjoined university officials from barring a speaker who had been invited by a student organization. The lower court observed that "speech may not be restrained in advance except when there is a clear and unmistakable determination that the speaker will violate the law . . . *Id.* at 197. The circuit court agreed.

41. *De Anza High School Students Against the War v. Richmond Unified School Dist.,* N.D. Calif. No. 1074, 1971; *Mt. Edan High School Students Against the War v. Hayward Unified School Dist.,* N.D. Calif. No. 1173, 1971; *Rowe v. Campbell Union High School Dist.,* N.D. Calif. No. 51060, 1970; *O'Reilly v. San Francisco Board of Education,* N.D. Calif. No. 51427, 1970. The court struck down a state statute and local school board regulations prohibiting distribution of literature on school grounds. The school boards were directed to prepare new regulations governing first amendment regulations. (A copy of the new San Francisco regulation is included in the Student Codes Packet.) See also *Sullivan v. Houston Ind. School Dist.,* 307 F. Supp. 1328 (S.D. Tex. 1969). School officials attempted to expel two high school students for distributing "Pflashlyte," a newsletter which criticized school officials. They passed out copies in the halls of their school between classes, at a local shopping center and at other commercial establishments. There was some evidence that the newsletter disturbed the classroom in minor ways: students left copies in the wrong places and a few students were caught reading it during class. The Court ruled that 1) the school had no business attempting to regulate off-campus student activity and 2) the on-premises activities involved such little interference with the learning process that disciplinary action against the distributors was unwarranted.

42. *Eg. Sullivan v. Houston Ind. School Dist.,* 307 F. Supp. 1328 (S.D. Tex. 1969); *Scoville v. Board of Educ.,* 425 F.2d 10 (7th Cir. 1970), *cert. denied,* ___U.S.___(1971).

43. *Blackwell v. Issaquena County Board of Educ.,* 363 F.2d 749 (5th Cir. 1966). The court held that the wearing of "freedom," "SNCC" or "One Man One Vote" buttons was expression and protected under the first amendment. The court ruled in favor of students who had been disciplined for wearing such buttons. But see *Burnside v. Byars,* 363 F.2d 744 (5th Cir. 1966). The court found that the button-wearing had produced serious disruption in the school and upheld the regulation.

44. *Tinker v. Des Moines Community School Dist.,* 393 U.S. 503 (1968); *Aguirre v. Tahoka Ind. School Dist.,* 311 F. Supp. 664 (N.D. Tex. 1970); but see *Einhorn v. Maus,* 300 F. Supp. 1169 (E.D. Pa. 1969). Plaintiffs wore armbands bearing the inscription "humanize education" during graduation ceremonies. They were unable to obtain an injunction forbidding school authorities from recording this event in their school record and communicating it to colleges.

45. *Brooks v. Auburn University, supra; Stacy v. Williams,* 306 F. Supp. 963 (N.D. Miss. 1969), 312 F. Supp. 742 (N.D. Miss. 1970).

46. *Cf., Vought v. Van Buren Public Schools,* 306 F. Supp. 1388 (E.D. Mich 1969). A student was suspended for possession of admittedly obscene materials. The court held that the first amendment did not protect him, but after a hearing, the court overruled the suspension on due process grounds. At the hearing the student's lawyer produced materials from the school library – including an issue of Harper's Magazine and Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye* – which contained the same obscenity ("fuck"). The court could resolve the inconsistency and ruled for the student.

47. *Lee v. Board of Regents,* 306 F. Supp. 1097 (W.D. Wis. 1969), advertising space to publish views on Vietnam; *Zucker v. Panitz,* 299 F. Supp. 102 (S.D.N.Y. 1969) (same).

48. *Sullivan v. Houston Ind. School Dist.,* 307 F. Supp. 1328 (S.D. Tex. 1969).

49. *Saunders v. Virginia Polytechnic Institute,* 417 F. 2d 1127 (4th Cir. 1969). The court held that denial of readmission to school because of participation in an orderly demonstration was unconstitutional.

50. See *eg. Esteban v. Central Mo. State College,* 415 F.2d 1077 (8th Cir. 1969), *cert. denied,* 398 U.S. 965 (1970). The court held that the first amendment does not protect "actual or potentially disruptive conduct, aggressive action, disorder and disturbance, and acts of violence and participation therein . . ." *Id.* at 1087.

51. See *e.g. Shelton v. Tucker,* 364 U.S. 479 (1960). A state statute requiring teachers to disclose every organization they belonged to in the last five years was held unnecessarily broad in light of the purpose

served. See also *NAACP v. Alabama ex rel. Patterson,* 357 U.S. 449 (1958); *Bates v. Little Rock,* 361 U.S. 516 (1960).

52. *Waugh v. Board of Trustees,* 237 U.S. 589 (1915) (*Held,* state may prohibit fraternities at a state university. Plaintiff who would not sign pledge could be refused admission); See also *Hughes v. Caddo Parish School Board,* 57 F. Supp. 508 (W.D. La. 1944), *aff'd,* 323 U.S. 685 (1945) (upholding state law prohibiting high school fraternities).
53. *ACLU of Va. v. Radford College,* 315 F. Supp. 893 (W.D. Va. 1970); The court granted declaratory relief to ACLU, which had been denied official recognition at the school. The court noted that the college recognized other political groups (The Young Republican Club and The Young Democratic Club) and found that non-recognition of ACLU violated the first amendment rights of students wishing to associate with ACLU.
54. *Healy v. James,* 311 F. Supp. 1275, 1281 (D. Conn. 1970).
55. *Soglin v. Kauffman,* 295 F. Supp. 978 (W.D. Wis. 1968), *aff'd* 418 F.2d 163 (7th Cir. 1969).
56. *Crossen v. Fatsi,* 309 F. Supp. 114 (D. Conn. 1970).
57. *Sullivan v. Houston Ind. School Dist.,* 307 F. Supp. 1328, 1345 (S.D. Tex. 1969).
58. *Id.* at 1344-45.
59. *Id.* at 1344.
60. *Id.* at 1344-45. See also *Smith v. University of Tenn.,* 300 F. Supp. 777 (E.D. Tenn. 1969): The court ruled void as unduly vague and overly broad certain campus rules relating to outside speakers. The court also struck down a requirement that a speaker invitation and its timing must be "in the best interests of the University."
61. See e.g. *Snyder v. Board of Trustees,* 286 F. Supp. 927 (N.D. Ill. 1968). A three-judge court struck down as vague and overly broad an Illinois law which barred "any subversive, seditious, and un-American organization" from "the use of any facilities of the University for purpose of carrying on, advertising or publicizing the activities of such organization." See also *Dickson v. Sitterson,* 280 F. Supp. 486 (M.D. N.C. 1968) (same).
62. Cases cited note 3, *supra.*
63. Cases cited note 4, *supra.*
64. *Ferrell v. Dallas Indep. School Dist.,* 393 U.S. 856 (1968).
65. *Phillip v. Johns,* 12 Tenn. App. 354 (Ct. App. 1930).
66. *People v. Cohen,* 57 Misc. 2d 266, 292 N.Y.S. 2d 706 (Sup. Ct., 1968).
67. *Id.* at 57 Misc. 2d at 373, 292 N.Y.S. 2d at 713.
68. E.g., *People v. Overton,* 24 N.Y.2d 522, 249 N.E.2d 366, 301 N.Y.S.2d 479 (1969), *habeus corpus denied sub nom., Overton v. Rieger,* 311 F. Supp. 1035, (S.D.N.Y. 1970) (appeal pending). Police detectives, under authority of a search warrant which was later found to be invalid searched a student's locker. In subsequent proceedings the youth moved to suppress evidence (marijuana) found there. The evidence was allowed to stand on the grounds that the principal of the school had authority to give, and did give permission for the search. The Supreme Court had remanded *Overton v. New York* 393 U.S. 85 (1968) for further consideration in light of *Bumper v. North Carolina,* 391 U.S. 543 (1968). The New York Court of Appeals adhered to its decision and found *Bumper* not applicable; See also *Kansas v. Stein,* 203 Kans. 638, 456 P.2d 1 (1969), *cert. denied,* 397 U.S. 947 (1970) (A principal opened a student's locker at the request of police; motion to suppress incriminating evidence denied); *In re Donaldson,* 269 Cal. App. 2d 509, 75 Cal. Rptr. 220 (Ct. App. 1969) (same).
69. See e.g. *Mindel v. U.S. Civil Service Commission,* 312 F. Supp. 485 (N.D. Calif. 1970). *Held,* termination of a postal clerk's appointment because he was living with a woman violates his right to privacy.
70. E.g., *Alvin Ind. School Dist. v. Cooper,* 404 S.W.2d 76 (Tex. 1966) (exclusion of mothers, *held ultra vires*); *Ordway v. Hargraves,* civ. action No. 71-540-C (D. Mass. Mar. 11, 1971) (39 L. Week 2551) (exclusion of unmarried pregnant girl); *Johnson v. Board of Educ.,* Court order, civ. action No. 172-70 (D.N.J., April 16, 1970); (*held,* violation of their right to equal protection to forbid married students to participate in extra-curricular activities); *Perry v. Grenada Municipal Separate School Dist.,* 300 F. Supp. 748 (W.D. Miss. 1969). (No rational basis for excluding students solely on the grounds that they were unwed mothers); *Board of Educ. v. Bentley,* 383 S.W.2d 677 (Ky. 1964) (*held,* "unreasonable and arbitrary" to require married students to withdraw from school for at least one year).
71. *Esteban v. Central Mo. State College,* 277 F. Supp. 649 at 651-52 (W.D. Mo. 1967), *aff'd,* 415 F.2d 1077 (8th Cir. 1969), *cert. denied,* 398 U.S. 965 (1970). *Accord Woods v. Wright,* 334 F.2d 369 (5th Cir. 1964); *Vought v. Van Buren Public Schools,* 306 F. Supp. 1388 (E.D. Mich. 1969); *Sullivan v. Houston Indep. School Dist.,* 307 F. Supp. 1328 (S.D. Tex. 1969); *Knight v. Board of Educ.,* 48 F.R.D. 108 (E.D.N.Y. 1969).
72. *Esteban v. Central Mo. State College,* 277 F. Supp. 649; *aff'd,* 415 F.2d 1077 (8th Cir. 1969), *cert. denied,* 398 U.S. 965 (1970).
73. *French v. Bashful,* 303 F. Supp. 1333 (E.D. La. 1969).
74. *Madera v. Board of Educ.,* 386 F.2d 778 (2d Cir. 1967), *rev'g,* 267 F. Supp. 356 (S.D.N.Y. 1967), *cert. denied,* 390 U.S. 1028 (1968) (no right to counsel in guidance conference); *Barker v. Hardway,* 283 F. Supp. 228, 238 (S.D. W.Va. 1968), *aff'd,* 399 F.2d 638 (4th Cir. 1968) (per curiam), *cert. denied,* 394 U.S. 905 (1969) (no right to counsel in a hearing before an "advisory" and "investigation" body).
75. *Geiger v. Milford Indep. School Dist.,* 51 D. & C. 647 (Pa. County Ct. 1944) (expulsion); *Goldwyn v. Allen,* 54 Misc.2d 94, 281 N.Y.S.2d 899 (Sup. Ct. 1967). In *Goldwyn,* the State Department of Education barred a student from participation in the Board of Regents examination (prerequisite to a state diploma, and to gaining scholarships and university admissions) on receipt of a letter from an acting principal that the student had cheated in one of the examinations. There was a review of the matter later by the assistant superintendent of the district. Counsel was not allowed to participate. The court ordered the student reinstated, and her record expunged, because among other reasons, counsel was denied at a punitive hearing.
76. *In Re Gault,* 387 U.S. 511 (1967).
77. See Buss, *Procedural Due Process for School Discipline: Probing the Constitutional Outline, Pa. L. Rev.* (1971).
78. See *Goldwyn v. Allen,* 54 Misc.2d 94, 281 N.Y.S.2d 899 (Sup. Ct. 1967).
79. This issue came up in *Wasson v. Trowbridge,* 382 F.2d 807 (2d Cir. 1967). The court held that a cadet had a right to challenge the composition of a panel which decided to expel him, to show possible bias. An academy regulation required that members of the panel be free of prior connections with the case. But see *Jones v. Tennessee Board of Educ.,* 279 F. Supp. 190 (M.D. Tenn. 1968), *aff'd,* 407 F.2d 834 (6th Cir. 1969), *cert. granted,* 396 U.S. 817 (1969), *writ dismissed as improvidently granted,* 397 U.S. 31 (1970) (Justices Douglas and Brennan, dissenting). Two members of the faculty advisory group who adjudicated the case testified against the students. The court ruled that this "in itself" was not sufficient to constitute a denial of due process. *Id.* at 200. Cf. *Pickering v. Board of Educ.,* 391 U.S. 563, 578 n. 2 (1968) (dictum) (teacher dismissal).

Artifacts in American Education #2

Photographs by Stephen Arons

You don't have to read this. You already know that these are pictures of high schools. Little 40-student high schools in Indiana whose sole remaining reason for existence is the operation of the town basketball team look like this. The high school that Archie and Jughead and Betty and Veronica and Reggie have been attending for the past thirty years or so looks like this. The high school that James Dean and Sal Mineo and Natalie Wood went to in "Rebel Without a Cause" looked like this. The high school that Sal Mineo attended in "Blackboard Jungle" looked like this. The high school in "High School" looks like this too, as, no doubt, did the high school that Andy Hardy went to. These particular high schools happen to be in Cambridge, Massachusetts, almost in the back yard of the Center for Law and Education, but they could be in Hahira, Georgia, or Lafayette, Indiana, or, the point is no doubt made, anywhere else.

And it would not be surprising to find that any of these high schools anywhere harbored a man like John E. Balfe, assistant superintendent of schools in Cambridge, whose permission was required before the pictures could be made. Balfe is an honest bureaucrat. When the request was first made, he responded: "You're either trying to make the schools look good or you're trying to make them look bad; I'm just trying to figure out which one it is." Without pausing to find the solution to this dilemma, he effortlessly began trying, in ways that were clearly almost habitual, to eliminate the dilemma entirely. First, he demanded, in effect, "a letter from home to that effect." Upon receiving a week later a letter on Harvard stationery testifying to the bona fides of the inquirers, Balfe said, "I'm just trying to think of a reason why you can't do it." At the third weekly meeting required by this project, he announced a pop quiz: "We ask all our eighth-graders these questions. How many square miles are there in Cambridge?" The answers were satisfactorily incorrect. "Well, you flunked that one. How many people live in Cambridge?" The answers were a bit closer to the mark. The visitors from the Center, feeling by that time properly like high school students themselves, were then turned over to the school system's public relations man – as much, in his way, a triumph of typecasting as Balfe in his – and the photographers were very kindly and courteously escorted through the halls and classrooms of Cambridge High and Latin School and Rindge Technical High School where these pictures, which could have been made anywhere, were made.

The Editor

F. C.O.

Geographically, the Appalachian Region includes portions of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and all of West Virginia -- a vast region of almost 17 million people. Black people constitute nearly one and one half million of the total population, yet we seldom receive the benefits of state and federal programs geared toward Appalachia; we seldom communicate with one another on a regional basis; there rarely is publicity about the plight of poor Black people in the midst of this "white poverty area."

The fledgling Black Appalachian Commission was formed in 1970 to meet these lacks and needs with action. Priority in these first months of existence has been given to (1) identifying Black Appalachian leadership; (2) community self study; (3) watch-dogging state and federal programs insensitive to the needs of Black people; (4) the utilization of census data and research to document the existence and problems of Appalachian Blacks.

This conference of Black Appalachian leaders has been called to use the community studies and other materials to define regional problem areas and to develop strategies to confront them.

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STEERING COMMITTEE

Carl Johnson Barbara Jones
Jean Smith Jesse Pennington
Viola Cleveland

—

BLACK APPALACHIAN COMMISSION
13½ Eagle St., Ashville, N.C., 28801

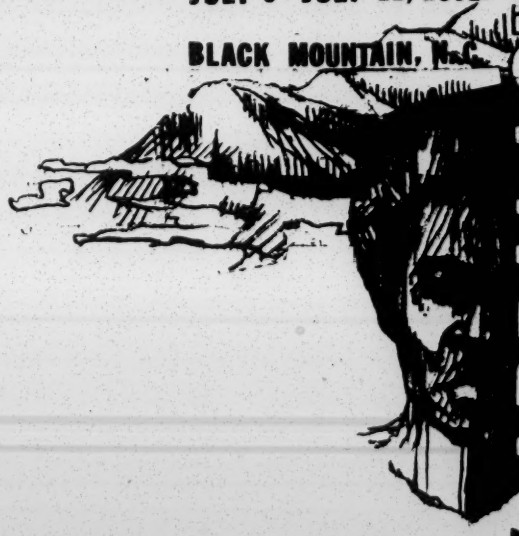
BAC

BLACK APPALACHIAN COMMISSION

BLACK APPALACHIAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

JULY 9 - JULY 11, 1971

BLACK MOUNTAIN, N.C.



CONFERENCE PROGRAM

FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1971

6:30 p.m. DINNER

8:00 p.m. OPENING SESSION

WELCOME
Viola Cleveland

OPENING REMARKS AND BAC'S HISTORY
Carl Johnson, Chairman BAC

INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKER
Ruben Dailey, City Councilman
Asheville, N. C.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS
Congressman Parren Mitchell, (Maryland)
Member, Congressional Black Caucas

Saturday Morning, July 10, 1971

9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m. WORKSHOPS

WORKSHOP I - EMPLOYMENT

Participants

Allan Black	Memphis, Tenn.
Charles Dixon	Memphis, Tenn.
A. D. Gaither	Washington, D. C.
Sandra Gruschin	ARC
Alton Flagg	

WORKSHOP II - ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Participants

Lamond Godwin	New York
Ralph Paige	Atlanta
John Buffington	West Point, Miss.
John Kimberough	Washington

10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m. COFFEE BREAK

11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. WORKSHOPS CONT'D

WORKSHOP III - EDUCATION

Participants

Phillis McClure	New York
Barbara Bode	Washington

Education participants, cont'd

Mary McDonald	Durham, N. C.
Leon Hall	Atlanta, Ga.
David Ruffin	Washington, D. C.

WORKSHOP IV - HOUSING

Participants

Arthur Campbell	Atlanta, Ga.
Moses Burt	Washington, D. C.
Ed Darden	
Ben Ruffin	Durham, N. C.
John Kimberough	Washington

12:30 p.m. - 3:00 p.m. LUNCH

Saturday Afternoon - 3:00 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.

HOW TO DO IT WORKSHOPS

I. Voter Education

Sherill Marcus	Birmingham, Ala.
John Edwards	Durham, N. C.

II. Miners Benefit

Robert Guerrant

III. Child Development Programs

Maureen McKinley	Washington
Willie Dawkins	Washington
Evelyn Moore	Washington
Mary McDonald	Durham, N. C.

IV. Welfare Concerns and Federal Food Programs

Faith Evans	New York
Barbara Bode	Washington, D. C.

6:30 p.m. - 8:00 p.m. DINNER

Saturday Night Session

Panel Discussion: THE PLIGHT OF BLACK PEOPLE IN APPALACHIA

Response from ARC

Panelist

Alice Nixon	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Harry Walker	Greenville, S. C.

Panelist, cont'd

John Buffington	West Point, Mississippi
Rev. Paul McDaniels	Chattanooga, Tenn.
Viola Cleveland	Middleboro, Kentucky
Panel Moderator	Carl Johnson, BAC
ARC Response	Sandra Gruschin

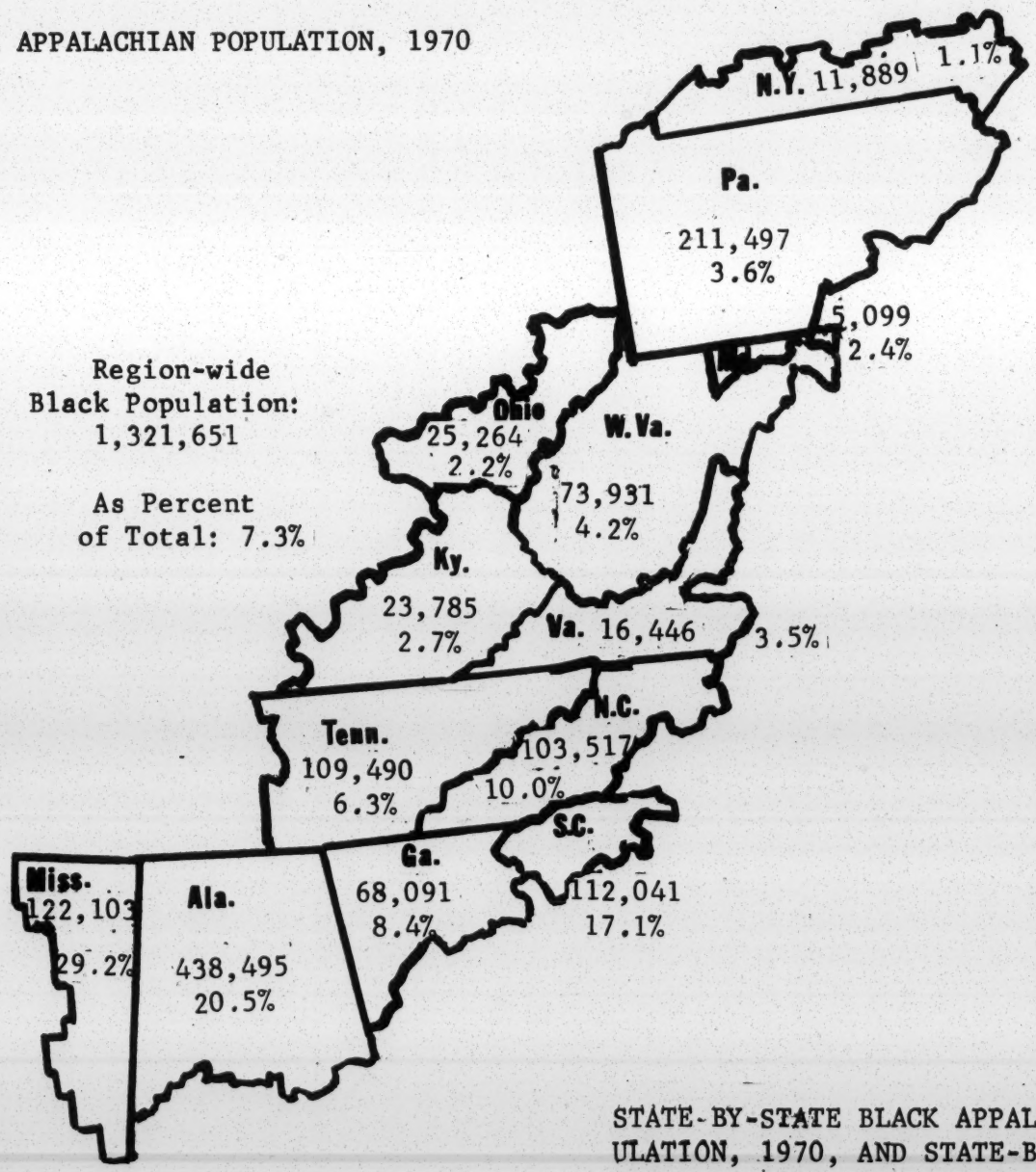
10:00 p.m. SOCIAL HOUR

Sunday July 11, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon Conference Summary and Planning Session

12:00 noon - 1:00 p.m. Closing Address:
Attorney Avon Williams,
Tennessee State Senator
Nashville, Tennessee

BLACK APPALACHIAN POPULATION, 1970



STATE-BY-STATE BLACK APPALACHIAN POPULATION, 1970, AND STATE-BY-STATE BLACK APPALACHIAN POPULATION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION FOR APPALACHIAN REGION OF EACH STATE, 1970.

Source: The Status of Black People in Appalachia; Bruland

SDP

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT

Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30303

July, 1971

TOWARDS BETTER COMMUNICATION...

With this issue, we inaugurate the School Desegregation Project Newsletter. We hope that it will foster better communication among those working with school desegregation.

It was the general consensus among those students polled that there was a need for a newsletter from this office and that material included should offer objective information concerning recent legislation, activities of associated agencies and news articles of related interest.

The School Desegregation Project invites any comments relating to the objectives and content of this publication.

Leon Hall

Leon Hall

Project Coordinator

REVIEW OF THREE IMPORTANT COURT DECISIONS SINCE BROWN, 1954

Among key judicial rulings which have effected school desegregation, there are three which most directly affected the Southeast during the 1970-71 school year:

Alexander vs. Holmes County Board of Education (Oct. 29, 1969)

Singleton vs. Jackson Mun. Sep. School District (Dec. 1, 1969)

Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education (April 20, 1971)

In Alexander the Supreme Court stated that no further delays could be granted for the desegregation of school districts. This decision fully supported the Brown decision of 1954, but made it more effective by replacing the concept of "all deliberate speed" with the words "at once".

Implementing the Alexander ruling, a U.S. Circuit Court ruled against further delays in Singleton vs. Jackson Mun. Sep. School District. Sixteen school districts in the South, including some in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Texas, were affected. In this ruling, the court refused to accept a two-step plan whereby faculty would be desegregated February 1 and students would be desegregated the following fall.

Finally and by far the most important judicial ruling affecting the South was the Supreme Court's ruling in Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education. Some observors feel this is the most important ruling since Brown. At the same time the Supreme Court also issued rulings on several similar cases, including an important one from Mobile, Alabama. The following stands out as some of the more important parts of the Supreme Court ruling:

1. Busing is a constitutional method of achieving desegregation. The court said there was "no basis for holding that the local school authorities may not require to employ bus transportation as a tool of

school desegregation."

2. Racial quotas, while not a basic constitutional right, are an acceptable tool for dismantling a dual school system.

3. The dual school system must be dismantled, even if it is necessary to sue plans that are "administratively awkward, inconvenient and even bizarre." Thus the pairing of schools and the use of non-contiguous zoning were ruled to be permissible tools to achieve these goals.

METHODS OF DESEGREGATING SCHOOLS

Pairing: (Princeton Plan): Formerly segregated school districts are combined and schools within these districts are so organized that each school has only so many grades which all students, black and white, in the combined district attend. For example, when high schools are paired, one school will be used for junior high and the other school will be used as a senior high.

School closing: When the South operated a segregated school system it often built more schools than were necessary in order to keep the races separated. With the dismantling of the dual system there were simply too many schools for the number of students, so some schools were closed.

Magnet school: The converting of inner city schools into specialized centers so as to draw youths from all over to them.

Zoning: The reorganization or rearranging of school district boundaries in order to encompass both black and white communities.

Educational Parks: Large urban educational complexes which, like the magnet school, draw students from all over a school district thus affecting desegregation.

THE COMMUNITY AND SCHOOL BOARDS REACT

It would not take much recapping or memory searching to remember the reactions of the people to the Swann, Singleton or Alexander decisions. The past few school terms have been the setting of boycotts, sit-ins, interracial physical conflicts, and have in general, been in turmoil. All schools, have not, however, been subjected to student, faculty and in some instances, administrative unrest. Many were able to make the transitions with few visible problems.

A recent conference held in South Carolina by the South Carolina Advisory Committee maintains that only five per cent of all school districts in S.C. were the scene of racial disturbances as a result of the court orders. Yet, this five per cent included fighting between black-white students in Greenville, S.C. high schools. These schools were closed for a period of time. Elsewhere in the state, also in this 5% were irate white citizens who attempted to overturn school buses occupied by black students. This five per cent also included other incidents across the state where children were kept home from school and tensions ran high in the school corridors.

Similar incidents and even more drastic events occured in other states across the South. Mississippians found the decision hard to swallow and often tried to choke them back up. School proms, athletic events, and other social and non-academic elements of a total school program were cancelled and discontinued after the court orders.

Mississippi has long since been the scene of lynchings, burnings and other violent techniques to show discontent. The court orders were little less than necessary entities to provoke similar reactions. In Moss Point, Miss. fighting between black and white students resulted in seven arrests and three hospitalizations in May, 1971. The next week 25 black students were arrested and the school closed. More recent than that, a black high school graduate was shot to death just minutes after graduation from a Mississippi school.

The Community cont.

School boards have reacted in a number of ways to each judicial decision. After Swann many boards have monumental tasks to achieve. Many questions were still unanswered for them. For example, if busing was now to be used as a major tool in achieving school desegregation, what were the school systems without buses to do? Were they to rely on public transit companies to bus their students or would they have to expend large sums of money to buy their own buses? Lower courts will have to decide these issues in the near future.

Aside from the busing issue, school boards have also had to grapple with the many different methods they might use to accomplish smoother and fuller desegregation. Such plans as open enrollment and "freedom-of-choice" had proven unacceptable because they either did not work or because they placed excessive burdens on the black community to achieve desegregation. Creative solutions to these problems are today even more urgent than ever before.

Locally and also on the national level, groups have organized to protest school desegregation as outlined in the Swann, Singleton and Alexander cases. Such groups as Citizens Groups Organized to Protest Desegregation and Concerned Parents for Public Education were organized in protest of these decisions. Nationally the United Concerned Citizens of America sprang up to get national participation to stop school desegregation. As a counteraction, the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights (an organization of one hundred Northern lawyers) was organized to come South and help promote the legalities of desegregation.

Although these were the three landmark court decisions (both supreme and circuit) to be issued since Brown in 54; the scourge of unrest of the rulings will not end as the court records get dusty. School boards and southern communities will inevitable find ways to delay and avoid desegregation even if it means continuing to use violent and fatal tactics of dissent.

BLACK PUSHOUT IN EDUCATION

There has been a surge of displacing black administrators, and teachers across the South within the past decade. The black principal has become almost extinct. Within the dual system of education "black teachers supervised by black principals provided an image of authority and respectability." (J.C. James: The Black Principal- Another Vanishing American.) According to writer Larry Cheek, "the number of secondary school principals dropped from 107 (29%) in 1965 to 16 (6.5%) in 1970."

Usually the trend has been to close or reorganize the black high school into a junior high then make the black principal an assistant.

Black teachers have also suffered unjustly with the closing of the dual school systems. According to the N.E.A. "a minimum of 1,040 teachers have lost jobs during the last three years." All across the South, school officials have taken advantage of the court rulings on desegregation and replaced black teachers and principals on such grounds as: reorganization, non effective disciplinary methods, low scoring on the National Teachers Examination and other reasons which, after nearly and over twenty years of experience make them ineligible to work in desegregation systems.

Probably the least recognized but more tragic situation is that of the black student. Recent studies show that the more intelligent and promising black students are often stiffled and/or dismissed from school because of their beliefs and ability to see through the white facade.

Even in athletics the black student is being affected by desegregation. Schools once very active in extracurricular activities now restrict memberships on many unnecessary requirements. The problem of black pushout is urgent and disheartening, yet it is a prevalent issue and should be a number one concern for those interested in equality for all people.

SELECTED AGENCIES AND CONTACTS WORKING WITH SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

YWCA

The YWCA is a worldwide movement dedicated to enriching the lives of women and girls and to advancing peace, justice, freedom and dignity for all people. The YWCA believes that the spirit of restlessness among the youth today is not just rebellion, it is a call to provide opportunities and flexable programs so they can work and use their energies and ideals to make an impression on some of society's ills. The YWCA shares some of the same concerns about school desegregation that the boards of education and the schools feel important. For that reason, they have formulated and carried out a task force over the summer to get a clearer picture of the desegregation situation. For more information contact: Mrs. Lillian H. Jackson, Convenor For Institute On Education, National Board, YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10022.

American Friends Service Committee

Translating their religious beliefs into everyday life the AFSC organized by the American Quakers in 1917 is in one aspect trying to improve the qualiy of education. Their main thrust now is to assist in doing away with dual school systems. Efforts are made to get parents and students involved and working with their school systems. It is felt that change best occurs when students work in school systems and that quality education means giving students more options in their education. Certain options used so far in Mobile, Alabama have been trying to negotiate with school authorities on their school desegregation plan (one-way/two-way busing), and making PTA groups more relevent and also by supporting black candidates in school board memberships. For more information contact: Miss Winifried Green, Southeastern Public Education Program, American Friends Service Committee, 52 Failie Street N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

The Legal Defense Fund's main efforts have been with trying to get local community people involved with what their school boards are doing as well as working with involvement and student rights. For more information contact: Miss Jean Fairfax, Legal Defense and Education Fund, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, New York 10039.

SDP

School Desegr. Proj.

OVERVIEW OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION INSTITUTE

Sponsored by

The School Desegregation Project
of the
Southern Regional Council
August 15 - August 25 — Summer 1971

Camp Fellowship
Waterloo, South Carolina

Institute Coordinators

Clarence Wright
Leon Hall

* * * *

(These materials are not for quotation or attribution)

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION INSTITUTE OVERVIEW

Introduction

School desegregation is a controversial, volatile, and complex issue in American society. As a result of litigation and heroic actions of a small group of Black students throughout the South over the past 17 years, massive school desegregation is a reality as we enter the 70's. Inherent in this situation, however, is the realization that the seventeen year period from 1954 until the present, was just the prelude to the battle confronting all students today - both Black and White. For, upon them falls the responsibility of organizing a "new constituency" dedicated to realizing and attaining quality desegregated education for all students with viable, clearly defined avenues for input from all students. The desegregation fight in the schools has tended to highlight the endemic educational problems confronting the American free public education in addition to the racial problems.

Taking this situation into consideration and recognizing their responsibility in making the newly desegregated situation work, a small biracial group of college and high school students met in Waterloo, South Carolina for a ten-day School Desegregation Institute to review last years experiences and activities,

to analyze the status of the desegregation movement and the institution of public education from the youth perspective, and to learn and/or refine specific skills needed for work in the back-home situation.

With an air of determination and hope, these students set forth over the 10-day period to attain these goals, while first unconciously and later consciously molding a spirit of direction and determination out of the collective realization that there were other young adults from throughout the South working towards similar goals - the establishment of a humane society and the development of quality education for all students.

This group represented a cross-section of youth encountered through nine months of extensive travel and work with youth groups and educational projects by the staff and volunteers of the School Desegregation Project as they attempted to provide direct assistance and/or resources to high school youth in massively desegregated districts. The focus of the project upon youth, is based upon the realization that students know that the racial problems are in most cases, surface manifestations of ingrained educational problems which affect all youth - Black and White.

In spite of the diversity of the group along chronological, racial, sexual, geographical and educational lines, the

participants were consistent in their quest for clarity, direction, resources, and skills. More graphically, there were 16 college and 16 high school students (7 White and 25 Black) in attendance, ranging in age from 16 - 25 and educational levels from high school sophmores to recent college graduates. Geographically, the participant grouping by state were as follows: Alabama 3, Arkansas 1, Georgia 6, Florida 1, Mississippi 8, North Carolina 3, South Carolina 7, Texas 1, Virginia 1. Eleven of the project's participants were unable to attend mainly because of recent employment and/or educational obligations. Three were from Mississippi, two from Georgia and six from Alabama.

The remainder of this report will focus on the content of the various workshops, points of information, themes of continuity, needs, and interpretations of salient points. The five categories are as follows:

1) Opening Session

2) Seminars

3) Workshops in community organization techniques and skills

4) Workshops in communications/intergroup relations

5) The in-school situation

6) Closing session

OPENING SESSION

Sunday, August 15, 1971
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.

Paul Anthony, Guest Speaker

The Institute was convened with each person giving their name, home address, and their first experience with school desegregation. Responses to the latter point were quite diverse and ranged from childhood experiences with people of another race, to attendance at previously all white schools under Freedom of Choice, to recent experiences with the onset of massive school desegregation.

Following the introductions and the overview of the training schedule for the Institute, Paul Anthony, the Director of the Southern Regional Council, made a brief opening address and responded to questions from the floor, mainly about the Council - its scope, purpose, size of staff, resources and affiliations.

Mr. Anthony key-noted his opening remarks with the observation that youth traditionally push for "immediate" change but with time and age these youth will in turn be called upon to move farther and faster. Then, the realization will come, that all the problems couldn't be solved - that the old ones still exist, in addition to many new ones. "The only thing that we can do is continue to fight for what is right."

"It's imperative that we understand what in fact this Institution is, this thing that has grown into an institution - what was this house built for. Let's get the picture then we can dig into that."

S E M I N A R S

Case History of the School Desegregation Movement
9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon, Monday, August 16
Julius Chambers

Four basic points were covered in the seminar on the legal/historical aspects of school desegregation: 1) the origin of the school desegregation movement; 2) the reason for massive school desegregation in the 70's; 3) the landmark cases in the school desegregation movement; and 4) some of the major dynamics and/or problems set off by the school desegregation movement in general and the Swann Decision in particular. Following coverage of these points, Attorney Julius Chambers made some general observations on various desegregation issues and responded to questions from the floor.

Law was described as an evolutionary process faced with the problem that many people differentiate the "letter of the Law" and the "spirit of the law." This has tended to hinder what is already a basically slow process, as illustrated by the seventeen year lapse between the Brown and Swann Decision.

The judicial process was deemed the most viable avenue of attack in the 1930's when a group of NAACP lawyers decided to challenge the constitutionality of the "seperate but equal" doctrine by focusing on the educational inequities of the segregated school systems. The constitutional foundation for this fight

was provided through the "due process" and "equal protection" clauses of the 14th Amendment, and the various reconstruction statues (42 U.S.C., 1981; 42 U.S.C. 1982, and others). These statues provided legal grounds for challenging discriminatory practices by states and/or individuals.

The landmark cases were the Brown Decision in 1954, the Green vs. New County Board of Education in 1968 and the Swann Decision in 1968-70. Some of the key points of these cases were:

> Brown vs. Board of Education. This decision declared seperate facilities inherently unequal for Blacks regardless of the number of Black teachers, the quality of facilities and so forth. More importantly, the court stated that the Brown Decision left some room for leeway between the "spirit of the law" and the "letter of the law," with the inclusion of the clause "with all deliberate speed" and the failure to stipulate "how" the schools were to be desegregated. Additionally, the Brown Decision established the trend of Black students seeking admission to white secondary and elementary schools.

During this period, several strategies were attempted in an effort to evade the law:

1) From 1955 through 1960, the various southern states enacted pupil placement laws to hinder desegregation. These laws abdicated all responsibility for desegregation plans to the various local districts. Therefore, each local district would have to be challenged

individually for whatever discriminatory acts might occur.

2) From 1960 through 1968, the various southern states resorted to various Freedom of Choice plans after the 5th Circuit Court declared pupil placement acts unconstitutional. Under the Freedom of Choice plan, a child had the right to choose a school before the board made assignments provided they met various criteria. Also, during this period, many courts okayed desegregation plans beginning with the first year and one per subsequent year.

3) From 1968 through the present, two key decisions were rendered: The Green vs. New County Board of Education in 1968 and the Swann Decision in Charlotte/Mecklenberg. The former decision attacked Freedom of Choice in instances in which it did not effectively desegregate schools and spelled out the areas in shich schools had to show affirmative steps to desegregate. These areas were: (1) students, (2) teachers, (3) extra-curricular, (4) transportation, and (5) facilities. This was a landmark decision in that both Black and White facilities and student bodies would be forced to desegregate. Two other cases, Goss vs. School Board of Memphis and

Watson vs. City preceded the Swann decision and expressed the dissatisfaction with the interpretations of the "deliberate speed" ruling. The term "now" was used in the case Alexander vs. Holmes County Board of Education and later changed in Carter vs. West Louisiana Parrish School Board, to immediately. This decision set the stage for massive school desegregation in the 70's, and laid the foundation for the desegregation of rural facilities - Black and White.

Beginning in 1968, the racial identity of schools in the larger metropolitan areas came under challenge when two questions were raised in the Charlotte case. The court responded yes and no respectively. (1) Must all schools be desegregated and (2) Must it be one way.

The Swann Decision, which was later re-affirmed by the Supreme Court, established the policy of considering the racial composition of schools in developing desegregation plans, made provisions for the utilization of transportation in desegregating the schools, and stated that teachers should be equal in number to the percentage of Black and White techers in the system. The Swann Decision, also left some leeway regarding interpretations of the "letter of the law" and "the spirit of the law" by allowing bussing if it did not infringe on the educational process

or affect the health of the child, and providing for the continuation of segregated schools in instances in which clear and convincing evidence could be provided to show why it should not be done. The court left to a later decision, the effect of desegregated housing on the racial composition of schools.

In ensuring dialogue, Attorney Chambers highlighted several points:

(1) School desegregation is a reality, the courts will not retract the decision, therefore, we need to "look toward developing means of protecting Black students and teachers in the desegregated schools. In many cases, these protective measures can be developed more feasibly through the political and legislative route than through the judiciary, at least until 1976.

Community organization is needed to pressure the school boards into establishing policies concerning suspensions, expulsions which will insure students the right to "due process Protection." Since the hearings usually result in a re-affirmation of the suspensions and/or expulsions, residents must organize and work within the political sphere to elect responsive school boards and to sensitize existing boards to the needs of the students.

(2) People need to realize that the courts do respond to "public pressure," particularly, with the equivocating position taken by Nixon. That statements by people like Roy Innis calling for seperate Black school boards, schools, and so forth, are

contrary to the history of this country in which Whites never have and probably never will give an equal proportion of their tax dollar for seperate schools.

A statement from students and others is needed stating that "We need to desegregate the schools." The court in the Swann Decision asked if the Black community wanted to desegregate, to which the response was "yes", contrary to this, however, the press is highlighting the anti-desegregation statements of Blacks.

(3) Attorney Chambers also responded, in addition to these points, to points relating to the displacement of Black teachers, the feasibility of using quotas and ratios in assigning students and teacher accreditation. Students and community organizations were given the mandate to exert pressure on government agencies to protect the rights of Black students and on residents to block the closing of Black schools.

In conclusion, Attorney Chambers expressed the need for students to exert more pressure on lawyers to insure protection of students, "it doesn't make sense for students to carry the brunt of desegregation, parents, lawyers, everybody else should become more involved."

The Institution of Public Education
2:00 - 4:00 p.m., Monday, August 16
Tom Keating and Dr. Carlisle Holler

Two statements set the tone and focus for discussion/analysis of the institution of public education: "Is the goal to tear down schools or to tear down barriers to education;" and, "Every individual has a right to be developed. If schools are not doing it, where can we get back on the right track"? Although the seminar was focused upon the need for having a clear sense of direction in dealing with basic problems of the Institution of public education, the stated purpose of the workshop was to take a look at the institution in its totality - its purposes, objectives, framework and funding.

The framework of the institution of public education was described as unique for each state and local district. There is no uniform "system" of public education. Funding of schools, too, is different in the South and the various southern states. The bulk of the financing, however, comes from the State Treasury rather than from local districts as is in the case in some New England states. Millage (how it is figured), bonds, the role of property tax in education and other terms were other things discussed.

Within the focus of the Institution's central purpose, to teach people to think, four goals were given:

1) To recognize and promote the dignity and worth of the

individual.

2) To develop citizenship.

3) To serve the economy.

4) To develop the general morality by developing good moral character and habits.

In 1918, a group of educators met and developed Seven Cardinal Principals of Education to assist the student in 1) gaining command of the fundamental processes - reading, writing, etc.; 2) becoming worthy home members; 3) developing vocational competence; 4) establishing effective citizenship; 5) promoting worthy use of leisure; and 6) developing ethical character. Twenty years later, some educators revised these points to read:

1) Self-realization

2) Human relationship

3) Economic proficiency

4) Civic responsibility

Following the discussion of the stated purpose of public education, several suggestions were made concerning approaches to changing the institution of public education to the local level. Dr. Holler pointed out that teachers and principals are human too and should be dealt with as human beings. "Threats" only tend to alienate people.

Segregated Academy Movement
9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon, Monday, August 16
Kitty Terjen

The seminar on the Segregated Academy Movement began with an open-ended conversation in which each workshop participant related their observations and/or experiences with the segregated academy movement. Particularly interesting were the comments concerning the possible negative effects of the segregated academy movement upon students who had been pulled out of the public school after the school term had begun and the behavior of students returning to the public school from segregated academies. The implications of the effect of the segregated academy movement upon the institution of public education, on the role of property taxes in supporting education and on the tax exemption proceedings for non-profit organizations led into a discussion of the methods of documenting violations of the law to support segregated academies.

With regard to documentation of violations, Mrs. Terjen outlined the difficulties in obtaining concrete evidence since most infractions were "paper" violations in which local funds and/or other supplies were secretly stolen. Private sources of funding (bank loans, donations, etc.) and tuition fees were also discussed. One of the best ways of blocking violations and illegal transactions tied in with calls for community organization and participation by other resource people. The presence of Blacks on the various committees (Title I, and ESAP) and in attendance

at the school board meetings will serve to hinder much of "wrong-doing."

The National/International, Regional, State,
and Local Implications of School Desegregation
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m., Monday, August 16
Miss Jean Fairfax

The seminar on the broader implications of school desegregation was intended to provide the students with additional information which would hopefully provide the basis for a more universal view of the desegregation movement. Miss Fairfax set forth the international/national, regional, state, and local implications of school desegregation through three propositions:

1) School desegregation is a test of the resiliency of the American system, a test to see whether the American system can be changed from within by using the law as an agent of social change. In explaining this proposition, the various steps of defiance of the law were outlined from the initiation of pupil placement, gubernatorial resistance, Freedom of Choice plans, and ultimately, to the more sophisticated forms of resistance today - displacement of Black educators, in-school discrimination, closure of Black schools, and so forth. Though time consuming, this defiance has provided the courts with the opportunity to affirm and clarify the rights of all people. Each decision brings greater clarity to the law. This clarification

gives a better base for dealing with the complexity of today's situation.

2) What is the United States about anyway? This proposition was based upon the premise that school desegregation is one of the key, if not the key, issue in the United States today. References were made to Samuel Yette's book, The Choice, as a means of clarifying a possible perspective and explanation of the reactions of white "outlaws" ("outlaws" used to describe the various politicians, citizens, and government agencies) who fight the move towards a pluralistic society in America. Two basic reasons were given for the resistance of the "outlaws" to the law:

   a) They realize the value of information and education and that knowledge represents power. That as long as oppressed people are ignorant than there is no motivation to fight for a pluralistic society.

   b) That the goals of integration have changed. That integration now means total participation in the decision-making processes rather than assimilation into the middle-class oriented status

quo. The fight for community control and the fight to integrate the schools, are the things which frighten some people and give rise to defiance of the law.

The school desegregation movement forces whites "to say what they are about in America."

3) The school desegregation movement is a test of Black people's ability to blacken the educational system. Utilizing references to other cultures (Brazil, New Zealand), Miss Fairfax showed how the rising tide of "Black Pride" did not represent a contradiction of integration but a re-definition of the term and a realization/reorganization represented a step towards building a pluralistic society.

The ensuing dialogue covered the following points:

a) The difference between desegregation and integration.

b) How can you determine a truly integrated society?

c) The possibility of school integration before community integration.

Following discussion of these points, the seminar terminated on a key point, the implications of the pressure of groups, "chunks," of students in the desegregated school today as opposed

to small numbers under the other plans. Though in most cases in a minority, Black students now have the opportunity to organize a base within the system, if they become a politically aware body, which will strive to learn "where the power is, how decisions are made, where the money is, and how they can become a strategy group with a conscious plan."

The Effect and Impact of Mass Media upon Attitudinal Development
9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon, Tuesday, August 17
Paul Delaney

This seminar was planned to focus upon developing an awareness among student of the potential benefits/pitfalls in utilizing the press and to teach them the rudimentary steps of press relations. The seminar began with each participant recounting their most vivid experience with the press and/or their experiences in attempting to publish a newspaper.

Several suggestions were made in terms of ultimate utilization of the press:

1) Get to know the key reporters on the various newspaper staffs, introduce yourself, be aggressive in establishing a comfortable relation (for you) with the press.
2) Carefully organize and plan your strategies when dealing with the press. Make sure you are using only facts, elect one spokesman who will present the agreed upon details - no more. Several ploys utilized in interviewing people were then illustrated and practiced.
3) In cases in which articles are incorrect, exclusions, misquotes, etc., one should read and review a story for two things - <u>facts</u> and <u>interpretations</u>. Notify the reporter of discrepancies. This doesn't rectify mistakes already made, but it does avoid antagonizing the press and will, hopefully, cause him to touch

base with you on any pertinent subsequent articles and to carefully doublecheck his story.

Quite a few terms came up and were defined. Some of these were: dodging, laying it on the line, embargo, stringer, Ap and Up.

The "how" of conducting press conferences and writing press releases was also discussed. The need for organization and the selection of a key spokesman were doubly highlighted in planning press conferences. The various parts of a "press conference kit" were listed and discussed: 1) Actual press releases; 2) Fact sheet on the group - length of existence, purpose, etc.; 3) Detailed background statement; and 4) previous articles. The press realease should answer the basic questions, who, what, when, where, and why and follow the four basic rules: 1) Select the most important W for the lead paragraph; 2) Keep it simple; and 3) Emphasize facts, not opinions.

The various parts of the press release, the heading, listing of key information (name, address, phone, etc.) and the embargo preceded the skills practice.

The resource people constantly counseled the participants on the potential pitfalls and/or negative effects that unorganized contact with the press could have.

Other media resources and their utilization were considered. Several resource organizations were listed.

Student's Rights
7:00 p.m., Tuesday, August 23
Laughlin McDonald

The seminar on student's rights amplified the lack of definitive policies on rights due students in the in-school situation.

The areas of discussion ranged widely and covered many of the issues affecting students in the desegregated schools today. Some of them were:

1) Suspensions. Several points came out in the discussion of suspensions as opposed to expulsion. From the administrative point, most students are quilty until proven innocent. Highlighted was a major contradiction "between law and action since many states had compulsory attendance laws requiring a specific number of days attendance but would permit suspensions and/or expulsions which would run over those days."

2) Communication Rights Due Students. Initially, the discussion centered upon various alternatives due students with regard to the increasing number of "hair" cases in court, "button" cases and/or arm band cases, and the legality of circulating petitions. With regard to the first two points,

it was observed that some legal precedents, though not definitive, had been established while there were no legal precedents set concerning in-school petitioning, therefore, placing the burden upon the petitioner to be cognizant of where, when, and how the petions were circulated.

3) School Elections. Unfair election procedures and discriminatory sanctions were largely classed as in-school problems not lending themselves to legal action but for individual organizing efforts.

4) Teacher Beatings of Students. "The quickest and most effective way to deal with corporal punishment by teachers is to file a civil suit against all parties involved." It was pointed out that this would amplify the problem, shake-up the parties involved, even if the suit is not won.

5) Record Tampering. This, too, was viewed as an in-school problem for which the only recourse without clear-cut evidence would be to call for a hearing before the school board.

Other points raised by the students were related to the legal role of students on discriplinary committees, the legality of ability grouping and transferral of students to vocational

schools as punishment for alleged disciplinary violations, in-school prosecution for incidents occurring away from school (non-school functions), police harassment, and intimidation of student dissidents and name calling by teachers. In responding to these questions, the need for strong local organizations was suggested, since each case would have to be dealt with individually and there were no clear-cut constitutional precedences established for dealing with these issues through the judicial process.

The seminar concluded with another call for strong, local organization, and a discussion of the method of documenting infringements of student rights (write down, solicit witnesses, if possible, notarize the description of the incident, document disciplinary actions). The need and possibility for establishing a student legal aid service or watchline was briefly discussed.

"There's gotta be a connection -- a logical connection between your action and what you want."

"Organizing is getting as many people together as possible."

Community Organization

The seminars and workshops on community organization skills and techniques focused upon the following areas:

1) Nonviolence as a strategy-way of life
2) Analysis of American society
3) Facets of enslavement
4) Nonviolent in-school tactics
5) Other community organization skills and techniques
   a. meetings
   b. coalitions
   c. voter education
   d. conferences
   e. community support

According to Rev. Young, "violence destroys people and property, not systems." He described nonviolence as organized aggressive goodwill, aimed at developing new relationships between people. Although the problems in school desegregation are immediate, we have to understand the overall picture and be clear on the ultimate goal -- the establishment of a humane society.

American society was described as a box with the walls of enslavement being:

1. Educational inequality. "Knowledge is the key to

breaking bonds."

2. Alienation. "As long as we hate ourselves and our culture, we enslave ourselves." There is a major need for Blacks and others to understand and accept themselves. Racial problems are created by fear and a lack of knowledge of others.

3. Economic exploitation.

4. Political denial.

"Students, once they get their minds together, are the most knowledgeable people concerning educational matters, because they are directly involved. They should therefore, look towards attending school board meetings, asking for youth representation on school boards, and utilizing other aggressive means of attaining power."

Four basic steps in organizing were delineated and discussed:

1) Investigation

2) Negotiation

3) Organization

4) Reconciliation

Within the framework of these points, several cautionary notes were added: First, a group should "take it slow," secondly, always write grievenace down, thirdly, always share leadership, thus avoiding designation or stereotyping of one person

as the leader. Lastly, build support, expand your base and carefully stage the tone of any meeting, or other activity.

The various community organizing skills and techniques discussed and/or practiced were:

1) Negotiations. Particular concentration upon analysis of school boards, consideration of methods to "educate" school board members to student perspectives, and problems. "Do's and Don'ts" of approaching administration and teachers.

2) Conferences and Meetings. Timing, site selection, agenda building, climate setting were some of the terms discussed in the workshop sessions on meetings and conferences. Role play activities were developed to encompass these and other techniques for organizing meetings and conferences.

3) Coalitions. In-school coalitions are consistent with the basic level of organizing to get as many people together as possible. In building in-school coalitions, several basic points need to be considered:

   a. Development of a steering committee with equal representation and clearly defined roles and relationships.

b. The need for open discussions between coalescing groups. In the words of one resource person, "you must maintain communications, it is suicide if you become isolated."

c. Share leadership -- avoid pairing.

4) 18-Year Old Voter Education. Because of the temper of the times, youth in coordination with other movements could play a major role in national, political activities. The youth potential in national affairs highlights the need for coalitions between Black and White students.

5) Community Support. Various techniques and approaches for gaining community support were discussed and practiced. Extensive discussion and practice was given to press relations, the framing of news releases, and identifying potential sources of community support. Extensive role play was given to approaching, informing and inviting people to meetings.

6) School Boycotts, Walk Outs. It was stressed throughout the workshop that "youth must be in school in order to effectuate meaningful change." School boycotts, usually tend to create more problems, legal repercussions, and reactions from the community than

positive effects. This tactic should be used with reservations.

"I must do these things in order to communicate; become aware of you (discover you). Make you aware of me (uncover myself). Be ready to change during our conversation, and be willing to reveal my changes to you."

C O M M U N I C A T I O N S

Communications and Intergroup Relations
Saturday, August 21 - Tuesday, August 24
Dr. Rachel DuBois, Dr. Grace Scully, Bernice Coffer, Dr. William Dufford and staff, Dorothy Cotton, Joel Jacobson

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The workshops on communications and intergroup relations were disigned to:

1) Enhance the participants understanding of "self."

2) Enhance the participants understanding of others, particularly, the institute participants.

3) Develop certain skills and trainer skills in the areas of communications/intergroup relations.

4) Stimulate an appraisal and/or reappraisal for the reasons for striving to attain quality desegregated education.

5) Share experiences in the in-school desegrated situation and to compare these experiences with those occurring prior to desegregated education.

The workshops initially focused upon activities to define the meaning of communications and related terms - - trust, feelings, verbal/non-verbal communications. Sharing common experiences, the participants attempted to capture the essence of these terms. In addition to consideration of positive aspects of human relations, the participants, again by sharing common experiences, analyzed the effects of bitterness, distrust, and other negative emotions in creating communication breakdowns.

The participants also participated in exercises geared

to pull out feelings concerning attendance in desegregated schools and individual motivation in striving to better the educational process and relations between students. This process was begun with a sharing of common educational experiences (first experiences with students, teachers, etc.) prior to desegregation, a sharing of experiences following desegregation, and lastly, consideration of the question, "Is it worth the sacrifice?"

The individual concept of "self" and its ramifications, was approached from the theoretical and experimental standpoint. Dr. Grace Scully, a Developmental Psychologist, led a three-hour lecture discussion of Eric Erickson's Seven Stages of Pshcho-Social Dimensions of Personality, after which, Dorothy Cotton conducted a series of feedback sessions on self-perception, perceptions of others, and image clarification.

The last two work days were devoted to skill training and skill practice in relation to the back-home situation. Dr. William Dufford and his staff, conducted a series of skill practice exercises, aimed at three barriers to communications and the development of small group discussion leaders. Various techniques and exercises were illustrated and used: (1) Buzz groups; (2) Fishbowls; (3) Climate setting exercises; and (4) Role play. Skill training and practice was provided in the group conversation method as a follow-up to the other training and skills development sessions.

The purpose, planning and implementation of the group conversation method were discussed, analyzed, and practiced.

The communications and intergroup relations sessions concluded with an exercise to define the feeling of "community" so apparent within the group. This aura was finally described as a "quality of human relations" between people which was characterized by a "trusting, caring, and sharing" feeling between individuals regardless of race, age and/or educational level. A cautionary note was appended with the reminder that this spirit of community must transcend the actual setting of the Institute and be promoted at home if a positive course is to be set which will lead to quality education and relations during these chaotic and confused times.

"Just listening to them, they had it easy compared to what we went through."

The In-School Situation

The In-School session was structured to allow students to set the tone and direction of the discussion, with the resource people concentrating on analyzing the information. The student evaluation committee for the Institute structured the program around a panel discussion by four high school students. Each of the students was from a different state (Mississippi; Alabama; North Carolina; and South Carolina, and different types of communities (rural, metropolitan, peredominantly Black rural small southern, etc.).

In spite of this diversity, similar issues were raised in the respective presentations. The panelists informally rated some of the priority issues confronting students in their respective communities by their choice of subject matter. The discussions following the panel presentations showed that these points/needs were not atypical among students.

The panelist from Mississippi led off the discussion and set the tone for subsequent presentations by enumerating a broad spectrum of problems confronting students (police harassment, student transferrals, dismissals without hearings, dismissal of Black teachers), a situation analysis of his home community (its resources, etc.) and an overview of the strategies attempted and resources needed to deal with some of the problems.

The other panelist (Alabama, South Carolina and North Carolina) focused to a great extent, on major personal issues with others treated more superficially.

Some of the major points were:

1) The impact that a politically aware Black majority has in making potential "outlaws" equitably administer the school and teach students.

2) The unlimited avenues of in-school harassment open to "wrong-minded" educators through record tampering, changing of grades, lost and/or destruction of permanent record folders.

3) The dangers of being caught in the emotionalism of volative issues related to school desegregation like bussing.

Following the panel presentations, the floor was thrown open for reactions/observations from the other students. This dialogue focused upon the role of the white student in the desegregated situation, the lack of moral leadership, the white students opinions of massive school desegregation; and an overview of various strategies and approaches to dealing with In-School problems. School walk-outs of varying degrees and duration appeared to be a common tactic for resolving grievances.

In the evening session brief introductory statements were given by representatives of several private agencies, the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the American Friends Service Committee, the Atlanta Urban League and the Children's Foundation.

CLOSING SESSION

time oh time oh
time is winding up
time oh time oh
time is winding up
confusion in the land
Brother take your stand
time is winding up.

time oh time oh
time is winding up
time oh time oh
time is winding up
misuse is in the land
Sister take your stand
time is winding up.

time oh time oh
time is winding up
time oh time oh
time is winding up
obuse is in the land
People take your stand
time is winding up.

go tell Nixon time is winding up
go tell the school board
time is winding up
time is winding up.

Sisters and Brothers
do you hear us?
time is winding up
Sisters and Brothers
do you hear?

"To Tear Down Barriers to Education"

This Institute has highlighted and clarified a number of things for us, the participants, some of which we have attempted to share with you. There is one thing that we hope the readers of this document will pay particular attention to. That is the sense of "Spirit" alluded to throughout the report that molded this group (the participants and others) into what some would call a "family." We close with reference to this intangible, nebulous thing because to us, above all else, this is one of the keys that can unlock the door and truly, "Tear Down Any and all Barriers to Education."

Think back for a moment, think of the days when you were in school: it may have been a one-room building with a wood stove, it may have been "George Washington Carver," or, it may have been, regardless of how distasteful it may be for some of us, "Robert E. Lee High School." Think about the school song, think of the one who made you feel like somebody - your principal, your first successful experience addressing a large gathering, your class or the entire student body. We are sure that there are some good memories and some bad, but from all indications, most of us who finished primary and secondary public schools, especially those of us who finished before massive school desegregation became the rule rather than the exception, feel that all in all, it really wasn't so bad.

True, none of us, Black or White, got what we should have gotten. If you were Black, you probably got a good grounding in the humanities. If you were White, you had access, in most cases, to technical information. Regardless of the educational setting and/or bent, however, there is one thing most of us got or did not have driven out of us - "a healthy and/or harmonious spirit."

With the onslaught of massive school desegregation, the lack of a harmonious "spirit" highlights negative aspects of the institution of public education and, in some cases, the socity in general. The age-old problem of the "haves" versus the "have-nots," the cruddy state of primary and secondary education, and racism, "old versus new." Taking this list of problems and others into consideration, we feel that students and youth can, must, and will play an intricate part in deciding what "the course of the future will be." In an effort to establish a humane, just society and quality education for all students, won't you help "Bring a wholesome spirit into our schools"?

APPENDIX

THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION TRAINING INSTITUTE

Participant Reactions

The stated purpose of the Training Institute was to provide basic skills training in community organization and communications/intergroup relations and to introduce pertinent information and/or potential resources to a select group of high school and college students working in the area of school desegregation.

The Institute Evaluation Committee developed a three-part narative evaluation to test participant reactions to the Training Institute.

Three basic questions were asked:

(1) Why did you attend this Institute?

(2) What did you gain or learn from the Institute?

(3) What are your additional comments, criticisms, and/or suggestions concerning the Institute?

The participant reactions to the individual interviews were as follows:

Question: Why did you attend the Institute?

"When asked, I felt that I could get a lot from it. When I was told that it involved school desegregation, I was very interested."

"I felt that this would be a beneficial experience for me. I came with the expectation that I would be exposed to information and insights that would be helpful in solving the problems caused by desegregation in my community."

"I came because of the information I was sent. I was told that I would learn techniques for organizing in the community."

"I was asked to replace someone else; it was right after a shocking incident in my school which made me decide to come."

"My involvement in school depends on my knowledge of what school desegregation is about. I have a personal commitment to the students of my community and state. I wanted to gain new approaches, techniques, and ideas. I also wanted to find out what other people in other areas were doing and to share my experiences with them."

"There are a lot of problems at home. I came because of great interest. I wanted to learn how to deal with the problems we have and to learn (from other people) what problems I might be facing in the future."

"I was told that the session was on community organization and school desegregation. I wanted to know especially about community organization because I have been organizing at home. I hoped that by working in the community, I could somehow influence school desegregation. I also like to meet people."

"I felt that I could get a lot out of it."

"When I found out it was dealing with desegregation, I was very interested."

"My community needed to have someone come and see what other people are doing who have similar problems."

"I came to find out what was coming down and perhaps find ways to improve the situation at home regarding school desegregation and Students' Rights."

"I came because I felt I would learn something. I was excited about the resource people. I wanted to meet people."

"I wanted to meet students from different states and gather information."

"I came because I am involved in my community and school. I hoped to get valuable information and training in order to deal with my situation, that is, the problems of my community."

"It was a last minute decision. When I heard it concerned Black students, I decided to come."

Question: What did you gain or learn from the Institute?

"I learned how to get people together."

"I uncovered a whole new dimension of organizing. I gained even more than I had hoped. I met people whose heads were in the same place as mine and met geniuses in the field of dealing with people. I know now what positive direction of action I will take in my community."

"I have gained a lot and intend to put it to use."

"I gained a lot of insight -- insight to a better understanding of all things dealing with desegregation -- insight into ways of coping with these issues."

"I feel better since I've been here."

"I gained insight into ways of changing/improving conditions. I also learned more about some of the resources in the area of school desegregation."

"I have gained self-understanding and confidence that I'am right in a lot of things. I've gained determination and excellent knowledge of problems and how to deal with them."

"I've learned a lot about the different resource people. I've learned how to utilize role play and how to conduct group discussions. I've learned how to communicate with people."

"I've learned about the free lunch program which will be most helpful to me in my projects at home. I've learned of the different situations that exist in other schools and other states."

"I have gained added motivation to confront problems that I will be facing -- exposure to ideas, principles, and practices that I feel will greatly enhance what I'am trying to do. It showed me a new dimension -- what problems other people face."

"I've learned a lot about community organizing -- ways meetings should be conducted, skills on how to communicate. I've learned that many of our problems result from a lack of communication, the way we've been taught, and the different roles we've been thrown into. I've also learned that Blacks and Whites should try to relate."

"I have learned a lot of things at the session. I've learned how to communicate with other people. I plan to go home and utilize the things I have learned."

"I received a tremendous amount of information from the resource people. I also received a spiritual boost from meeting with people who share similar interests; who are really committed to doing something about their concerns.

Question: What are your additional comments, criticisms, and/or suggestions concerning the Institute?

"It seemed that the routine was too heavy. Throwing one resource person after another got to be too much - I was getting frustrated. Although I was getting all the facts, I didn't seem to be able to put them into working order in my mind. I believe that if we had had half the resource people, half the communications people, then return to the rest of the resource people and finish with the communications resources, it would have been less frustrating."

"Overall, I can't see anything wrong with the conference. It was near perfect. The program was flexible enough for everyone."

"My perceptions of people broadened having been with them. We handled all hassles like a family, therefore, the Institute showed sincerity, honesty, and the whole structure of the program was well-planned and flexible."

"Everyone was concerned about everyone else and the meetings were carried on sufficiently to get people to participate. Overall, I appreciate the whole program. It not only helped us with school problems, but also taught us the real need to form coalitions with Black and White students."

Conclusion:

It is the general feeling of the group that the program was helpful in that the objectives, for the most part, were met. The program was so well planned that it was easy for the group to adjust to the rate of learning. However, there were minor problems with extra-curricula activities coupled with the intensive pace, resulting in a general physical breakdown. This was later attributed to an oversight of responsibility on the part of the students.

As a family, not a group, it is felt that such programs provide a meaningful learning experience and we firmly recommend that it be continued.

INSTITUTE SCHEDULE

Sunday, August 15, 1971

12:00 noon - 7:00 p.m.	Registration of Participants
	Dinner
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Opening Session: 1) Housekeeping details 2) Review of the Schedule for the Institute 3) Formation of two Seminar Groups 4) Formation of Committees 5) Warm-Up Exercise
	Opening Address, Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Monday, August 16, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	General Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session I The Case History of the School Desegregation Movement - Julius Chambers Session II The Implications of the Segregated Academy Movement for the School Desegregation Movement - Kitty Terjen
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Reverse Groups for Session I and II
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon Break
2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.	Session I Analysis of the Institution of Public Education - Dr. Carlisle Holler 1) Framework 2) Purpose

2:00 p.m.	-	3:00 p.m.	Session II Analysis of the Institution of Public Education - Tom Keating 1) Framework 2) Funding
3:00 p.m.	-	3:30 p.m.	Break
3:30 p.m.	-	4:30 p.m.	Reverse Groups for Session I and II
4:30 p.m.	-	7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break/Recreation
7:00 p.m.	-	9:00 p.m.	The National/International, Regional, State and Local Implications of the School Desegregation Movement - Jean Fairfax
9:00 p.m.	-	9:30 p.m.	Wrap-Up Session

Tuesday, August 17

9:00 a.m.	-	9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
9:30 a.m.	-	10:30 a.m.	Session I The Effect and Impact of the Mass Media Upon Attitudinal Development - Paul Delaney Session II Government Programs in Education - ESAP, Title I - Mel Stephens, ESAP and John Pride, Title I
10:30 a.m.	-	11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m.	-	12:00 noon	Reverse Groups for Session I and II
12:00 noon	-	2:00 p.m.	Lunch Break/Recreation
2:00 p.m.	-	4:00 p.m.	The In-School Situation - Panel of Students
4:00 p.m.	-	7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break/Recreation

7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Private Organizations 1) Reaction to the In-School Situation 2) Organizations with regard to activities last year, and, if possible, giving some projections for this year. AFSC- Winifred Green NAACP Legal Defense Fund - Jean Fairfax Children's Foundation - Barbara Splain Atlanta Urban League - Tom Keating
9:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.	Wrap-Up Session

Wednesday, August 18, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session I Resources Indentification and Mobilization and the How-To-Do-It of Newspapers - David Abel, Dean Joseph Hendricks, Pat Watters Session II School Lunch Programs - Barbara Splain
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Reverse Groups for Session I and II
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch Break/Recreation - Planned Recreation Program
2:00 p.m. -	Mid-Week Break

Thursday, August 19, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
9:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Community Organization Skills and Techniques - Hayes Mizell, Andrew Young, Leon Hall, Andrew Marrisett

12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch Break/Recreation
2:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Speech/Discussion on Community Organization and Nonviolence as a Way of Life - A Strategy and Technique.
7:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	Dinner

Friday, August 20, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Community Organization Skills and Techniques - Andrew Marrisett, Leon Hall

Saturday, August 21, 1971

9:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Opening Session
10:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Field Trip
2:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Field Trip Follow-up - Joel Jacobson and Dorothy Cotton

Sunday, August 22, 1971

2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Lecture and Discussion of Eric Erickson's Seven States of Psycho-Social Development - Dr. Grace Scully
5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	You and Your Self Image - Dorothy Cotton

Monday, August 23, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
10:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Communications Skills - Dr. William Dufford, Moses Rabb, Connie Rowland

12:00 noon - 1:00 p.m.	Lunch
1:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Communications Follow-Up - William Dufford, Moses Rabb, Connie Rowland
2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.	Training in the Group Conversation Method - Dr. Rachel Dubois and Bernice Coffer
3:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break/Recreation
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Students Rights - Laughlin McDonald

Tuesday, August 24, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
9:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Morning Session Skills Practice in Relations to the Back Home Situation
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch Break
2:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.	General Session
3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Reading Period/Survey
5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Feedback from Skills Practice and/or Reading Session

Wednesday, August 25, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Wrap-Up Evaluation

SDP

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT

Newsletter

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Vol. I, no. II

AUGUST, 1971

STUDENT RIGHTS: The Student as Nigger?

Heretofore, the traditional method of the American public school system has been the principal as governing and final voice, the teacher as the container of all knowledge and the student as the humble reciever and believer in the American educational system.

Emphasis has only recently been placed on students' rights although student councils and student grievance committees have long since been in existence. These 'sounding boards' have usually been under the scrutiny of the faculty and administration giving the students only certain areas in which to govern themselves. Usually their decisions are then taken before a faculty advisory board before they can be enacted.

Now, with the emergence of desegregation and the changes it implies, it has become necessary that students become aware of their rights and responsibilities within the public school system. A broader knowledge of their rights should: (1) make them realize the function of the student within the total school environment, (2) make them more responsive to the legal means of solving problems, (3) provide them with the basis for eliminating and exposing unfair practices by teachers and principals.

Demonstration Schools

For a clearer definition of where student rights are and have been restricted by school officials, examples of incidents tend to give a clear and unbias picture of the students' lack of control over issues that directly affect his learning environment.

"In Grenado, Miss., dixie was played at half-time of the first football game and rebel flags were passed out." Racial slants like this make black kids feel more discriminated against than probably any thing more obvious like segregated clases and black asst. principals under white supervisory principals. The rebel flag has long represented to black people the stain of slavery and the confedracy. The land of Dixie has been the land of oppression and hardships for many blacks and therefore the display and music of the confederacy at public school activities adds insult to the old racial injuries done on black children.

Also, students have experienced expulsion from

school because they sat in the white reserved section of school buses. When blacks in Yalabusha County Mississippi boycotted segregated classes they were arrested for walking on the grass.

Cont. on page four

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS RELEVANT TO STANDARDS OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM

First Amendment Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Fourth Amendment The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Fifth Amendment No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Sixth Amendment In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of counsel for his defense.

Seventh Amendment In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Eighth Amendment Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

Ninth Amendment The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

The foregoing amendments were passed by Congress on September 25, 1789, and ratified by the States on December 15, 1791. The amendment which follows was drawn up after the Civil War and declared to have been ratified on July 28, 1868 in a proclamation by the Secretary of State.

Fourteenth Amendment All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Taken from: the appendix, ACADEMIC FREEDOM in the Secondary Schools. American Civil Liberties Union 156 Fifth Avenue, New York: New York.

Methods

SRC-SDP TRAINING SESSION

Realizing the need to help students initiate positive strategies and approaches to desegregation problems, the SDP has organized a ten day training session. It is hoped through the training institute, that students will cultivate skills and acquire information that will be useful in discerning desegregation problems in the student's home community. The conference is comprised of approximately fifty high school and college youth selected from the southeastern states as well as resource people from various agencies working with school desegregation The conference will be a recap of the school desegregation movement, an analysis of the institution of Public Education, Student Rights, the impact of the media on public opinion, agency resources, the philosophy of non-violence as a strategy and a way of life, and the development of basic community organizing skills and techniques. The conference will

Cont. on page four

Aid

additional information dept.

Student Rights Handbook for New York City, Student Rights Project, New York Civil Liberties Union, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Nentoff, Nat. "Why Students Want Their Constitutional Rights", Saturday Review May 22, 1971. p. 60-63, 73-74.

THE PUSHOUT — THE BLACK ADMINISTRATOR

The plight of the black administrator, as reported in our last newsletter, has definitely reached crisis level. Here are some specifics given by the NEA where black educators have been demoted.

St. James Parish, Louisianna--The principal of a formerly all-black high school has been made "assistant visiting teacher". His former high school is now a desegregated boys' high school, its name changed, and under the principalship of a white. The displaced principal has a master's degree and twenty-five tenure with the district.

Hinds County, Mississippi--A black principal, with twenty years' tenure, has been demoted to a classroom teaching post.

Okolona, Chicksaw County, Mississippi-- It is reported that the black co-principal at Okolona High School is co-principal in name only, disciplining only black students and keeping records of books, repairs, and buses (but not making bus assignments). This educator was called vice-principal last year until blacks complained and his title was changed. A white counselor was promoted to principal over the black principal, who has a M.A. and has been a principa in the system for fifteen years. The white principal earned the M.A. after the appointment. The black "co-principal" occupied last year a small office behind the storage room; this year he moved to the former counselor's office, which had previously been a ladies room. The white proncipal allegedly told him that he, the white, was the principal, that he would be willing to confer with the"co-principal," but that he would have the final word.

Claiborne Parish, Louisianna--The principal of the formerly all-black school (grades 1-12, enrollment 912) was demoted to the post of assistant principal when the school was desegregated. Although the demoted principal had been in his post for five years, he was replaced as principal by a white, who had served as principal for only three years in a school enrolling only ninety-nine students.

Taken from Report of NEA Task Force III. November 1970.

A STATEMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS. Preston Ewing, Jr. NAACP, Room 663, 53 West Jackson St., Chicago, Illinois 60604.

Ladd, Edward T. "Students Rights and Need for Change In School Laws." The Bulletin, 55 (Feb. '71) p.20-7.

These resourse materials can be obtained through the SDP Central Office at SRC, 5 Forsyth St. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

STUDENTS RIGHTS continued from page one
Not unique to Mississippi and Louisianna alone, black schools have been closed or changed to Jr. High Schools thereby forcing black students to transfer to all white schools and in the process forfeiting the achievement in sports and other extracurricular activities of previously all black schools.

This has been a mere sampling of the conditions under which children have had to endure for an education. According to the National Educational Assn. (from whom these facts were quoted) their task forces in several southern states found general situations existing in all sections of the Southeast.

In the last decade the court system has clarified the rights of secondary school students so that students are no longer perpetuated as second class citizens but are guaranteed full protection under the law. Within the last ten years federal and court cases have chapioned the establishment of the inherent rights not respected by school administrators and teachers. In the decision Tinker vs. Des Moines School District 393 US 503 (1969) the Supreme Court firmly established that a student was entitled to full protection of the U.S. Constitution. Along with In re Gault 387 US I (1967) which affirmed the rights of juveniles in criminal cases under the due process, youths have been granted the rights that they have been denied. Federal and state cases have established the rights of students to wear armbands, buttons and other paraphanalia as expressions of free speech.
Proper interpretation an enforcement of these rulings have been minimal. It can be understood that interpreting boundaries on student rights isamonumental task for school officials; but, it is a blatent violation against the U.S. constitution and the Bill of Rights to deny students their protection under the law.

METHODS, continued

run from Aug. 15-25 at Camp Fellowship, Cross Hill, South Carolina.

STUDENT ACTION CONFERENCE '71-72

The Student Action Conf. being held August 13-15 in Chapel Hill, N.C. is sponsored by the student gov't.'s within the University system of N.C. The conference will involve 300-400 North Carolinean Youth, both college and high school. The purpose of the conference is to organize three or four working coalitions around the most pertinent issues concerning students in North Carolina. The main topics of discussion being voter registration and student legal rights.

THE EDITORS WELCOME ANY COMMENTS CONCERNING THIS NEWSLETTER. ALL FUTURE NEWSLETTERS WILL INCLUDE ANY INFORMATION FROM INTERESTED PERSONS.

MURDELL VARNADO
LINDA HAY

~~BU~~ SDP

The School Reporter

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The Busing Controversy

.....Rolls On

The School Reporter

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DISRUPTION AVERTED IN OUACHITA

School Board, Court Agree With Bi-Racial Committee Plan

MONROE — A 12-man bi-racial committee, ordered formed by a federal court, developed a plan for Ouachita Parish schools that has prevented disruption of the system just before school opening and that will provide major repairs at two previously all-black facilities.

The committee's recommendations reached unanimously, were accepted almost unanimously by the school board and have been incorporated in federal court orders by U.S. Dist. Judge Edwin Hunter of Lake Charles.

In their report to Hunter, the committee said that "as men and women with a common interest at heart, we have discovered that we can meet at the barbaining table and get along with members of the opposite race and attempt to resolve our problems, particularly when a sincere effort is made with no ulterior or selfish motives."

No Changes

These were the bi-racial committee's recommendations—That there be no disruptions for any reasons in the scheduled Aug. 30 school opening. To this end, the committee asked, and the court agreed, that no changes would be made in existing attendance zones or grade structures under the desegregation plan the system is now using.

Committeemen deemed it "extremely unwise and unnecessary" to slow the school opening for any reason.

"Therefore, we respectfully request that whatever decision the court reaches. the educational program will be given first priority," the report said, adding that "education, not politics, nor allegiance to any group should be our sole consideration in reaching decisions involving the young people of Ouachita Parish."

— That Richwood High and Swayze Elementary schools be refurnished at a cost of $128,-590.

To finance repairs at two formerly black schools, the board voted to transfer some building funds from other schools and to use some unallocated funds.

Remodeling of the old Swayze building, at a cost of $8,590, will be used for additional restroom facilities, chairs, desks, waterfountains, plus repairs to ceilings, windows, doors, floors and cafeteria facilities.

A $100,000 addition will replace a frame building the school has been using for classes.

At Richwood, work costing approximately $20,000 will include some of the same work as at Swayze, enlargement of classroom space with addition of two temporary buildings and construction of a 1,000-seat bleacher in time for Sept. 24 opening of football season.

Improved Physical Conditions

"The committee is of the opinion that white students zoned into Swayze and Richwood zones will more likely attend these schools when physical conditions are improved," the report said.

— That the board look toward building a new facility for Richwood High and use the present building for junior high school.

— That the board tap additional tax revenue necessary to maintain a quality educational program.

"Much of Ouachita's problems can be attributed to a lack of local funds available for operation of its schools," the committee report said, emphasizing that the parish school tax levy is 12 mills, only half of the 24 allowed under state law.

"A school system of 33 schools and approximately 18,000 students cannot maintain a quality program of education with such limited revenues."

The need for more school taxes is "a matter of grave concern and one which should be brought to the attention of the citizens of Ouachita Parish."

— That students living in the defunct Booker T. Washington School zone be allowed the option of attending parish schools instead of being frozen into the Monroe City School System. This would allow first and second graders from predominantly black areas to attend parish schools. They were barred from

(Please Turn to Page 4)

MONROE CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM

Compromise Deseg Plan Adopted

MONROE — The first compromise desegregation plan developed in voluntary negotiations locally has been put into effect in the Monroe City School System.

School officials and bi-racial committeemen believed the compromise to be a first step toward local solution of desegregation problems. School board members believed it to be a better system than they could have won in a court battle.

"We believe that a significant first has been achieved in resolution of public school desegregation problems," said Ouachita Black Citizen's Council President A.G. Facen, who served on the bi-racial committe that worked on the plan.

"The plan is not a pure neighborhood school plan but it was felt that it was as close to a neighborhood concept as was possible under court decisions, and certainly a better solution for the entire community than would result from further orders of the court," the board said in a statement.

Pledging themselves to operate under the plan's guidelines, board members said, "We feel that the plan is a workable plan and that we can now turn away from the courts to the job of providing your children with the quality education to which they are entitled."

Facen said he hoped the compromise was the forerunner of a new approach to desegregation problems.

"I am hopeful that our agreement signals a new era of resolution of desegregation problems. We can go forward together — not against each other — in the schools and outside the courts," he said.

"We believe the school board fully intends to exercise the kind of moral leadership we have so long awaited," said Facen.

Plaintiff's attorney Paul Henry Kidd first approached the school board with the modified neighborhood school plan. Details were based out by a six-member bi-racial committee.

Then the school board and ultimately U.S. Dist. Judge Ben C. Dawkins stamped their approval.

The plan reinstates Carroll High School as a secondary school. Carroll had been converted to a 9th grade center under last year's court order. Some blacks and some public officials had been chagrined at the destruction of the city's only former black high school.

Clark and Lincoln elementary schools, two majority black facilities, have been developed as model schools under the plan. The two schools will not be subject to racial quotas.

Two elementary schools, Clara Hall and Carver, will remain under last year's desegregation plan.

In all other schools, students living within a mile radius of a school will be given priority in attending that school. Students outside the radius will attend the next nearest school where their race is in the minority.

However, for this year, the plaintiffs and the school board agreed to desegregate schools according to a zone map drawn up by the bi-racial committe. The 70:30 ratio was approximated in drawing up the map zones.

Judge Dawkins, said in his court order the 70:30 ratio was set up to assure "good faith compliance with desegregation of the schools.

"If the board is determined not to follow the good faith policy of desegregation, the plan incorporating the mile radius will be invoked," the judge said.

Failure to achieve the ratio by itself would not constitute the school board's lack of good faith, Dawkins said.

The school board, conscious of the good faith clause, has already called for an investigation of allegations that some students are registered in the wrong zones. Students who have

(Please Turn to Page 4)

FIRST PERFORMANCE CONTRACTS

Caddo Enters Training Pact With Private Industry

Teacher training programs are now under way in Caddo Parish schools for the parish's first performance contracts, authorized by the School Board July 21, according to Superintendent Donald L. Kennedy.

Under a performance contract, a private industry guarantees performance at the end of a certain period of time, collecting on its contract in keeping with the performance level of pupils at the end of the specified time. In Caddo Parish the contracts became effective at the opening of schools this month, with the contractor to collect at the end of the school year.

When the School Board first authorized negotiations for the contracts in July, Thiokol Chemical Co. was to receive the contract for motivational training, with the contract price not to exceed $50,000.

Quality Education Development Co. (QED) was to get the contract for the math and reading program, with QED fees not to exceed $190,795. Both the motivational training and reading and math projects are federally financed under Title I programs.

The board also contracted with Thiokol to teach three vocational-technical courses — auto mechanics, sheet metal and refrigeration and heating — at the Caddo Career Center with the contract price not to exceed $101,274. This is the only project to be financed from the general budget.

Contract Switch

However, the first of this month the Caddo School Board announced the termination of its contract with QED, stating that the company is reorganizing and its "interest in performance contracting is diminishing."

The board has now agreed to hire Thiokol to take over the QED portion contracts, which in turn will farm out the program to another company.

According to Kennedy, the number of pupils participating in the programs will be limited to 1,130 Title I (educationally deprived) children from all grade levels in math and reading; 250 Title I high school students in motivational training; and 160 high school juniors and sniors in the vo-tech program.

The math-reading program is designed to bring the participating pupils up one year in achievement, Kennedy said. The motivational program is designed to improve school attendance, inducing students to reach higher achievement levels in school and raising their educational aspirations, he said.

Performance contractors are paid per student in accordance with the level that student reaches at the end of the year.

For example, in the vo-tech program, the fee Thiokol receives per student will range from 0 — if the student fails to achieve a helper level — to $925 for a student who graduates.

Varied pay scales have been set in the motivational training area. Thiokol would receive nothing for a student attending school only 80 per cent of the time. If the student goes to class every day, the firm receives $210 for that student. The pay scale for retention runs from 0 to $120 per student, with the company receiving nothing for retaining only 80 per cent of the students and $120 per student if there are no dropouts during the year.

School Board Protected

According to Kennedy, the school board is financially protected since the maximum amount a firm can collect is stated in the contract. Also, programs are to be graded by an independent evaluator — agreed on by both the school board and contractor — to prevent "teaching to the test," in other words, teaching in such a manner that students are practically assured of passing tests and attaining guaranteed performance levels.

This type of instruction reportedly was found in the first company contracted by the Texarkana, Ark., school system when it entered performance contracting about three years ago. The Texarkana, Ark. schools were the first in nation to use performance contracts, which marked the entry of private industry into the field of public education. The contract with the firm in question was not renewed and subsequently awarded to another.

"I am aware that the NEA (National Education Assn.) and AFT (American Federation of Teachers) have expressed either opposition or extreme caution in the area of performance contracting," Kennedy said.

"However, I feel a school system this size should not take the experience of another system or the opinion of an organization in determining if performance contracting law is worthwhile procedure," said the superintendent. "I feel it is incumbent on a school system this size to gain as much as possible from business and industry in terms of effective instructional techniques."

Contractors Were Advised

Kennedy said all potential contractors were advised of the school system's intentions to "learn from them in order that we might better our program," adding that Thiokol is aware that the school system plans to take over the programs in two or three years.

"We know that we can perform this service at less cost. The question is whether or not we can gain the same quality of achievement," Kennedy said, pointing out that although the cost is greater under per-

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DOWN JEFFERSON WAY WHERE

Bob Costley Rides the Buses

By BOB COSTLEY

Last week, this reporter was on assignment to cover the busing puzzle in Jefferson Parish. I decided that in order to get the feel of the mood of parents, guardians, students and interested taxpayers in this growing community on the most controversial issue to beset the community since the school integration "problem" first loomed into view a decade or so ago, I took to the busses to query bus riders on this question as they criss-crossed their community.

After one and a half hour, approximately 50 stops, using two transfers and button-holing a half dozen "captive interviewers," my little note pad was crammed full of, "now in my humble opinion," "well as I see it," lets look at it this way," and do you really want to know what I think?"

Answers to the questions, "how do you see this school busing problem here?" I had enough personal opinion — and muddled thinking — to make the Pentagon Paper pale comparison. The most interesting answers came from a L. O. L., (Little Old Lady), who confessed to having "educated" seven sons and daughters and 11 grandchildren, "right here in Jefferson Parish." She was riding the bus to "relax and think a spell." So, time and distance was no barrier to our conversation.

Three-Point Plan

She had three alternatives to current "crisis".

1. "Banish all "religious" and private schools and have only public and elementary and high schools.

2. "Send the children to school in their neighborhood for half a day, and bus them out for the other half. This way "those that do and them that don't want busing will both have a point."

3. "This was the most comical and radical, "ban all elementary and high schools — religious and public — for five years, and let parent stay home and "rear" and teach their "chirin" themselves!"

As we lurched along on our "modern" transportation vehicle, I started giving my riding companions, three point plan some serious considerations. "Let's explore point one. What exactly would happen if all private and parochial schools were eliminated? Two things immediately came to mind. One, those parents who do send their children to the public schools would find themselves richer than they are." Two, the Catholic Church and other denominations are presently in a financial bind trying to support both church and "quality" education, would find their coffers rising to their "pre-crisis level with no loss of parishioners who would find it a lot easier to give "once" for their salvation-right in the collection plate. Point two, Half day busing is not uncommon to the American educational system. Right here in Louisiana, students are bused from black to white schools and vice-versa every day to take one or two classes not offered in their "home" school.

A Way of Life

This plan has been a "way of life" for over 1,000 elementary and high school students in the city and county of Los Angeles for a decade! This plan does have precedence. Point three, Suppose every parent or guardian that had school-age children were "court-ordered" to educate their own child? How many of us would be equal to the task? To hear many "adult" talk about the "quality of education" being impaored if their children were bused out of their neighborhood, one would think that every parent was a qualified Ph.D. in education and could do a bang-up job at home, far exceeding the teachers and administrators in their schools.

You see, what that bright, little lady was really saying was this, if people think "busing" is the central and only issue in this controversy, they are only trying to close their eyes and delude themselves to what is truly in their hearts. White parents fear "mongrelization" and black parents fear a return to white domination and influence if their children are allowed to "mix" in the participation of one of our most basic American rights and traditions, free-relatively-public education.

In the Name of Quality Education

True, we are all concerned, or should be, with the quality of, education our heirs and future leaders receive. Busing is as American as mom, apple pie, and violence! Most American black children in the south have "bussed" as long as there have been schools, and the issue has always been for reasons of "quality" education. In the "old days" it was done to keep the "quality" of white education from being "contaminated" by black input.

That issue hasn't changed; it has merely softened. Harry Golden, the great journalist said it best I think, when he was asked to comment on integration. "Whites and blacks have no trouble when they stand in line together, — bank windows, food stamps lines, grocery store lines —, it's when they have to sit together, — busses, schools, church, courts, that's when the trouble start."

Caddo Enters Pact

(From Page 2)

formance contracting — particularly regarding the vo-tech program on which the school system will spend some $50,000 more than it would for a conventional program — all materials and tools furnished by the company becomes the property of the school board when it takes control of the programs.

Teachers are selected for training from the present school staffs and instructed by the company. All extra materials needed for new methods of instructing students are furnished by the firm.

Thiokol Chemical Co. also has a multi-million dollar contract with the Dallas school system for operation of the entire vo-tech program in that district.

Director Bryant (right) with Field Officer .... The Key Is Cooperation

New Center Set Up to Help Displaced Teachers Find Jobs

Charles E. Bryant, director of Louisiana Training Coordination Center in Baton Rouge, is a great believer in cooperation. As Mr. Bryant tells it, "its the key to success."

The success story the Southern University staffer is talking about is the two-month old center founded to help the state's displaced teachers help themselves find jobs. Funded by a department of Health, Education and Welfare grant, the center concentrates on finding jobs for teachers caught up in the two-pronged dilemma of the dismantling of the Louisiana's dual school system and one of the tightest economic squeezes ever to hit the nation.

How the program works is really the touchstone of Mr. Bryant's tenet on the magic of cooperation. True, the center was established to fulfill a need to place the displaced teacher. But how does a jobless teacher in, say, St. Landry Parish know that an opening exists in East Baton Rouge Parish just an hour's drive away? Mr. Bryant finds school systems, teach organizations, placement services and employment agencies the most worthy allies in his quest to collect data on the displaced educator. Result: when a job opening is made known to the center, a concerted effort goes into play resulting in the matching of information on file to find the educator best suited for the job word is quickly flashed to the prospective employee and employer.

That is not to say that the center spends all its efforts in placing teachers in classroom positions. The death of the dual school system eliminates duplication in many areas of the school system. One principal now operates where two principals used to work. And in some cases one school now suffices where two once operated. So because teaching jobs are drying up the center looks in places other than classrooms for jobs for the displaced educator. Federally funded programs are one of the center's happy hunting grounds for the displaced, head-start, migrant education, and emergency school assistance programs lend hope to displaced teachers.

Three Louisiana educators run the program. Headed by Mr. Bryant, the other coordinators include Eugene Limar, a former teacher at Baton Rouge's Broadmoor High who is program field officer, and an administrative assistant.

If the time factor is any yardstick of measurement against accomplishments, then Mr. Bryant has something to crow about. Since the Center set up shop June 15 over 22 educators found new jobs through the center's efforts.

Not all teachers find exactly what they are seeking at the center. Many take advantage of the tight job market in the education business and go back to school for further study. The center also helps in this respect, says Mr. Bryant.

Mr. Bryant showers plenty of his plaudits on school superintendents across the state. Several superintendents voluntarily feed information to the center concerning jobs and available manpower in their parish.

The center serves as a receptacle for information on vacancies and an unemployed teacher in a given parish. The center then goes to work matching available manpower against vacancies. Some of the reports include specific vacancies as well as teachers one system is unable to place. The center then moves into action providing necessary counselling and guidance. A superintendent with a vacancy soon receives a list from the center with the names of teachers who could possibly fill the position. And the jobless may not exist in the teachers home parish, but teachers are part of this mobile society, and they soon set up shop where employment can be found.

That the center leaves no stone unturned in finding jobs for the jobless educator is seen in the Center's efforts to tap a somewhat unused source of material. Many teachers although they have never before had to fall back on this resource, are certified in areas where school boards have still to develop precise disciplines and as such no projections exist. What the center is doing in this area is to work in conjunction with colleges, universities, the State Department of Education in studying areas of critical educational shortage in search of programs offering advanced degrees in these critical areas.

The center fingers these programs for the jobless teacher. Soon recruiters from various educational institutions interview teacher-applicants at the Center in addition to accepting applications for existing programs.

Most programs provide stipends, grants, scholarships or loans for those who qualify. Thus, the new educational approach partly rests on the belief that future educational demands in the state will place a high premium on these newly trained teachers in their new areas of competence.

The Center is always looking for new sources to tap for employment for the jobless educator. The latest effort has been concentrated on state and municipal authorities. For example, persons trained in recreation and physical education have the necessary qualifications for city parks recreational programs. And former business teachers are made available for administrative employment.

Mr. Bryant believes that the program has a place in helping to carve the future of the state. As he says, "the success of the program is dependent on the continued spirit of cooperation on the part of those who want to help Louisiana grow by providing employment opportunities for those teachers, who if given a chance, can contribute to that growth."

Mr. Bryant still has an abiding faith in the magic of cooperate venture as the key to success.

TRI-PARISH PROGRAM

Promotes Better Understanding Among Parents

Since March over 800 parents of school age children in East Baton Rouge, Tangipahoa, and St. Helena Parishes have participated in a program aimed at improving their understanding of themselves and those with whom they interact.

All of these parishes are currently in the process of dismantling dual school systems. Opening lines of communication between parents of different races is needed if a unitary school system is to succeed.

It was with this fact in mind, that Dr. Raymond Floyd of Southern University in conjunction with Dr. Warren Fortenberry of Southeastern Louisiana University, and Dr. Don Glad of Louisiana State University developed the Tri-Parish Consortium.

"The intent of this progam," explains Dr. Floyd, "is to promote parent involvement in the schools their children attend and to provide opportunities for parents to look with depth at the particular circumstances which hinder the progress of a struggling unitary school system." Floyd hoped that through this program, parents would become active agents for educational advancement and thus enhance the overall educational process of their particular school system.

Final Phase

As the Consortium enters its final phase, Dr. Floyd is confident that his hopes have been fulfilled. Parents who had not previously participated are now actively involved in the education process.

"The key to success of any parent involvement program," says Dr. Floyd, "is maximum participation by each parent." To insure this, the program was implemented in several phases reaching a limited number of parents in each phase. There have been a total of nine phases, three in each parish, and plans are now being finalized for a limited last phase in Tangipahoa and East Baton Rouge Parishes.

Parents who participate in this program are asked to come together one night a week for five consecutive weeks. Each program includes a presentation by an individual or a panel followed by a discussion period, where parents are divided into several small groups led by a trained counsellor.

Dr. Glad was responsible for planning and conducting a special training session for the counsellors. He reports: "Counsellors utilized in this program were drawn from all walks of life, ranging from the school superintendent in Tangipahoa Parish to a bank vice-president in Baton Rouge."

The topics discussed at these sessions include:

1) "Why We Need To Know Each Other," presented by a school principal.

2) "Growing Up Different," presented by a sociologist or psycologist.

3) "We Can Make It If You Will Help Us," presented by a panel of students.

4) "We Listen, But Do We Always Hear?" presented by a school guidance counsellor.

The fifth program in each series is devoted to evaluation. Participants are asked to present their candid feelings and opinions. "Any program demanding so much involvement by participants would be lacking if these participants could not offer valuable feed back," explains Floyd.

In most cases parents who participated wanted to continue meeting together as a group. To assist them, the Consortuim has provided one counsellor to work with the group for four follow-up sessions. After that period the groups are left totally on their own.

At present, Dr. Floyd reports that several groups are still meeting and working together.

Parents Inspect Schools

During this summer, some parents from Hammond in Tangipahoa Parish decided to inspect the schools in their area to see if they would be ready for returning students. Through their inspection they learned that two schools were unfit for returning students. They then contacted the school superintendent who received them very favorable and saw to it that needed repairs were made to the schools in question.

Inspired by their success they have decided to continue to meet through the current school year and to make periodic visits to the schools.

A student panel addressing a group of parents from the Zachary area in East Baton Rouge Parish expressed their displeasure of the discontinuation of the annual Junior-Senior Prom. Parents from that group have pledged that there will be a Junior-Senior Prom in Zachary this year. They plan to work with school officials and serve as chaperons to see that their promise is fulfilled.

Two other Baton Rouge groups, one from the Baton Rouge High area and the other from Valley Park, are currently developing parent involvement programs of their own. They plan to recruit more parents and they themselves will conduct a similar program aimed at improving understanding and opening levels of communication between parents of different races.

Floyd believes the results speak for the success of this program. "When we began no one anticipated the degree of success we have achieved. Now it is up to Washington to evaluate and hopefully they will send funds for another year of operation."

"If we are refunded," explains Dr. Floyd, "we will probably follow the same format; however, there are a few new approaches I would like to try. In the current program, parents in any one phase came from as many as eight or ten different schools. I'd like to try a phase with parents from just one or possibly two schools."

Whatever approach is applied, we can be sure that the Tri-Parish Consortium will have a significant effect on the parents who participate.

IN EAST FELICIANA

School Bd. Mulls Over 'Requests' From Local Education Assn. Chapter

CLINTON: The East Feliciana Parish Education Association, the local arm of the National Education Association, is trying to iron out its problems with the parish school board in an attempt "to resolve our greivances without going to court."

Lionel Johnson, EFPSB Chairman, said his group presented a list of requests to the East Feliciana School Board for action. Heading the list is an item to hire a black assistant principal for Clinton High School. The Board agreed to the request with the stipulation that the assistant principal hired would be responsible for both Clinton Junior High and Clinton Senior High Schools. The Board plans to consolidate both schools shortly.

The local education association group expressed belief that the East Feliciana School Board will have to do more towards achieving a truly unitary school system, says Mr. Johnson. The group is also encouraged with the fact that the board has shown good faith by agreeing to most of the EFPEA requests.

Closed Session

But while Mr. Johnson and his group were elated over the board's agreement to hire a black assistant principal, the board met in closed session and appointed a white principal for Clinton Junior High. Mr. Johnson is upset because, "blacks were not given a chance to apply for this job." We were all under the impression that this position would not be filled since the schools were to be consolidated.

Both Clinton Junior and Senior High Schools are over 75 per cent black.

Another bone of contention in the East Feliciana school controversy is the minimum standards program. The education association local chapter requested a meeting of parents, teachers and administrators to see what could be done about the program.

What triggered this request was that students in grades one through three were given a test at the end of the spring semester to measure accomplishments and assist in determining whether a child gets promoted. When some failed the test, some parents balked at the program saying that their children made passing grades throughout the school year, and they could not agree with a whole years' work being placed on the line for one final exam.

The directive to hold this meeting came from the school board to the school superintendent M. New Williams.

Williams was also directed to better acquaint principals with tact and discreet means for handling problems with students and parents.

Balks at Request

The board called "unnecessary" a request from the education group to provide for equal opportunity for blacks in filling administrative positions in the school system. The board contends that this is the existing policy.

A request to hire a laison person to work with public relations connected with the federal program was termed "impossible" at the present time by the board unless more funds were forthcoming from the federal government to foot the bill.

But the spectre of a court battle over the final school policies hangs heavily over East Feliciana — at least in some quarters. One member of the education association group feels that the superintendent is trying to delay implementation because he (the superintendent) feels that we are going to court eventually, so there isn't any reason to comply with agreements worked out between the education group and the school board.

Johnson looks at the future with stark resignation and reality. "We do not want to go to court. We would prefer to resolve our greivances among ourselves. But, of course, if solutions are not found we will be forced to seek relief from the courts."

Monroe City Plan Is Adopted

(From Page 2)

given false addresses will be registered in the proper school and zone.

Board members also commended the bi-racial committee for their work on the compromise.

"The committee deserves much credit and the school board is certainly appreciative of the untiring efforts made by all the members of this committee to solve these most crucial problems of our community," they said.

School Board, Court

(From Page 2)

parish schools last year.

Board Member Reduction

Further, the bi-racial committee endorsed the reduction of the school board by reapportionment. Reduction from a 19-member board "will serve as an ameliorating factor in better management and operation of the parish schools in the future.

"This mentioned because Ouachita has the largest constituted board in Louisiana, and this could possibly lend itself to provincialism," the report said.

Supt. J.O. Lancaster said the bi-racial committee's work had freed him and his staff to attend to providing quality education.

"It's much easier to devote vast time and energy to educational programs than going over maps, census figures and attendance zones to satisfy federal courts," Lancaster said.

Although no action on the report was necessary, the board voted to accept the report and commend the committee for its work.

Board President William Norris III thanked the committee for "labor of love, and I think 18,000 school children will appreciate your work."

Only weeks before, the school board had refused to negotiate with plaintiffs through a bi-racial committee. Members felt the plaintiffs had broken faith when they filed a motion for further relief in the desegregation case before negotiations had begun.

Louisiana Council on Human Relations
7986 Scenic Highway,
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

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Baton Rouge, La.

SDP

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

O.M.B. NO. 51-571027
APPROVAL EXPIRES: 6/30/72

FOR U.S.O.E. USE ONLY

PROJECT NUMBER

GRANT NUMBER

APPLICATION FOR ASSISTANCE UNDER THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM - COMMUNITY GROUP, AS AMENDED AND REVISED UNDER CONTINUING RESOLUTION

SECTION I - APPLICANT INFORMATION

1. NAME OF APPLICANT ORGANIZATION The South Carolina Education Association		2. TELEPHONE AREA CODE NUMBER 803 722 6553		
		3. ADDRESS NUMBER AND STREET 421 Zimalcrest Drive, Columbia, S.C. 29210		
4. CITY Columbia	5. STATE S. C.	6. ZIP CODE 29210	7. COUNTY Richland	8. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT II
9. NAME OF AGENCY CONTACT PERSON Dr. Carlos W. Gibbons		10. TELEPHONE AREA CODE 803	NUMBER 772 6553	

11. FEDERAL FUNDS REQUESTED	12. PERIOD OF PROPOSED PROJECT						
	STARTING DATE			ENDING DATE			APPLICANT MUST REVIEW AND SIGN THE STATEMENT OF ASSURANCES.
$52,729	MONTH	DAY	YEAR	MONTH	DAY	YEAR	APPLICANT MUST ATTACH A COPY OF DESEGREGATION PLAN BEING SUPPORTED OR A DESCRIPTION OF THE PLAN.
	Nov.	1	1971	Nov.	1	1972	

13. PRINT OR TYPE NAME OF AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE	14. SIGNATURE OF AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE	15. DATE
Dr. Carlos W. Gibbons		Sept. 23, 1971

16. GIVE NAME, ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE NUMBER OF LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCY(IES) WHOSE DESEGREGATION PLAN IS BEING SUPPORTED BY THIS PROJECT.

This project will deal with students in all South Carolina high schools and will work with student councils and other school and community and professional groups to improve relationships and enhance educational opportunities through student input into policies, regulations, curriculum, etc.

SECTION II - REVIEW BY OTHER AGENCIES

(These items will be completed after the project has been received in the Regional Office.)

REVIEW BY THE LOCAL EDUCATION AGENCY

1. THIS APPLICATION FOR EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY A DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE LOCAL EDUCATION AGENCY ☐ NO COMMENT ☐ COMMENTS ATTACHED

2. PRINT OR TYPE NAME AND TITLE OF LEA REPRESENTATIVE	3. SIGNATURE OF REPRESENTATIVE	4. DATE

REVIEW BY THE STATE EDUCATION AGENCY

5. THIS APPLICATION FOR EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY A DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICER. ☐ NO COMMENT ☐ COMMENTS ATTACHED

6. PRINT OR TYPE NAME OF CSSO OR REPRESENTATIVE	7. SIGNATURE OF CSSO OR REPRESENTATIVE	8. DATE
9. TITLE OF CSSO OR REPRESENTATIVE		

CLEARANCE BY THE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

10. THIS APPLICATION FOR EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY A DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GOVERNOR.

☐ NO COMMENT ☐ COMMENTS ATTACHED

11. PRINT OR TYPE NAME OF GOVERNOR OR REPRESENTATIVE	12. SIGNATURE OF GOVERNOR OR REPRESENTATIVE	13. DATE

SUBMIT THIS FORM IN 10 COPIES. SIGN ORIGINAL ONLY.

SECTION III - BI-RACIAL OR MULTI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEES

1. ENTER NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF EACH CATEGORY SERVING ON THE BI-RACIAL OR MULTI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEES.

WHITE *(other than Spanish-surnamed)*	SPANISH-SURNAMED	NEGRO	AMERICAN INDIAN	ORIENTAL	TOTAL
12		7			19

2. ATTACH LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE BI-RACIAL OR MULTI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE. INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION FOR EACH MEMBER: NAME, ADDRESS, RACE, ORGANIZATION BY WHOM SELECTED, AND WHETHER THE MEMBERS ARE PARENTS OF CHILDREN DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY THE DESEGREGATION PLAN. *(The sum of each racial/ethnic group should equal the racial/ethnic breakdown of Section III-1.)*

3. WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THIS COMMUNITY PROJECT ADVISORY COMMITTEE AND THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF THE LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCY?

See attached proposal

ATTACH COMMENTS OF ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THIS APPLICATION. NO LATER THAN 30 DAYS AFTER APPROVAL OF THIS APPLICATION, A STUDENT ADVISORY COMMITTEE SHOULD BE FORMED FROM SECONDARY GRADE STUDENTS FROM THE DISTRICTS AFFECTED BY THE PROJECT. THIS COMMITTEE SHOULD BE COMPOSED OF EQUAL NUMBERS OF EACH SIGNIFICANT MINORITY AND NON-MINORITY GROUP IN THE AFFECTED DISTRICT.

SECTION IV - PROJECT NARRATIVE

DESCRIBE YOUR PROBLEMS AND ACTIVITIES WITH RELEVANCE TO MEETING SPECIAL NEEDS INCIDENT TO DESEGREGATION. EACH ACTIVITY FOR WHICH YOU ARE REQUESTING FUNDS MUST RELATE TO A MAJOR CATEGORY IN THE PROGRAM ACTIVITY BUDGET. (Section V) *(Limit total program description to no more than 10 pages.)*

SAMPLE FORMAT ONLY
(Use separate sheets.)

Format to be used for each problem addressed is as follows:

COLUMN I	COLUMN II
PROBLEM ADDRESSED *(explain in detail)*	ACTIVITY TO BE UNDERTAKEN TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM AND HOW YOU WILL MEASURE PROGRESS. EXPLAIN HOW THE ACTIVITY SUPPORTS THE DESEGREGATION PLAN. INDICATE THE CRITERIA BY WHICH STAFF ARE TO BE SELECTED. OUTLINE THE MAJOR STAGES INVOLVED IN THE PROJECT AND ESTIMATED DATES FOR THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENT. INCLUDE A DESCRIPTION OF THE MECHANISM TO BE USED TO INFORM THE COMMUNITY. DESCRIBE THE ORGANIZATION'S EXPERIENCE RELEVANT TO THIS ACTIVITY
see attached	

SECTION V - BUDGET

(Attach detailed budget explanation for each activity. See instructions.)

COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING BUDGET ITEMIZATION.

CATEGORY	AMOUNT	CATEGORY	AMOUNT
1. EMPLOYEE SALARIES, SERVICES AND BENEFITS	$ 37,044.00	6. EQUIPMENT PURCHASE	$ 850.00
2. TRAVEL AND PER DIEM	6,535.00	7. CONTRACTED SERVICES	500.00
3. OFFICE SUPPLIES AND MATERIALS	1,550.00	8. OTHER COSTS *(specify)* communications and printing	2,250.00
4. FACILITIES RENTAL	1,000.00	projects and activities	3,000.00
5. EQUIPMENT RENTAL		9. *TOTAL FEDERAL FUNDS REQUESTED (sum of lines 1 through 8)*	$ 52,729.00

NAME OF APPLICANT ORGANIZATION

SECTION VI - CERTIFICATION OF ACCOUNTING SYSTEM

A. *(To be used when certification is by a public financial officer.)*

As chief financial officer of The South Carolina Education Association
NAME OF EMPLOYING OFFICE

I am responsible for providing financial services to The South Carolina Education Association
NAME OF APPLICANT ORGANIZATION

I hereby certify that the accounting system established for this agency has internal controls adequate to safeguard its assets, check the accuracy and reliability of its accounting data, promote operating efficiency, and encourage compliance with prescribed management policies and fiscal requirements.

B. *(To be used when a CPA or other duly licensed independent accountant furnishes the certification.)*

I am a certified (or duly licensed) public accountant and have been engaged to examine and report on the accounting system of _____
NAME OF APPLICANT ORGANIZATION

I have reviewed this agency's accounting system and I hereby certify that, in my opinion, it includes internal controls adequate to safeguard its assets, check the accuracy and reliability of its accounting data, promote operating efficiency, and encourage compliance with prescribed management policies and fiscal requirements.

TYPE OR PRINT NAME	TITLE	DATE
Dr. Carlos W. Gibbons	Executive Secretary	Sept. 22, 1971

ADDRESS *(number, street, city, State, and ZIP code)*	SIGNATURE
421 Zimalcrest Drive Columbia, S. C. 29210	

The Applicant Hereby Assures the Commissioner that:

A. Federal funds made available under the program for any fiscal year will be so used as to supplement and, to the extent practical, increase the level of funds that would, in the absence of such Federal funds, be available to the applicant from non-Federal sources for purposes which meet the requirements of the program, and in no case to supplant such funds.

B. A reasonable effort is being made to utilize other Federal funds available for meeting the needs of children.

Attach a list of other Federal funds being utilized, or efforts being made to utilize other Federal funds.

C. The applicant (1) has fully disclosed in this application any transfer after May 27, 1968, of property or services to or for the benefit of a nonpublic school or school system (or a person intending to establish or operate a nonpublic school or school system), in which transfer it has engaged directly or indirectly; and (2) will not, after the date of this application, engage directly or indirectly in any transfer of property or services to or for the benefit of a nonpublic school or school system which practices discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin (or a person intending to establish or operate such a school or school system), and will take all steps within its authority to insure that its property or services do not benefit such a school, school system, or person.

Attach a list of the names and addresses of any nonpublic school or school system (or person intending to establish or operate such a school or school system) to which the applicant has transferred property or services since May 27, 1968, a description of the property or services involved and the compensation received therefor, and the actual or estimated value of such property or services.

D. The applicant will have published in a local newspaper of general circulation the terms and provisions of each project approved by the Commissioner with thirty days of such approval, or will have published in a local newspaper of general circulation, within thirty days of such approval, pertinent information as to the manner in which, and the place at which, the terms and provisions of such approved project are made reasonably available to the public.

E. The applicant will complete and submit to the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, by October 15, 1971, or such other time as may be determined by that Office, an evaluation report on a form to be furnished by that Office.

F. The applicant will furnish to the Commissioner such additional information as he may deem necessary for the administration of the program.

G. The applicant, if this application is for a grant, is a legally recognized public or private non-profit agency, organization, or institution (other than a local educational agency); or the applicant, if this application is for a contract, is a legally recognized public or private agency, institution, or organization.

(Attach copy of corporate charter, by-laws or similar document.)

H. The applicant will make an annual report and such other reports to the U.S. Office of Education in such form and containing such information, as may be reasonably necessary to enable the U.S. Office of Education to perform its duties under this authority, including information relating to the educational achievement of students participating in those programs, and will keep such records and afford such access thereto as the U.S. Office of Education may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports.

I. The applicant will undergo and cooperate with an evaluation conducted by the Commissioner or by an organization, agency, or institution selected and approved by him, of any project assisted under the program.

J. The applicant is familiar with, and will comply with the provisions of, all regulations, grant or contract terms, conditions, and requirements applicable to the program.

K. Federal funds made available under the program will not be used by sectarian institutions of religious worship, or in connection with any part of a school or Department of Divinity. The term "school or Department of Divinity" means an institution or a department or branch of an institution whose program is specifically for the education of students to prepare them to become ministers of religion or to enter upon some other religious vocation, or to prepare them to teach theological subjects.

L. The applicant does not have available adequate resources to contribute to the costs of the project described in this application, other than those listed below *(if any)*:

TYPE OR PRINT NAME OF AUTHORIZED OFFICIAL	SIGNATURE OF AUTHORIZED OFFICIAL	DATE

ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE REGULATION UNDER TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

The South Carolina Education Association (hereinafter called the "Applicant")
(Name of Applicant)

HEREBY AGREES THAT it will comply with title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (P.L. 88-352) and all requirements imposed by or pursuant to the Regulation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (45 CFR Part 80) issued pursuant to that title, to the end that, in accordance with title VI of that Act and the Regulation, no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination under any program or activity for which the Applicant receives Federal financial assistance from the Department; and HEREBY GIVES ASSURANCE THAT it will immediately take any measures necessary to effectuate this agreement.

If any real property or structure thereon is provided or improved with the aid of Federal financial assistance extended to the Applicant by the Department, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant, or in the case of any transfer of such property, any transferee, for the period during which the real property or structure is used for a purpose for which the Federal financial assistance is extended or for another purpose involving the provision of similar services or benefits. If any personal property is so provided, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant for the period during which it retains ownership or possession of the property. In all other cases, this assurance shall obligate the Applicant for the period during which the Federal financial assistance is extended to it by the Department.

THIS ASSURANCE is given in consideration of and for the purpose of obtaining any and all Federal grants, loans, contracts, property, discounts or other Federal financial assistance extended after the date hereof to the Applicant by the Department, including installment payments after such date on account of applications for Federal financial assistance which were approved before such date. The Applicant recognizes and agrees that such Federal financial assistance will be extended in reliance on the representations and agreements made in this assurance, and that the United States shall have the right to seek judicial enforcement of this assurance. This assurance is binding on the Applicant, its successors, transferees, and assignees, and the person or persons whose signatures appear below are authorized to sign this assurance on behalf of the Applicant.

Dated September 23, 1971

The South Carolina Education Association
(Applicant)

By _____
(President, Chairman of Board, or comparable authorized official)

421 Zimalcrest Drive

Columbia, S. C. 29210

(Applicant's mailing address)

HEW-441
(12-64)

SECTION III

SOUTH CAROLINA STUDENT INVOLVEMENT COUNCIL

Advisory Committee

NAME	OCCUPATION	RACE
Dr. Agnes H. Wilson P. O. Box 482 Sumter, S. C. 29150	Teacher	Black
Mr. H. E. Corley Box 1328 Dillon, S. C. 29536	Superintendent	White
Mrs. Mary-Ann Mizzell 1009 Textile Road Spartanburg, S. C. 29301	Teacher	White
Mr. Robert Howard Orangeburg City Schools 578 Ellis Avenue, N. E. Orangeburg, S. C. 29115	Principal	Black
Dr. Carlos W. Gibbons 421 Zimalcrest Drive Columbia, S. C. 29210	Administrator	White
Dr. J. Carlisle Holler 1401 Hampton Street Columbia, S. C. 29201	Administrator	White
Dr. William Dufford Desegregation Center University of South Carolina Columbia, S. C. 29208	Professor	White
Mr. Philip Grose The State House Columbia, S. C. 29201	Executive Assistant for Public Affairs The Governor's Office	White
Mr. Travis Medlock 1340 Pickens Street Columbia, S. C.	Attorney - Member, S. C. House of Representatives	White

Mr. Harry Walker, President University of S. C. Student Body University of South Carolina Columbia, S. C. 29208	Student	Black
Mr. Isaac McGraw Rutledge Building Columbia, S. C. 29201	Administrator	Black
Mr. Timothy Davis A. C. Flora High School Falcon Drive Columbia, S. C. 29204	Student	Black
Mr. Gary Myers Kennan High School 3455 Pinebelt Road Columbia, S. C. 29204	Student	Black
Mr. Steve Atwell Orangeburg-Wilkinson High School 339 Clubhouse Road Orangeburg, S. C. 29115	Student	White
Mr. Dickie Crout Member Student Advisory Committee State Superintendent of Education Brookland-Cayce High School 1300 State Street Cayce, S. C.	Student	White
Miss Deborah Richardson Wade Hampton High School Pine Knoll Drive Greenville, S. C. 29607	Student	White
Mr. Wes Boone Box 3151 c/o Computer System Rock Hill, S. C. 29730	School Board Member	White
Mr. Kay Patterson 421 Zimalcrest Drive Columbia, S. C. 29210	Student Consultant	Black
Mr. Thomas H. Ackerman 421 Zimalcrest Drive Columbia, S. C. 29210		White

SECTION IV - PROJECT NARRATIVE

In the summer of 1971 seven high school students conducted the South Carolina Summer Study on Student Involvement. The final report of that study is attached to this proposal because it serves as a background for and exemplifies the value of the proposal for a South Carolina Student Involvement Council.

Students in South Carolina high schools have often demonstrated in many ways their capacity to contribute important insights into many of the problems confronting schools today. By working with faculty members and administrators they can be expected to design effective and practical solutions.

In most cases, however, there are no positive channels through which students can express their concerns, contribute their ideas and raise their questions. Thus, the vast resource of student energy is ignored and students often are forced to raise their questions and concerns in negative or destructive ways.

The advent of the unitary school system in districts all across South Carolina has intensified the many other problems confronting schools. Now, more than ever, the voice of students must be heard, new channels of communication must be opened and the collective intelligence, understanding and energy of the student population utilized for the benefit of all the schools.

The Student Involvement Council would provide inspiration, information, consultants and an example of positive student involvement at the state level, and, thereby, spur others to initiate constructive projects and to work for improved attitudes and communications within their local systems. More specifically, the Student Involvement Council would seek to address itself to the following problems:

PROBLEM	GOAL
1. There is very little communication between administrators and students at local, district or state levels of public education. The lack of communication has resulted in many distrubances and is responsible for much of the unrest in schools today.	1. The Student Involvement Council would seek to open channels of communication between students and administrators at all levels. By its very establishment, it would legitimize student involvement on a statewide basis and, through its sponsorship by The South Carolina Education Association, would have a respectable entre into high schools all across the state where the issue of student involvement and open communications can be effectively raised.

PROBLEM	GOAL
2. School administrators often make policies and decisions without the cognizance of student ideas and concerns. The result is that students often resent policies, do not understand them and have no appreciation for their rationale.	2. The Student Involvement Council would be available to advise the secondary education on a regular basis of current student ideas and concerns. Through a regular newsletter it could also provide an effective forum for student opinions.
3. Students are rarely involved directly in the educational process outside the classroom (in such areas as curriculum, evaluation, accreditation, etc.). The result is a lack of understanding of and appreciation for a large part of the education process--a condition detrimental to the process and the students themselves.	3. The Student Involvement Council, through its newsletter, workshops, etc., would work constantly to provide students with insights into areas such as curriculum and evaluation. It would also seek to stimulate student interest in the total educational process.
4. In many schools the students, faculty and administration are struggling unsuccessfully with problems that have been successfully solved at other schools.	4. The Student Involvement Council would act as a central "clearing house" for the exchange of ideas among high schools, such as innovative academic programs as successful methods of handling problems.
5. Many problems, such as discipline, dress codes, etc., recur in high schools across the state and are only dealt with superficially or are ignored as if no problem existed - such situations frequently result in disruptive activities.	5. The Student Involvement Council would seek to define recurring problems in South Carolina high schools, explore them and propose solutions (such as in the final report of the Summer Study on Student Involvement).
6. Many organizations desire and would benefit from student participation and input. At this time, however, there is no established, statewide student group to which organizations can turn.	6. The Student Involvement Council would act as a spokesman for youth opinions and ideas to any organization which requests student participation.

DESIGN

Twelve students, geographically representative of the state and composed of an approximately equal black/white, male/female ratio, one full-time adult director, one part-time assistant director, a student director and a secretary would make up the membership and staff of this Council.

With offices in Columbia, South Carolina at The South Carolina Education Association Headquarters, the student would be required to assembly for two days each month to discuss projects and ideas related to the above stated goals. In addition, a summer study or project would be required preceding the students' activity on the Council for the purpose of orientation to the state, regional, and district school system in South Carolina.

Council members would also be called upon to visit other schools within their own region and district as well as to participate in workshops and and presentations to education agencies.

BRIEF JOB DESCRIPTION

Director:

Qualifications - will have at least a bachelor degree and five years experience in an area related to education and youth work.

Responsibilities - will be responsible for the overall operation including budget, personnel, programs, etc.

Assistant Director:

Qualifications - will be a freshman in college and have a past record of positive student involvement.

Responsibilities - will be primarily a coordinator of activities and will assist in program direction.

Student Director:

Qualifications - will be a rising senior in high school and have a record of positive student involvement.

Responsibilities - will assist in coordinating activities.

Summer Interns (12):

Qualifications - will be rising juniors or seniors in high school; will be geographically representative of state; will be composed of an approximately equal black/white, male/female ratio; will have records of positive student involvement.

Responsibilities - will participate in summer internship project and become familiar with forces affecting secondary education in state.

Student Involvement Council

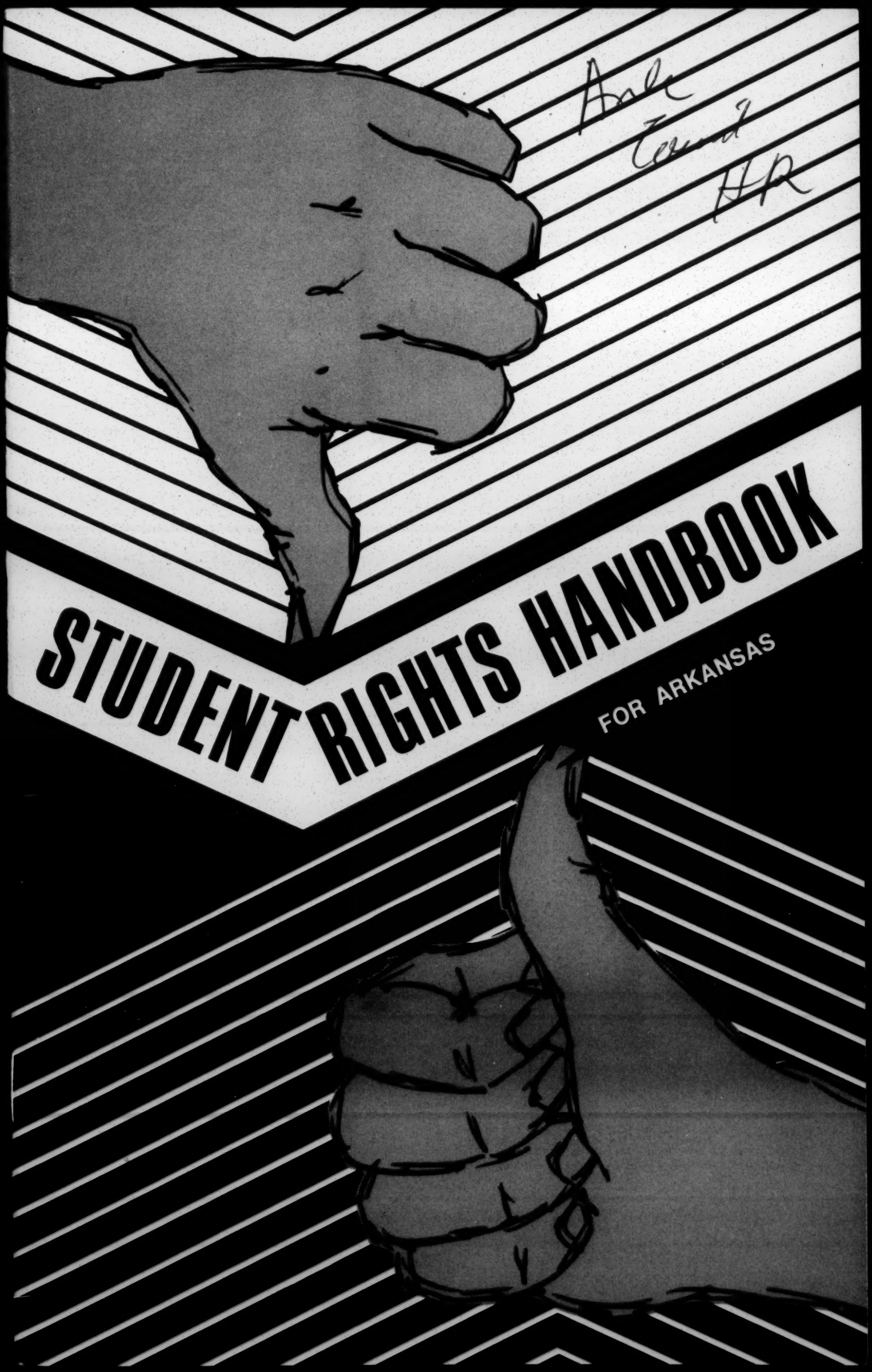
Budget

Direct Costs

A. Compensation for Personal Services		
1. Adult Director	$12,000	
2. Assistant Director	3,600	
3. Student Director (1/2 time 9 months, 2 summers full time $1.75 hr. -40 hr. week	2,660	
4. Secretary (full time)	4,500	
5. Summer Interns (12 students for 3 mos. 1.75 hr. -40 hr/wk	10,080	
	32,840	
Fringe Benefits - 12.8%	4,204	
Total Compensations for Personal Services		$37,044
B. Supplies, Materials, Equipment		
1. Office Supplies	1,200	
2 Equipment	350	
Total Supplies, Materials and Equipment		$1,550
C. Travel and Per Diem		
1. Staff		
Directors: in-state 70 days	945	
150 miles @ 9¢ mile	450	
30 days/$15.00		
out-of-state 5 trips estimated at $100 per trip	500	
	1,895	
2. Students: Columbia meetings		
approx. 150 miles @ 9¢ mile		
8 trips to Columbia	1,250	
16 days @ $7.00		
(11 students)	1,250	
	2,500	

3.	Students:	Within districts $15 per month, 10 mos. 11 students	1,650	
4.	Advisory Committee (statewide)			
		approx. 150 miles @ 9¢ per mile 4 trips - 4 members	250	
		15 people for 4 meetings @ $4.00 per person per meeting	240	
			490	
	Total Travel Expenses and Per Diem			$6,535
D.	Communications			
	1. Telephone - local rent & long distance 12 months at $100		1,200	
	2. Postage, 12 months at $25		300	
E.	Printing, duplicating and photocopying reports and newsletter		750	
	Total Communications and Printing			$2,250
F.	Consultants - $25 per day - 20 days			$ 500
G.	Projects and Activities			
	1. Internship Program		1,500	
	2. Nine month Program		1,500	
	Total Projects and Activities			$3,000
H.	Office Rental		$1,000	
I.	Equipment Purchase			
	1. Typewriter		$ 650	
	2. Adding Machine		$ 200	
	Total Direct Costs			$850

TOTAL NEW FUNDS REQUESTED $52,729.00



STUDENT RIGHTS HANDBOOK

FOR ARKANSAS

STUDENT RIGHTS HANDBOOK

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Emergency School Assistance Project
600 West Ninth Street — Suite 210
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
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INTRODUCTION

We realize that there is a growing need for student rights to be interpreted.

During the summer, George Van Hooks, O. Fred Harris, Carol Willis and James Daniels, all law students at the University of Arkansas Law School working under the supervison of Walker, Kaplin, and Mays, P. A., compiled this Student Legal Rights Handbook.

Although the Arkansas Council on Human Relations was not the sponsor of these students, we certainly endorse their efforts. We are grateful for the time, effort, and legal interpretation they have put forth in this booklet.

From our ESAP Grant, we have been privileged to have the handbook printed for distribution in school districts in Arkansas.

Since student rights is a relatively new legal issue, many courts of the United States have not ruled on all areas of student rights. In Arkansas, the courts have considered only those cases concerning school rules which require a student to conform to certain dress and hair regulations. Many students' rights questions have not been ruled upon at all.

However, courts across the United States are every day becoming more willing to recognize student rights. This willingness of the courts to interpret the law favorably for students makes it necessary and desirable for a student to see a lawyer when he thinks his rights are being denied.

The following is an analysis of the existing laws pertaining to the rights of students as well as a discussion of many unlitigated areas of student rights.

SCHOOL FACILITIES

You may have a right to use a classroom, auditorium or other school facilities after school or in the evenings just as the PTA or other adult or community groups do.

Adult advisors might be required and nominal rents might be charged, but in general public schools that are available to one organization must be available to all organizations.

SCHOOL RECORDS

You or your parents may have a right to inspect your full school record at any time. Also, your school may not be able to reveal your school record to any third parties without your or your parents consent.

INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR SCHOOL

Your parents and other citizens may have a right to group statistical records concerning your school. These records include such data as reading scores, the number of public suspensions, and the ethnic make-up of the school.

RULES OF THE SCHOOL

You and your parents may have a right to know in advance all the rules to which you are subject in your school, as well as the rights you may exercise. Such information seems necessary for you to abide by such rules.

APPEALS

You may have a right to appeal any decision by your principal to your superintendent or to your school board.

DRESS AND HAIR

School authorities cannot arbitrarily regulate your dress and hair style. The Supreme Court has never spoken out on the issue, but the language of *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District,* 393 U. S. 503 (1969), as well as several favorable lower court opinions lends support to any challenge to these kind of regulations.

In Arkansas, high school dress and long hair code have been upheld if they were reasonably related to the educational process. That is, it must be shown by the school officials that they cannot operate the school effectively and efficiently unless the dress and hair codes are enforced. *Carter v. Hodges,* 317 F. Supp. 8ll (D. C. Ark. 1970). *Corley v. Daunhauer,* 312 F. Supp. (D. C. Ark. 1970).

But, if you want to join an extra-curricular activity such as the band or pep squad, you may be subjected to a dress or appearance code that might be unreasonable and arbitrary in connection with general attendance but may be proper for the extracurricular activity. For example, it has been upheld by an Arkansas Court that it is not unreasonable for public school officials to require that band members achieve uniformity of personal appearance. *Corley v. Daunhauer,* supra.

FORCED CONFESSIONS

No Arkansas case expressly addresses itself on the point of the admissibility of forced confessions as evidence against a student. However, in criminal cases, confessions are not admissible against a party charged with a crime unless freely and voluntarily made. *Payne v. State, 231* Ark. 727, 332 S. W. 2d 233 (1960); *Bell v. State,* 177 Ark. 1034, 9 S. W. 2d 238 (1928).

FORCED CONFESSIONS (cont.)

By analogy it can be argued that the same protection against coerced confessions should be enjoyed by students. Students do not shed their constitutional rights when they walk in the school gates. *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District,* 393 U. S. 503 (1969). Therefore, admissions made under coercive conditions in the principals office may be invalid. However, your rights in this area are not clear because this is a case of first impressions in Arkansas now.

SEARCHING IN THE SCHOOL

Court decisions have not grasped and grappled with the difficult problems surrounding the search of high school students and their lockers.

In Arkansas, a case on this particular issue has not been decided. Your rights concerning searches in school are not clear. In other states, several important decisions have been made dealing with searches in the schools.

In Tennessee, it had been held that a child in the public schools is entitled to as much protection as a bootlegger. *Phillip v. Johns,* 12 Tenn. App. 354 (Mid. Sec, Ct., 1930). In Alabama, a college rule permitting a search with no warrant was held valid where suspicion was reasonable. *Moore v. Troy State University,* 284 F. Supp. 725 (M. D. Ala. 1968). And in New York, it was held that a public school principal was entitled to retain the combination and search students' lockers at any time. *Overton v. New York,* 20 N. Y. 2d 360, 229 N. E. 2d 596, 283 N. Y. S. 2d 22 (1967).

FORCED CONFESSIONS (cont.)

However, in Arkansas, there is really no case law to indicate what your rights are in this area of searches. The best advice that can be given you is to never consent to a search. But if the police start to search you, do not resist because it is a crime to resist arrest.

SCHOOL OFFICIALS

The officials of your local school board and the officials of the Arkansas Department of Education are the ones with whom you should register all complaints and grievances concerning violations of your constitutional rights. The address of the Arkansas Department of Education is: Education Building, Capitol Grounds, Little Rock, Arkansas, 72201.

SUSPENSION AND EXPULSIONS

You must have a hearing and other rights if you are suspended.

Any temporary interruption of the right to attend classes is a suspension. If your program card is withheld or if you are "benched", "excluded", "debarred" or deprived of your rights to attend class in any way whatsoever, you are actually being suspended and should demand your rights to a fair hearing.

Students have a vital interest in securing an education which must be protected from arbitrary action by government officials. To protect this interest, a hearing must be held before their education can be disrupted.

Many recent cases have challenged the practice to school authorities by which students are suspended, expelled, or transferred without being afforded a fair hearing and other procedural safeguards.

In *Jones v. Gillespie,* Cf. of Comm. Pl., Phil (22 April 1970), a student challenged a procedure by which students were suspended from school without being afforded a fair hearing. The case resulted in a consent decree under which the school board was stopped from suspending any student for a period of five days without a proper hearing. The school district was also ordered to establish regulations on the elements of the hearing itself, i. e, notice of charges, notice of time and place of hearing, right to counsel, right to appeal, etc.

There have been no United State Supreme Court or court of appeal decision involving due process in the secondary schools, but the standard announced in the few college cases are applicable. *Woods v. Wright,* 334 F. 2d 369 (5th Cir. 1964).

In *Cross v. Walton Graded Common School District,* 89 S. W. 506 (Ky.) the court held that pupil cannot be arbitrarily expelled for refusal to comply with a rule or regulation that is not needful for the government, good order, or efficiency of the school. *State v. Ford du Lac Board of Education,* 23 N. W. 102; and *Marquette v. McPhee,* 294 F. Supp. 562 affirmed this decision.

The applicable Arkansas Statute on suspension is Ark. Stat. 80-1516. The statute reads as follows:

The director of any school district may suspend any person from school for immorality, refractory conduct, insubordination, infectious disease, habitual uncleanliness or other conduct that would tend to impair the discipline of the school, or harm the other pupils, but such suspension shall not extend beyond the current term. The board of directors may authorize the teachers to suspend any pupils subject to appeal to the board.

In *Gregory v. Chicago,* 22 L. Ed. 2d 134, it was held that the First Amendment protects peaceful and orderly protest marches from disorderly conduct convictions.

In *Saglin v. Kauffman,* 295 F. Supp. 978 (W. D. Wis. 1968), it was held that university students may not be expelled on the basis of vague standards.

This type of case hasn't been litigated in Arkansas, but the decision in other courts seems to indicate the students have certain basic rights when suspended.

PREGNANCY AND MARRIAGE

If you are pregnant, you have a right to remain in your regular school program as long as physically possible.

In Perry v. Grenada Municipal Separate School District, 300 F. Supp. 748 (N. D. Miss. 1969), the courts ruled that unwed mothers may not be excluded from high school admission for the sole reason they are unwed mothers. In *Nutt v. Goodland Board of Education,* 278 P. 1065, the courts held that pregnancy is not a basis for expulsion nor is having a baby out of wedlock.

Married students have the same rights as unmarried students and can participate in all extracurricular activities that unmarried students can, In *Johnson v. Board of Education of the Borough of Paulsboro,* civil action no. 172-70 (N. C. N. J. 1970), the court ruled for plaintiffs on the grounds that a policy rule descriminating against married students and/or students with children was in derogation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and was therefore, unconstitutional, illegal, and void. (Also see: *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District.* 393 U. S. 503 1969).

This type of case in Arkansas, was recently litigated in Ft. Smith. It was found that married students were eligible for participation in all school and extracurricular activities that non-married students were eligible for.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Corporal punishment has been held unconstitutional in Arkansas. *Jackson v. Bishop,* 404 F. 571 (8th Cir. 1968).

GRADUATION AND DIPLOMAS

School authorities have no legal authority to prevent your graduation or withhold your diploma if you have successfully completed the course of study for graduation. 79 Am. Jur. 504.

DRAFT COUNSELING

Draft counseling is protected under the first Amendment's guarantee of free speech.

If one is simply advising people of their option under the Selective Service System, there is a right to maintain a counseling unit in the school. Schools do not have the right to make rules about the time, place and manner of draft counseling on school property as long as similar rules are applied to all student activities. It would be illegal for them to refuse to give a draft-counseling group space and facilities if they are giving these to an Army recruiting organization.

The draft law does provide a number of legal alternatives to military service. The statutes and regulations are complicated, however. It is strongly urged that you consult a qualified and experienced counselor. Various organizations have set around the country to aid students with draft counseling.

The following are draft counseling services:

1. American Friends Service Committee
   160 N. 25th Street
   Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

2. American Civil Liberties Union
   156 Fifth Avenue
   New York, New York 10010

DRAFT COUNSELING (cont.)

3. Washington Draft Resistance Union
   3 Thomas Circle, Northwest
   Washington, D. C. 20050

4. Selective Service Lawyer Panel
   510 North 3rd Street
   San Jose, California

FLAG SALUTES, PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE AND OTHER CEREMONIES

You may leave the room or stand silenty during these ceremonies. There are conflicting legal decisions as to whether you can remain seated as a protest during them.

In 1943, the United States Supreme Court held that under the First Amendment no student at public school could be forced to salute the flag, participate in the pledge of allegiance, or sing patriotic songs. Ignoring the twenty-six year old Supreme Court ruling, school officials claim that cases involving compulsory pledges of allegiance have to do with nothing more than the school's right to maintain discipline.

A lawyer for New York City in a recent pledge controversy claimed before the judge that this should be elevated to an issue of free speech. This is a question of school discipline. (See N. Y. Times, Nov. 1, 1969).

The *Dorothy Lynn Case,* N. Y., (Dec. 1968), held that Miss Lynn had the right to leave the room during the pledge of allegiance. The same reasoning applied nationally. However, most cases that deal with this issue are pending, In Arkansas, *Ark. Stat.* 80-1603 and *Grain v. Baron,* 307 F. Supp. 27 are controlling on this issue.

DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE, LEAFLETS AND NEWSPAPERS

A student has a legal right to distribute literature, leaflets, and newspapers next to school property and at certain times and places on the school property.

There is no clear law at the moment saying that students do or do not have the right to distribute leaflets or other political information on campus; in practice, at the moment, they do not since most high school principals label the distribution of any such information as "disruptive".

The First Amendment has been held to guarantee the right to distribute political literature in public places as long as you don't clog up pedestrian traffic or block entrances to buildings. Leading cases in the area of distribution of literature and newspapers are as follows:

Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District, 393 U. S. 503.

Sulivan v. Horton Independent School District, 307 F. Supp. 1328.

Eisner v. Startford Board of Education, Ark. Stat. 41-1125.

Contra

Scoville v. Board of Education of Joliet Township High School District, 425 F. 2d 10.

Vought v. Van Buren Public Schools, 306 F. Supp. 1388 (E. D. Mich, 1969).

ARMBANDS AND BUTTONS

Students have the right to wear buttons, armbands and other badges of symbolic expressions.

ARMBANDS AND BUTTONS (cont.)

In February, 1969, the U. S. Supreme Court handed down a crucial decision on freedom of expression for the high school and junior highs. In Des Moines, Iowa, three students wore black armbands to protest the Vietnam War and show public support for a truce. The principal asked the students to remove the armbands, when the students refused they were suspended.

The first court that litigated the matter held that the students created a disturbance, but school authorities had allowed ordinary political buttons, so it was clear that the school authorities were interested in suppressing a specific opinion in this case.

The Supreme Court, in an opinion written by Mr. Justice Fortas, concluded that a student has the right to express his opinion at any time while he is in school, even on controversial subjects like the war, as long as he does not disrupt school activities and the rights of others.

The decision meant that junior high and senior high school officials cannot arbitrarily keep students from expressing themselves politically as long as they do not disrupt the schooling process.

The Tinker decision is hardly about to usher in the revolution. Several things remain vague and unclear, and there is always the problem of enforcement.

Controlling cases on the issue are as follows:

Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District, 393 U. S. 503.

Shelton v. Tucker, 364 U. S. 479.

AFTER SCHOOL CLUBS, FRATERNITIES, SORORITIES, ETC.

Students have a right to organize groups in school for any political, social, artistic, or athletic purpose, as long as the group does not exclude people on the basis of race, religion, or nationality.

A question often raised in regard to after school clubs is whether the school can, through its administration, punish one for being a member of an after school club or union? The answer is in the negative and has been upheld in *Orr v. Thorp,* USDC S. Fla. (1969), which held that a Florida statute authorizing the firing of teachers who joined a teachers' employment organization was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. *McLaughlin v. Telandis,* 398 F. 2d 287 (7th Cir.) 1968, held that unless there is some illegal intent, an individual's right to form and join a union is protected by the First Amendment.

The foregoing is pursuant to *Ark. Stat.* 80-2001, *et. seq.*, and *Buckley v. Menz,* 230 N. Y. S. 2d 724.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
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~~EU~~ SDP

The School Reporter

VOL. 1 BATON ROUGE, LA., 70809 NOV. 1, 1971 NO. 2

"Bad Faith" Charge Leveled At the Monroe School Board

Allegations of bad faith in effecting a compromise desegregation plan have been lodged against the Monroe City School Board.

The system's bi-racial committee split along racial lines and deadlocked on that issue and others.

Subsequently, Ouachita Black Citizens Council President A.G. Facen, also a bi-racial committee member, said he will ask the federal court to institute a busing plan to achieve desegregation, since he felt the school board had broken faith in implementing the modified neighborhood school plan.

Facen said the board had not enforced zone lines. "We gave them the neighborhood school concept. The school board has done everything they could to keep from carrying out the bargain," Facen said.

"In order to correct this, we are going to ask the court to forget about the lines, forget about the zones because the Supreme Court has said if you've got to get integration by busing, do it."

While four schools are 500-600 white students short of what was anticipated the school board has located "only one student out of his zone," the council president said.

The bad faith issue was also hammered out in the four-hour open session of the bi-racial committee.

Black Committeemen said the Negro community has accused them of "selling out" because the promises of the compromise plan haven't been delivered.

Plaintiffs' attorney Paul Henry Kidd presented the complaints. He said the plaintiffs have been treated with an attitude of "arrogance—to hell with you—we slicked you. To this point we feel we have been slicked.

"We have retrogressed from the point we had achieved in earlier years, "Kidd said.

The attorney hit at the lack of desegregation at Carroll Junior and Senior high schools and at Lexington and Georgia Tucker elmentary schools. He charged the school board had made little effort to locate students attending school in the wrong zone, nor has it implemented the 70:30 ratio of black to white or white to black students at each school.

The board maintained it was under no obligation to achieve the ratio, since the system is operating under a neighborhood school plan this year.

Two attendance supervisors also testified they have been working since the beginning of school to locate students registered in the wrong zone.

A second major complaint centered on non-implementation of model school programs at all black Lincoln and Clark elementary schools.

Supt. J. Harvey Walthall said the innovative teaching techniques would be instituted at the two schools as soon as the physical facilities are ready. Since the committee meeting, the schools have been switched to group teaching procedures, although the necessary resource libraries have not been completed.

"We're attempting to do something in three weeks time that otherwise would take months," Walthall said.

The third complaint was that the board had not forced Neville High School to schedule a football game with Carroll High, although Neville has an open date.

Facen said Walthall told him "the people on the northside (a well-to do white area where the school is located) wouldn't stand for it. That's a slap in the face"

Walthall said Neville's November 5 open date is traditional before the school plays its arch-rival Ouachita

(Continued on page 3)

IN RICHLAND PARISH

Court Suit Seeks Full Relief From Unlawful Practices

A motion for further relief and for contempt, charging willful disobedience of a federal court desegregation order and discrimination against black school personnel, has been filed in the Richland Parish desegregation case.

The motion charges that the Richland Parish School Board has "willfully, continuously and contemptuously refused to obey" its July 2, 1970, order requring non-discriminatory hiring, firing and transfer procedures.

Many of the grievances center around the board's alleged transfer of black principals to "flunky" jobs in the federal program and their subsequent replacement by white principals.

Other charges included that:

— Thirty-eight new teachers and staff personnel were hired for this school term, only three of them black.

—Defendants have practiced fraud and deceit in the obtaining and use of Title I funds designated for the specific needs of the educationally disadvantaged."

—"The superintendent has been and is establishing a paternalistic and nepotismic school system employing persons from his old school

(Continued on page 3)

SHALL LEAD THEM

And The Little Children

By Bob Caostley

Banneker Elementary School in New Orleans has an enrollment of approximately 600 students. More than half of these students are white, the same ratio is true at the faculty level. This in itself is not a startling revelation. But two obvious facts makes Banneker an interesting subject in our present day educational ever changing scene.

Banneker Elementary is located in a practically all black neighborhood, of semi-project dwellings and low rent apartment houses. A year ago this school was seventy-five per cent black. Now, the majority of the black students have been divided up and sent to three other schools, John Clancy, Greenhorn Terrace, and Airline Park.

The principal of Banneker is black.

It is true that bussing is proceeding in the South with less disruption and turmoil. It is also true that pupil for pupil, there are less children to be bussed. In the crowded urban North there are greater numbers of students, but they have shorter distances to travel. But the question still persists, "Why is there less trouble down home?"

In many instances it is the parents who have finally realized that a new day is upon us, and if their children are going to be able to live, compete and survive in our ever changing social order they must join the mainstream of inter personal relationships and swim with the current of present day progress.

But the main reason for the relatively easy transition from the two system (or class) educational process to one integrated system is due mainly to the children themselves. It is the "kids" who have decided that this is how it's going to be, and they are going to make it work. I am not intimating that the majority of youngster "intellectualize" into the wee small hours of the morning about the profound pros and cons of the unitary system of education or the problems inherent in bussing. But children, (and most adults) always seem to be able to communicate with their peers if given time, and are left alone to try to understand each other.

Standing across the street from Banneker, and watching the kaleidoscope of color pour out of her doors when the final bell rang for the day, was a revelation for me at least, of what our neighborhoods, government buildings, offices, theaters, universities, and amusement parks will look like "tomorrow." All of us, black, white, red and yellow learning about each other, understanding each other's life styles, settling our differences on the basis of truth and facts instead of on the unreasonable basis of color.

As the kids poured out, there was noise, confusion laughter, a few strident voices and some horse play. There were white and black parents there to reclaim their bewildered offspring from this fount of knowledge. Quicker than one would imagine, the busses and automobiles were loaded and on their way. The neighborhood returned to its normal atmosphere. Anyone walking by or driving past this one school out of the many here in New Orleans, if they were not aware of it, would never know that the school house they just passed is in truth one of the many cradles in our coming new democracy.

In This Issue

A multi-purpose training center in Shreveport instructs students on various skills ranging from machinist to home economics . . . Page 2.

— A biology teacher adopts the current trends and brings new teaching concepts to the classroom . . . Page 2.

— The head of Ouachita Parish Black Citizens Council tells of the improvements, but sees a long road ahead . . . Page 2

— Caddo Parish School Board has not yet taken action on a committee report on student elections procedures . . . Page 3.

— And Concordia Parish Board fires a black principal alleging misuse of school funds, and dismisses a white teacher for what the board terms "incompetence." . . . Page 3.

— Over in Calcasieu Parish, the school board and the NAACP are at odds over the status of 53 Marion students. . . . Page 4.

The School Reporter

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NEW CONCEPT

Biology Teacher To Introduce Concept

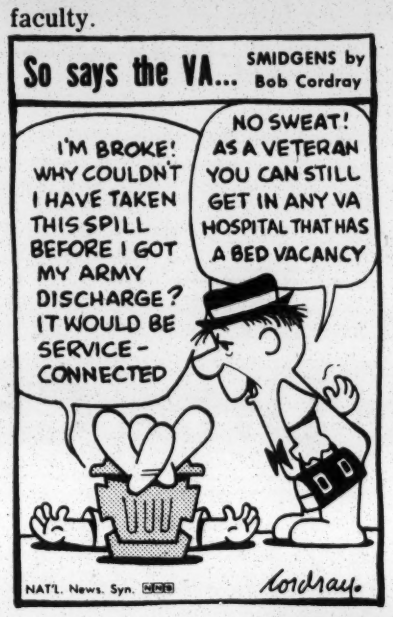
Southwood High School biology teacher, Robert Williams, has joined a growing group of educators prepared to introduce their students to an exciting new design for learning.

Williams studied and put into practice a new student operated audiotutorial system while attending the six weeks Shell Merit Fellowship program at Cornell University this summer.

Cornell's Dr. Joseph D. Novak, professor of science education and a specalist in Instructional Research, refers to the concept as a "semi-program guided learning system and a model for education for the future."

A student is given the necessary materials and equipment which may include tape recorder and small slide or film projector. He listens to a tape on which the teacher has recorded guidance and instructions and studies other material the teacher has produced as part of the instructional system.

The student then works independently toward understanding more important concepts. Each student learns at his own rate, controlling equipment and reviewing when necessary, unaffected by the slower or faster learning to research, develop and exchange ideas with other teachers and with members of the Cornell faculty.



PERFORMANCE CONTRACT AT WORK

Students Learn Skills At Caddo Career Center

The Caddo Career Center, which opened in Shreveport Oct. 6, is a combination garage, cooking school, machine shop — a place where youngsters learn salable skills. The performance contractor for Vo-Tech program under the Caddo Parish school system is Thiokol Chemical Co. Principal M.O. Parker said: "This is the most exciting assignment that I have had because we're going to equip the skills they need to enter the world of work."

There is an auto garage for the auto mechanics course, simulated hospital room for the course in health services a print ship and photo lab for graphic art, and a kitchen with food service. Students will help prepare lunches for several hundred elementary students. "We want students doing realistic assignment in the business department. We have constructed office space completely equipped for on the job training", Parker said. School Supt. Donald L. Kennedy believes the time will come when every high school student in the parish will be trained in a skill.

The Caddo Correctional Center, with 611 students and 21 faculty members, is a step in that direction. It functions as a branch of every senior high school in the public school system except North Caddo, which has its own Vo-Tech facility. Juniors and seniors may take one of the 15 courses offered for two credits. They attend the Vo-Tech school either in the mornings or the afternoons for their three hour course. And their regular school for the remainder of the day.

Courses include clerical office practice, stenography, commercial art drafting electronics, graphic arts, welding, auto mechanics, machine shop small motors sheet metal carpentery, health services, food service and refrigeration and heating.

There are about 18 students per class, Parker said. The courses offered are geared to job opportunity and types of industry in this Shreveport area. Student interest was also a factor in determining course offered. "This is a school for average and above average students. It's not a school for the nonconformist or misfit. We're interested in those students who want to learn a salable skill."

Ouachita Parents Form League

A group of Ouachita Parish parents are organizing a Parents League to tackle problems facing families with children in grades 5-12.

The purpose of the league is to offset the trend of "too much too soon."

"Ours is not an organization for parents of 'problem children.' Our purpose is to slow down the too-much-too-soon social pattern developing today and to avoid some of its serious consequences, ' says Mrs. W.H. Reed, the league's second vice president.

"We believe that the adults of Ouachita Parish, as conscientious parents, want to protect our children and build a better community," she said. "We believe the Parents League, with support of enough concerned parents, can achieve these goals."

Major objectives of the league this year are publication of guidelines book for parents, "We Agree," and formation of a Teen Council.

The guidelines for parents will be determined from a questionaire, which includes queries on driving, social clubs, dances, dating, drugs, alcohol, cigarette smoking, parties, the child at school and parental responsibility. The booklet is intended as a suggestion for parents and their children, not at an arbitrary set of rules.

The Teen Council will be made up of representative young people, who will advise the league of current problems of youth. It will give the young people a vent for their opinions and recommendations on their relationships with families and peers.

BLACK COUNCIL HEAD STATES

Progess Improving, But Can Be Better

MONROE — Desegregation problems are "in the process of getting better" but there's still a lot to be done, feels Ouachita Black Citizens Council President A. G. Facen.

Facen, a retired educator, served on bi-racial committees of both the parish and Monroe City School Systems which formulated desegregation plans and recommendations for desegregation this year.

On the positive side, the 73-year-old black leader said, "There is a better understanding between racial groups. Desegregation has caused a better understanding between black and white students."

In addition, two unkept formerly all black schools will be repaired and "we have extra equipment that has been furnished for both black and white students . . . that we would not have had had it not been for integration."

But, he said, "There are still a lot of problems to be solved: the ratio of black teachers to white teachers, employment of black proportion to white, relations between white teachers and black students, attitude of school board members toward the racial problem, black children participating in extra-curricular activities in integrated schools.

"These are the major fields where there is a whole lot of work still to be done."

Facen also discussed the recent plans drawn up by the bi-racial committees for the two school systems in Ouachita Parish.

Of the plan for the Monroe City system, Facen said the Black Citizens Council will be keeping close watch to make sure the school board keeps faith the plaintiffs by strictly following the guidelines of the modified neighborhood plan.

Of the plan for the parish system, he said, "We can live with it. Since it was so late, there are other things that we agreed to because we didn't want to interupt the school opening at this late date. We will be back next year (to re-negotiate)."

Facen said local school boards should be the leaders of public opinion. "Ninty-five per cent of public opinion may be wrong," he said, adding that school boards can seek aid from bi-racial committees in working out integration problems.

How far should a school board go? "The school board should do everything in its power according to the regulations set down by the federal government to implement integration."

He feels faculty and student integration carry equal weight. "One without the other is not good. There are certain socio-economic problems of black students that whites will not understand," he said, adding that the opposite is also true.

"A black student will feel more secure when he can see black faces on the faculty. Black teachers on the faculty are an inspiration of black students. Otherwise, he will think everything is white, and he can't do anything unless he is white."

The former high school principal thinks the National Teachers Exam is worthless.

"The National Teachers Exam is based on a culture for upper classes, not for these people of ethnic groups. It measures only the amount of information that the person who takes it has, but it doesn't measure the personality of an individual which is so essential in teaching.

"It can be used to discriminate among blacks and whites or to discriminate even among whites," he said.

The NTE should not be used in hiring teachers, he feels. If students have completed a degree at an accredited college, that should be the basis for hiring.

"If the professors who have worked with these teachers as students see fit that they are qualified for teaching, they know better than the National Teachers Exam."

Facen said he thinks administrative positions in a school system should reflect the same percentage as found among students and faculty. "It's not good to overbalance either way."

Parents and students should have a say about the schools, but he does not endorse complete community control of the schools.

Parents and students should have an advisory role in school affairs such as curriculum, behavior and dress codes. "This could be done through the PTA and the student council," he suggested.

Community advice should not extend into hiring and firing or control of curriculum. "I think employment should be left entirely in the hands of the school board," which has better information on that aspect of education.

Suggestions on curriculum and school calenders could be made through parents committees. "The committee can make suggestions and advise, but never control. You'd have so much politics in there you could hardly turn around."

Facen also feels an in-

(Continued on page 4)

IN CADDO PARISH

Board Delaying Action on Committee

The Caddo Parish School Board has not yet taken action on the July 16 report of the Committee to Study Student Elections, appointed by the board last April to study and present recommendations on methods of determining student representation.

The 40-member committee was appointed in the wake of parish-wide high school disturbances during which black students boycotted classes and occasional race-related skirmishes flared between black and white students.

Student spokesmen for the minority groups said at the time that student elections were so designed as to virtually prohibit minority representation on groups — such as cheerleading squads — elected by the student bodies at large, disputing the authenticity of the elections and the manner in which they were held, also charging discriminatory practices exist in selecting numbers for school-sponsored organizations.

On April 26, Caddo Superintendent of Schools Donald L. Kennedy said in a letter to the committee that "the purpose of the committee is to review the best procedures that are operative in the various schools of the parish and to recommend for the board's consideration procedures that could improve the present methods of determining student representation."

At the July 16 school board meeting, the committee presented the following seven recommendations:

1) That each school principal be responsible for establishing written guidelines and policies to govern the election and/or appointment of students to various offices, formation of clubs, extra curricular activities and other activities in which students participate in their various schools.

2) That an intra-club council or an advisory group be organized by the principal of each school to coordinate extra curricular activities, supervise elections, and publicize the various organizations to the student body so that all students will know the requirements for belonging to any organization sponsored by the school.

3) That students elected to positions of student body leadership be required to have a minimum grade point average of 2.0 and that each club or organization have the privilege of setting its membership standards.

4) That the Caddo Parish School Board provide voting machines for the major elections held in each school.

5) That contests for major offices consist of primary and runoff elections if determined by school guidelines. If a school is seeking a majority vote in multiple elections, the winners of multiple office contests may be determined from the formula set forth in the State of Louisiana Municipal Election Information, 1968.

6) That each school set a limit on the campaign expenditure allowed each candidate seeking an office.

7) That a record of the ballots and results of elections be preserved for a reasonable length of time following an election, and further that each candidate be allowed to know his vote as compared with the number of votes required to win the election.

The report submitted to the School Board states: "The committee recognizes that in some schools effecting a representation of the minority race in school activities is a problem and one that needs a solution. The committee recommends that where the problem exists each of these schools be directed to work out a method for selecting minority representation in student activities."

The committee polled groups from each school for reactions and suggestions on the recommendations prior to their adoption.

Concerning minority group representation, the committee reported that the majority of schools in the parish indicated that the present method in use in their student bodies was equitable and satisfactory.

However, a "minor number of schools represented did not believe that every student council position should be elective, some should be appointive. In that way minority representation could be assured.

Representatives of Captain Shreve High School in Shreveport proposed for their school, that a temporary measure be instituted making some provisions to select by percentage — race ratio — members of each race to the cheerleader squad.

In conclusion, the committee "expressed a need for all schools to make a positive effort to include minority groups in all their school activities. However, this committee feels that this problem should be tackled by each school at the school level through the efforts of an intra-club council or some such body selected from the student body."

The report was submitted to the Caddo Parish School Board Administrative Committee.

CONCORDIA PARISH

Black, White Dismissed

The Concordia Parish School Board has dismissed a black principal for misuse of school funds and a white teacher for incompetence. The cases were unrelated.

Sammy Davis Jr., Ferriday 7th Grade School principal, was "found guilty" of causing "irregularities and deficiencies in school finances" and of charging personal long-distance telephone calls to the school, according to board President J.W. Calhoun.

Davis reacted to the action: "When you're dealing with racists, you can't expect to win."

"This school board is not after any blacks, but when you have deficiencies in funds and testimony that the person in question is guilty, you've got to take action," said Calhoun.

The board president said the board would take the same action against any principal where it is warranted and noted that the board voted to dismiss Miss Jean Felming, the white teacher, for incompetence "mainly on the testimony of Edward Jackson," the black principal of Clayton High.

Davis charged the board "acted to get me out of the way" because he has been organizing black teachers "to get their rights."

The board found Davis guilty of the unauthorized purchase of a cassette player, Calhoun said.

"I imagine that I got the same treatment that Gov. Wallace would get before a group of Black Panthers for a hearing," Davis said.

In their action, the board dropped all charges against Cleveland Watts, a black teacher at Ferriday High School. He had been charged with incompetence.

The board continued a hearing on another black teacher, Miss Bessie Lee Luckett, a Ferriday 8th grade school teacher. She is charged with incompetence and inability to keep discipline.

Bad Faith

(Continued on page 1)

Parish High. He also argued that Neville is a quadruple A team, while Carroll is a triple A.

The committee also considered the petition of 500 white parents of students at Clara Hall and Carver elementary schools, asking that the schools be given neighborhood school status. The two schools were left paired as they were under last year's desegregation order.

Kidd said the plaintiffs had agreed with unparing the schools when the compromise was made, but black committeemen had objected. The black members renewed their objections.

Committee Chairman Seborn Sneed said the main point of contention in all the discussion seemed to be consistent and equal treatment of schools. The Clara Hall-Carver situation is the "grossest, most glaring inconsistency," he said.

Also under discussion was a request from the parent of the only white girl at Carroll High. They asked that she be allowed to attend Neville.

The committee retired into private session after hearing the testimony and complaints.

Sneed reported the outcome: "In closed session, the committee split pretty generally along racial lines. Whites generally were sympathetic towards desires of white petitioners. Blacks pretty generally agreed that the plan had not been pursued in good faith.

"It is my personal feeling that the administration, under the press of time, has concerned their efforts on performance, neglecting some much-needed communications with black leaders to evidence their good faith."

LINCOLN PARISH

Cited By State Auditor

Legislative auditor J. B. Lancaster has cited the Lincoln Parish School Board for its failure to account for more than $1,800 in equipment purchased with federal Title I funds.

Missing items include seven tape recorders, two saxophones, one cornet and one trombone.

Lancaster's audit report said, "There were no records as to any individual having been issued equipment. Further efforts should be made to account for these items.

"In the future, all equipment issued by the school board should be signed for the individual receiving it so that responsibility can be established.

"We have been assured that such procedures will be put into effect immediately," Lancaster said.

Court Suit

(Continued from page 1)

system in Tensas Parish, from his brother's system in Bossier Parish and relatives of his subordinate personnel as well as relatives of school board members all to the prejudice of the plaintiffs."

—There were 209 white and 109 black classroom teachers in 1970-71 and 229 white and 109 black for the current year.

—"The federal programs are being used as a transitional graveyard to transfer blacks to menial tasks prior to their dismissals and or forced retirement."

—The defendants refuse to hire any blacks in any meaningful supervisory positions at the board's central office."

The motion cites two black principals of formerly all black schools who were transferred to "flunky" jobs in the federal program. One was replaced, the motion alleges, by a white with "a reputation as a racist, who undisputedly phsically attacked a member of the administrative staff of the board and who since becoming principal has physically assaulted a number of black children."

RICHLAND PARISH

U.S. Appeals Court Overrules Lower Body

The 5th U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled that a lower court erred in refusing to hear the complaints of a Negro teacher who says her dismisaal by the Richland Parish School Board was racially motivated.

The district court had said Mrs. Ollie L. Cornist had failed to exhaust her legal remedies in the state courts, but the 5th Circuit said the federal district judge should hear the case. The appeals court did not rule on the merits of the case.

"The federal remedy is supplementary to the state remedy, and the latter need not be first sought and refused before the federal one is invoked," said the appeals court.

Mrs. Cornist had taught in Richland Parish Schools for 27 years before she was fired April 6.

She claims she was fired because she played a U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare record for her class. The record, "Integration and Desegregation," explains how to approach certain problems resulting from desegregation, she said.

OVER AT CALCASIEU PARISH

Board, NAACP Disagree on Marion Students

No agreement was reached by members of the Calcasieu Parish School Board and the Education Committee of the NAACP in regard to 53 students who had been attending Marion High School.

The students, zoned into Washington High School by a 5th Circuit Court order were told they would not be allowed to stay at Marion Friday.

Students and officials at Marion had asked the School Board and the NAACP to discuss the problem. A consent stipulation between the NAACP and the School Board would be necessary for changing the court order. The School Board favored allowing the students to remain at Marion but the NAACP refused the request.

Marion spokesmen Gil Fontenot, black student body president, and Wes Manuel said the 53 white students have become a part of the school, compose half the band and have taken office in many clubs.

"Changing them will break down the morale of the whole school and deprive these students of an education," Manuel said.

"I feel you should not have been permitted to attend that school even for one day," Mrs. James Clemons, head of the NAACP committee said. A breach of the court order has occurred, she said.

"We are concerned not with one school — but with one school system," said Dennis Ware, NAACP member. Forty-one schools in the parish are not integrated, he said. "This is the thing we need to start looking at."

"In the Swann vs. North Carolina and Charlotte vs. Mecklenberg cases the courts said it is permissable to bus students to achieve integration," Ware continued. "I don't know which way Calcasieu Parish is headed but making an exception for one school will not help the situation. White students who should be at Washington and Boston High Schools are not attending the schools, he said.

"This was taken out of our hands when the community refused to do what it was supposed to. Someone was derelict in his duty and caused this situation to happen," he accused. "If you can get along with blacks at Marion, you can get along with blacks at Washington" he said.

NAACP member Willie Marchand blamed the Marion principal, Charles Honore, and said, "one member of the School Board is trying to get an illegal act condoned."

"I did call Marchand," said the Rev. V.E. Washington, Ward 3 School Board member. "I did not ask him to violate a law. I asked only that he meet with the Bi-Racial committee to discuss the possibility of leaving the students in."

"You asked the students be allowed to stay at Marion until a decision had been made," Marchand said.

"The students were allowed to stay at Marion while we were waiting to see if we could resolve the problem," Dr. Paul Moses, superintendent of schools, said. He said after the problem had come to the attention of the board, he had talked to U.S. Judge Edwin F. Hunter and officials of the Bi-Racial committee. It was a tactic agreement, he said, because the committee was to meet immediately to act on a School Board recommendation asking that the students be allowed to remain. The students were notified immediately of the Bi-Racial ruling, he said. "We did not violate a court order. We are trying to work within the guidelines — not in violation of a court order," Moses said.

Reading an excerpt from the 1970 court order, Mrs. H.P. Francis of Ward 3 said the court stated the School Board was free to seek adjustments if desegregation is not diminished. "I feel on the basis that they were achieving integration the children should be allowed to remain," she said.

Meaningful integration can be achieved only when a plan is devised that the people want and are willing to live with, John Dennison, school board president, said.

"It would be beautiful if one day the NAACP won't be necessary. This would be a good starting point," Fontenot, Marion spokesman, said.

"Maybe the solution to the problem is to run the whole thing back through the courts and get the whole thing revamped," stated NAACP member, Dr. Jimmy Kirkum.

"You look at legal stands but you don't look at people," Fontenot told the NAACP committee.

Ware said if the committee suspended the rules at Marion then next week it would be Lake Charles High. "All games are played by rules. Blacks have been deprived because we followed the rules," he stated.

"We have decided," Mrs. Clemons said. "We do not wish to have the students remain at Marion." She said the move was not justifiable educationally.

Moses said the move might create emotional problems for the children. Washington is working at capacity, he said. There is room at Marion and it is closer to the homes of the students.

Ward 3 member Mark Wentz Jr. said 65 of the 68 schools in the parish were integrated to some extent. "If we solve the problems one at a time," he said, "we will soon reach our goal of meaningful integration."

"This is part of a racist policy that exists in the nation," Ware said. He said the connotation of being a black school was keeping the students from Washington.

"We have come to an impasse," Stephen Coleman, Ward 2 member said. He asked for adjournment.

In a final statement, Fontenot said, "I've lost this battle. But I'm going to tell you something." Addressing the NAACP committee, "You're hurting the blacks with this." The student leader broke into tears. "You're supposed bo be advancing the colored people. But you're carrying it the wrong way. If the whites don't get exposed and work with the black you're not accomplishing anything," he said. "This is the first battle — but it's not over." There was open weeping among parents and students who thronged the room.

"We plan to keep those students at Marion one way or the other," Manuel said.

Progress Improving

(Continued from page 2)

tegrated society can help the nation's children become stronger international leaders when government is in their hands.

"All of our ills and our wars are fought because we do not understand the other fellow's point of view," Facen said. "Unless the level of understanding and the level of culture of these groups is understood, we can never achieve international harmony. If this isn't done, we're not going to survive."

Integrated educational experience can also help the United States maintain its position as a world power, Facen said.

"If we can't work together, how are we going to work with somebody else," he said. "That's why we're not doing any better than we're doing. The other nations are telling us to clean up our own house before we come over there and tell them what to do."

Facen's daughter, Dr. Geneva Newport, a teacher at Grambling College, was one of 13 U. S. teachers chosen for a State Department sponsored program to aid African schools improve their reading programs.

America's internal problems were thrown at her, he sad. "With the crime rate in the United States, how are you going to come Christianizing us? You can't tell us anything," he said was the African attitude toward the American teachers.

On bussing: "I approve of busing as a means of bringing about a balanced integrated school. Bussing has always been a means of giving a better quality education," dating from the days when schools were consolidated to provide a larger school "where a rich curriculum can be offered."

"This excuse, about busing is only an excuse to keep from integrating schools," he said, adding that when he taught school, children were bussed 25 to 30 miles a day "and nothing was said about it. Now it's a big ballyhoo about the bad effect of bussing and they've been doing it all the time."

IN OUACHITA PARISH

Calls Federal Program Biased

The Ouachita Parish School Board voted unanimously to request that federal Title I funds be available to all children, not just those as identified as needing aid.

The body opened fire on the federal program as discriminatory, since they restrict projects to the underprivileged groups.

Last year, the school system received $502,000 in Title I funds, part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act passed by Congress. Funds are earmarked to help those children determined to be economically and educationally deprived and most in need of special assistance.

Approximately 21.9 per cent of the parish school students qualify for Title I assistance, said Frank Woolie, director of federal programs for the system.

Copies of the resolution will be sent to President Nixon, all members of the U.S. Congress, the Louisiana School Board Associations and all state education professional organizations.

The board also passed a motion to "look closely" at federal programs to see how equally they benefit all students and if they are non-discriminatory in nature.

Mrs. George M. Snellings, who proposed the motion, said she feels restricting Title I funds to specific students "is unconstitutional." At first, she moved that the board never accept more federal money "That is discriminatory in nature," but amended it to the version that passed.

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DEEP IMBEDDED frustrations were cited as the main reason for demonstrations by black students at Abbeville High School (upper photo) last month. Things broke into the open the morning of Oct. 6, the day after election of homecoming court was announced. James A. Herrod High (bottom photo) the formerly predominantly black high school in Abbeville, is now being used only for Headstart classes and adult education programs. It was closed when integration began because it was said that white parents would never agree to sending their children to Herrod.

BLACK STUDENTS BALK

Abbeville Hi Still Simmering; Frustration Cited As Problem

ABBEVILLE — Deep imbedded frustrations was blamed for the demonstrations at Abbeville High School and the community last month. The election of the homecoming court in which no blacks were represented provided the initial spark, but the powder keg was there and only needed something to set it off. The election itself merely was an excuse.

On the morning of Oct. 6, the day after the election results were announced, black students refuse to report to their home room classes. They remained in the halls talking and chanting. Cecil Picard, principal, said he tried to talk to them "seven times." An ultimatum was given after the students would neither go to the auditorium to talk nor meet in conference, the principal explained. "A chance was given them to iron out their grievances that day," he said.

Abbeville police chief, Daniel Noel, arrived on the scene while black students were lying down in the road to stop school busses. Noel said he thought of the entire community's benefit before he acted. "What are we going to solve by herding these people out? We re-routed the school busses instead. We didn't treat them with force, rather we asked them to adhere to the law. I felt the situation could've been handled in conference, rather than on the streets. They have a system of due process they can follow in the courts if the school board is in confrontation with the laws. I didn't get this point across, but they were always in full cooperation when we asked them to disperse or march somewhere else,"the young police chief emphasized."

Told to Leave

The students were told to leave the school under their own power or be arrested for trespassing. They then marched from the school to the school board office. A boycott of local merchants began to put some pressure on the school board. One black described the purpose of the boycott to a grocery store owner in this manner.

"I asked him what would happen if he took an ax and chopped a big circle around the telephone pole and put his hands all over the pole? he said "nothing." Then I asked him what would happen if he shimmied up that pole and touched one of the wires? He sid "I'd be electrocuted." Then I said OK if you want to stop that current from running out there in those wires can you just go inside your store to do it? He said "no, I'd have to go to the powerhouse." Then I told him that's exactly what we're using you for —to get to the powerhouse."

The boycott continued and

"Minimal Bussing"

Controversy Appears Dying Down?

Two months have passed since the opening of the Lafayette Parish Schools, and it appears that the controversy that once raged over what U. S. District Judge Richard Putnam termed "a minimal amount of bussing" has died down.

On Aug. 6, Judge Putnam accepted the school rezoning plan, instructed the establishment of a bi racial board half appointed by the School Board and half by the plaintiffs in the Alfreda Trahan case, and dismissed a motion and complaint of intervention by Board President George Dupuis.

Dupuis, one of the two board members who voted against the proposed rezoning in the July 21 meeting, claimed that the plan submitted to the court was unconstitutional ahd that it was not identical to the one approved by the board in its July 21 session. He continued to say that the additional expense incurred in purchasing busses would aggravate an already deficit school system budget and additional teachers would have to be released. He also predicted that the customary transportation of parish parochial school children by the public would have to be eliminated to implement additional bussing.

In testimony before Judge Putnam, Charles Baudoin, transportation supervisor for the school board, said there were 2,600 non-public school children riding school board busses. Attorney for the plaintiffs', Margrett Ford, asked why these children rode the busses: receiving an objection from Lafayette District Attorney Bertrand DeBlanc, who said that local school boards should offer bussing for all the children. Baudoin then noted that even parochial children were eliminated, it would not make much difference. "The buses are already overcrowded and we would still have route duplication," he said.

Judge Putnam heard the testimony and decided that a minimal amount of bussing was needed to achieve a unitary system. Dupuis subsequently began a fight against the plan accepted by the court which received statewide attention. It fizzled out, however, and he announced his intention to retire to private life.

His announcement was short-lived when August 29, he announced his candidacy for Clerk of Court for Lafayette Parish. In his statement he brought up the issue of bussing and called it a "crisis." He continued to say that he was "opposed to this Court decree and the havoc that it has wreaked upon our young people and our education programs. It was with this feeling of futi lity that I sought the relief of private life, but I recog nize that if we are ever to overcome bureaucratic control of the various phases of government. . . them strong-willed men must seek public office."

IN OUACHITA PARISH

School Board Drops Charges Against Teacher

MONROE — The Ouachita Parish School board has dropped all charges against Jesse J. Hester, a black tenured teacher who had been charged with incompetence.

After a lengthy closed door session, the board ordered Hester reinstated and transferred to Swayze School. The action came in a unanimous voice vote.

Later four school board members said the responsibility for dismissal of the case lay with the district attorney's office, which handled it for the board.

"The consensus of opinion of the entire board was that the case was poorly prepared and presented by the district attorney's office," one school board member said.

Another board member said privately, "In due deliberation during the executive session, we found the district attorney's assistant just did not have a sufficient case."

The formal resolution said "it was determined that for the best interest of the Ouachita Parish School System and Mr. Hester that the hearing be discontinued, all formal charges be dismissed and that Mr. Hester be transferred to Swayze Elementary School."

"Mr. Ray O. Wright, principal of Swaze Elementary, has expressed a willingness to afford Mr. Hester the opportunity to teach in an environment similar to one prior to his transfer."

Hester had taught in all black schools until he was transferred to Woodlawn Elementary School in March, 1970.

The School Reporter

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IN CADDO PARISH

Should Men Be Hired As Elementary Teachers

Should more men be used as elementary teachers?

This has been an issue for a good many years. Proponents say boys are dominated by women much too much during their formative years — first by their mothers, and next by their women teachers.

Others claim young children of both sexes benefit from the "more gentle" influence of women teachers.

Proponents declare that there ought to be more male supervision during those formative years.

Of the approximately 1,375 elementary school teachers in Caddo Parish this year, only about 50 are men.

For a number of years, psychologists have argued that more men should be employed by school systems — particularly on the elementary level because of the emotional and psychological factors involved in the child's development during his formative years.

Dr. James Childs, Caddo Parish School psychologist, says that it is very important for the young boy to identify with a male figure in his elementary years since most of his earlier contacts have centered around his mother.

He said this is particularly true if there is no stable male influence at home. On the other hand, Dr. Childs said, "The woman also plays an important role in the child's education and development by providing the more gentle, humanistic image which tones down more dominent, rugged male image.

Thus, for a child, particularly the boy, to develop in a normal healthy way emotionally, physically and psychologically, he must have both male and female figure to guide his progress through school since it is through these models that the child learns what society expects of him through his life, Dr. Childs explains.

However, there are still very few men who enter the field — perfer — ring higher grade levels or other types of jobs. So school boards are continually faced with having a ration of many more women teachers than men . . . and in Caddo Parish, it's 26 to 1.

Dr. Childs went on to say that a child, particularly a boy needs a continuation of both male and female authority and influence to identify with also to adjust sexually, learning to cope with the sex role.

Youngsters deprived of one or the other influence misses out on that characteristic.

According to the pshychologists, a large percentage of delinquent youngsters — those in serious trouble who become wards of juvenile courts often going on to reform schools and penal institutions — usually come from broken homes.

He attributed lack of stable male influence in to home to divorce or separation, modern technology which often separates the father from the home through his job — traveling or becoming so emersed in his work that he neglects his family, and other similar reasons.

Youths in trouble have not identifed with the appropriate roles designated for them by society, he said. Their initial behavior becomes unac eptable to their peer groups, they're left out and rejected because of abnormal behavior.

Therefore, their reaction is different; they become more isolated and act out more of their hostilities for security reasons and need adult figures to combat this — particularly male figures in the elementary years, according to Dr. Childs.

Teachers provide models for the kind of roles society hopes youngsters will manifest in later years and the psychological attitude directly affects the amount of learning which takes place.

Let George Do It — Please

By Bob Costley

NEW ORLEANS — In the north east corner of New Or leans, hard against what can only be described as a swamp, and surrounded on three sides by two sets of railway tracks and a canal, lies one of the largest and most isolated ghettos in A merica. The irony of this section of New Orleans is that it has a most colorful and misleading name. It is called . . . DESIRE!

There are approximately 35,000-40,000 residents in Desire, (10,000 are children) with few outlets for recreation, culture, self expression and entertain ment. Oh, there are two or three mini parks in the area, a number of "joints" and there is always the streets. The one oasis in this concrete desert is the Desire Community Center. Here is where we find Mr. George Price, Acting Director. George is filling this position because the Director, Mr. Johnny Jackson, is engaged at the moment, running for a seat in the Louisiana House of Representatives.

This reporter spent a full day in Desire talking to many of the residents of all ages, asking them how they saw the role of the Center and its present interum administrative staff. The sentiment most often expressed, when asked about the Center, was, "When I want to find something, I go see Brother Price." or "That George Price really takes care of business." So, I went to see George, and I found it was true. George Price really does, take care of business!

George is a rather handsome young man who's quiet manner and "soft sell" of himself and his work at the Center immediately turned me on, and made me an eager listener. George is an "old" twenty-five years of age. His vision of what he wants for his community, (he was born there and the way he articu lates it, makes me wonder if he isn't ten years older than he claims to be.)

When he returned from "The Nam" he was immediately cognizant of the fact that Desire had not improved or moved any further socially, financially, or culturally than when he was a teenager. he cast about him and found that many doors were still closed to fellow black veterans like himself, so he formed, "Black Veterans for Progress." This organization caught the eye and ire of local government and the press, but the organization persisted in its demands on local businesses and some doors were opened.

Then George joined the Center and brought the same fire and quiet dedication to this new challenge. He was hired as the education director, and in eight months had developed and structured a program for under-achievers and drop-outs that is still functioning, and turning out newly motivated youngsters. He organized a "Help a Brother" homework club, taught by high school and college students for youngsters in grades two through six. A special education class for the seven through eighteen years olds was established through his efforts.

George is most proud of the Center's drama club; "The Desire One Hundred Voice Choir" and, "The Desire Showcase of Stars." He stated, "There are so many of our youngsters just dying to show off their considerable talent and here they have a chance to do just that." Every day approximately 2,500 people of all ages pass through the Center's doors. They play basketball, table tennis, box, play cards, (there is a great bid-wist club there.) There are sewing classes, home ec. clubs, and courses in human relations.

Veterans Have Many Benefits To Choose

Veterans do you know what you are entitled to? This is the first of a series on your benefits.

Probably the most important and most used benefit is the educational training program. This program is currently offered to veterans who served on active duty for more than 180 days, any part of which occurred after January 31, 1955, and who were released under conditions other than dishonorable, or who were released from active duty after January, 1955, for a service-connected disability. It is also available for servicemen on active duty in the Armed Forces of the United States who have served on active duty for at least two years.

An educational institution approved for training may include not only public and private colleges and universities, but also secondary, vocational, correspondence and business schools. Also included are professional scientific or technical insitutions, or any other institution which furnishes education at the secondary level or above.

Each eligible veteran may select a program of education or training at any educational institution or training establishment which will accept and retain him as a student or trainee in any field the institution finds him qualified to undertake.

Each eligible veteran will be entitled to educational assistance for a period of 1-½ months or the equivalent in part-time training for each month or fraction thereof of his service on active duty, not to exceed 36 months. If he has served 18 or more months after January 31, 1955, and has been released under conditions satisfying his active duty obligation, he will be entitled to the full 36 months. An additional period can be allowed not to exceed 48 months total. Each full-time student receives $175 a month, as well as a small amount for each dependent.

For more information contact the nearest V.A. office. In Louisiana, offices are located in New Orleans and Shreveport.

White Enrolled Outside Zone

LAKE CHARLES — The whites living in the vicinity of the Medora Street line are zoned to Washington, but contrary to school rules, were enrolled at Marion School.

This matter was called to the attention of the school board and Dr. Paul Moses, Superintendent of Schools stated that the children must be dropped as the matter was discussed with the chairman of the court appointed bi racial committee who asked that things be held in obeiance until that committee could meet.

The meeting was held with a secret ballot rejecting the moving of the Medora Street line; therefore, the whites were to be dropped from the Marion rolls immediately.

Local news media interviewed everyone concerned; they interviewed a school board member, parents, the superintendent of schools, students, everybody except the plaintiffs in the court order, the Lake Charles Branch NAACP.

This fight is bigger than Washington, Marion or Medora Street. The board has begun to busy itself and is seeing that every child attends the school to which he is zoned. Through this effort we can have a degree of integration, since this is the original purpose for which the suit was filed.

The Marion parents that were interviewed on TV stated that they want their children to attend the nearest school. Many of the children attended a private academy last year and are trying to escape a tuition raise.

At the time that the line was drawn, Marion was a predominantely white school and has changed to a predominately black one.

NAACP's position is that students should attend schools to which, they are assigned and that as an organization it cannot set a precedent by changing lines. After much deliberation, all concerned agreed that an empurse had been reached.

Abbeville Hi Still Simmering;

(Continued from page 1)

it was rumored that one merchant, at Daigles' Superette, lost $2,000 in one weekend. Daigle himself had "no comment" on the situation. He expressed happiness that it was now over and his customers were back, while getting several extra fryers for one lady. On the move, he remarked that "I just hope that in some way what happened might help to improve community relations."

Several Incidents

Several incidents marred the weeks of demonstrations: fires, threats, and some bodily harm. During the early hours of Friday morning, October 15, three buildings were burned. A furniture warehouse and its contents were destroyed with a loss of about $65,000. An empty building was burned. A grocery store and washateria saw approximately $60,000 in investments go up in smoke. All these buildings were white owned in predominately black neighborhoods.

One of the student leaders in the demonstrations, Osborne "Buddy" Taylor, said that these fires might have been set by people who wanted it to reflect on the black community. These fires are still being investigated.

Two days later the home of Mrs. Gertrude Thibeaux was the target of a fire bomb. Also, a molotov cocktail that had apparently failed in its purpose was found in a black barber shop. Three members of a white family were picked up and charged with the destruction of the black-owned residence, after reports had been received that one of them had accidently lit a fire bomb while at a drive in.

Taylor said that his house had been the object of an arson attempt, but that the perpetrators fled when a warning shot was fired. A black man, evidently hired, said Taylor, lit a signal fire to see if anyone was home. "When I fired, three white boys fled from the scene. They were picked up, questioned, and released. The black had a real flakey story," he said. Police CHIEF Noel said he knew of no charges filed in such an attempt.

Auto Mishap

Other incidents involved cars and picketers. A Mrs. Lilly Joseph was hit by a car leaving a service station, where she was supervising high school picketers. She was hospitalized later, and remained in the hospital several weeks. Noel said the investigation of the incident showed that neither the driver nor the victim could agree on a point of impact and that both left the scene after the accident. Mrs. Joseph came to the station herself, he said, to report the accident, and in his opinion, did not appear badly hurt. He informed her that she should file suit in Civil Court to recover damages. "We are purely investigative and want to leave the problem of guilt to the courts," he said.

The police chief also pointed out that an hour had lapsed before the accident had been reported and that Mrs. Joseph had not seen a doctor. Talyor, in commenting on the incident, said that the white lady that did it is very well-off and would never be prosecuted.

Taylor also mentioned that "reliable sources" told him that an arsenal was found in Graceland Cemetery, including sub-machine guns, rifles and grenades. Noel just laughed at this and said that they have confiscated no weapons. He added that he wished they had found some. "We could sure use them," he said.

The police chief added that one should never listen to rumors and hearsay, but only to that which can be documented, as "a lot of falsifications were spread around just to keep things lit." He added that probably 60 percent of the town had received telephone threats. He commented that he had several people say they were going to get him or bomb his house.

On Oct. 22, about 123 black students of the 194 enrolled at Abbeville High were reported transferred, dropped, or "just staying out of school" by Picard. Eighty-two of the boycotting students were dropped from the rolls on Oct. 15, after they did not return to school before a deadline set by the principal. These were over 16 years of age.

Bi-Racial Board

On Oct. 25, Federal district Judge Richard Putnam ordered a bi-racial board set up to help improve relations. The next day students were to return to classes as a "gesture of good will", according to one leader. The students were turned away because they did not come with their parents and apparently the confusion stirred up more frustrations. A quick meeting with the superintendent of Vermillion Parish schools enabled the students to return with the normal procedures being waived. They were given two weeks to make up the work they had missed.

Picard saw the whole homecoming problem as a misinterpretation on the part of the students. He said he only enforces existing policies indiscriminately. "The students used homecoming as a vehicle to express deep imbedded frustrations with the community. The leaders and parents followed as a natural reaction."

He said that absences among the blacks hurt their chances of having a black girl elected. In the first month he said 14.3 percent of the blacks were absent while only 8 percent of the whites were out of school. On the day of the election,, 11.7 percent of the blacks were absent. Some did not vote, he added. He pointed to the fact that two blacks were elected last year and that blacks are represented well in athletics. The guest speaker at last year's commencement exercise was black and one of the two guidance counselors is black. "The door isn't closed for them," he said.

If the door is not truly closed then someone would not be yelling because their foot is stuck in it, and it appears that some students have numerous legitimate gripes.

Boycotters Fail

When grades came out for the six weeks ending on Oct. 8, all boycotters received F's. They were told there would be changes in the next grading period if they made up their work. Picard said they were suspended and dropped, necessitating F's instead of I's. One student said that his average in General Business was an A before the boycott and he did not miss a single test. Picard said if no test were given, then the grade should not have been lowered, since daily participation could not have counted that much.

Taylor said that Picard systematically eliminates the leaders of the boycott by suspending them indefinitely for trivial reasons. Picard countered by saying that only seven persons were suspended indefinitely and all but two are presently back in school.

He further said that Taylor's reactions are "feelings of guilt." He added that outside agitation moved the students. In evaluating the positive, they have achieved many goals and will continue to do so, he said.

Specific allegations were made by Taylor as to how the entire situation built up. One point in the beginning was the closing of the predominately black high school, James A. Herod. An 11 year old building, it is now used for Headstart classes and adult education projects. While this school remains relatively idle, a complex that is over 40 years old, and is partially condemned, serves as Abbeville Junior High. "Which one would you use?" he asked. "When I went there we had to move our chairs when it rained because the roof leaked."

Band Members Quit

He continued to say that band members from Herod were not given a chance to try out for the marching band at Abbeville. The Herrod band went to state and won honors seven years in a row, he said, yet they were told at Abbeville High that they would have to start off in the beginner's band. Rather than do this, most blacks quit. One of those that did is Michael Wright, a freshman at the University of Southwestern Louisiana. He now plays first frumpet for the Pride of Acadiana marching band.

Citing several disciplinary cases, Taylor said that teachers do not apply rules equally. "They will stop a black student for doing something and pass by a white doung the same thing." He said that he was sent to the office for wearing a pencil in his hair. "There is some unwritten policy about that, and I've been doing it for five years."

He said despite what Picard says there are those who are suspended indefinitely and never receive hearings as required by law.

Athletes Used?

In the field of athletics, Taylor feels that blacks are beign used "Butch Jordan, co-captain of last year's football team, was good enough to run the football, but not good enough to win an election to the student council," he said.

"Picard wants to put us out one by one by enforcing policies we've never heard of.

(Continued on page 4)

FOR MEDIA CENTER

Ouachita to Hire Black Supervisor?

MONROE — The Ouachita Parish School System's citizens bi-racial committee is investigating the possibility of hiring a black supervisor for the system's Media Center, the committee has reported.

"Some controversy arose over the absence of a Negro, with supervisory status in any of the federal programs operating in Ouachita Parish," said Vice Chairman Dr. Wallace Jones in a formal public report of the committee proceedings.

There has been no replacement of a black assistant director of federal programs who retired last year, said Supt. J. O. Lancaster, because administrative funds have been cut, according to the report.

The committee reported that black administrative personnel in the central office staff has increased from 22 per cent in 1970-71 to 29 per cent in the current year. The increase occurred when a black replaced a white supervisor of child welfare and attendance who retired.

There are four black reading coordinators with the federal program, an increase of two over the last year, the report said.

"While not listed as supervisors per se, the reading coordinators serve in a supervisory capacity and are paid two additional months in the summer for the operation of summer school," the report said.

"Minimal Bussing"

Controversy

(Continued from page 1)

The black community: mobilized in part by Father Albert J. McKnight, one of 180 black priests in the United States has decided to defeat Dupuis in his bid to become clerk of court.

McKnight, a resident of Lafayette for the last 18 years, has often been called an outside agitator and a rabble rouser; and has been sharplycriticized by Dupuis. When the selection of the bi-racial board began, each group was allowed to strike five names from the other's list. Dupuis in giving Superintendent F. C. Delana permission to strike five names from the plaintiff's list, informed him that it did not matter which names he marked out since they were all picked by the same man.

He said that the entire list was made up of radicals who were not representative of the black community, and Father McKnight was "using a Roman collar to hide an unspiritual ambition."

When the schools opened on the first of September, there was little or no mention of the "crisis" to which Dupuis referred. With an additional 984 students riding busses, the percentage of students being bussed increased by only 3.3 percent over the previous year.

Dupuis said he had received over fifty complaints in the first days before school had started. All complaints have since been handled by the bi-racial committee. On September 2 the committee held its first organizational meeting. Members of the press were barred from attending, and it seemed that another controversy was developing.

However, it was brought out that the proceedings and deliberations were a part of the judicial process and should not be open. Both Judge Putnam and Rev. George Ross, chairman of the committee, were in agreement when they said the meeting would continue to be behind closed doors because of the controversial and personal nature of matters to the individuals involved. Press criticism toned down thereafter.

On September 25, a letter to the Lafayette Daily Advertiser Action Corner asked for ratios of black to white students. The figures were quite revealing. The intention of the court-ordered desegregation plan was to achieve a unitary system, yet there are still several schools in the area which do not comply with the 75 percent white, 25 percent black ratio.

Broadmoor Elementary, located in a high income, exclusively white neighborhood had three blacks enrolled in a student population of 510, a percentage of 99.4 to .6 percent. Three other elementary schools were still predominately black. Of the high schools, most came close to the accepted ratio, with the exception of Acadiana High, the most recently built high school in Lafayette. The ratio there was 91 to 9.

It is evident that racial balance in the schools of Lafayette Parish is still not totally in line with the hopes of the court; and it does not seem that the integration situation has now been nicely tucked in bed and put to sleep for good, as many people would have it.

As Judge Putnam noted when he approved the school board plan on August 6, "I would not approve this plan if it was the most permanent one. There can be and shall be changes, depending on when the board can build additional facilities and depending on the cooperation of the public."

Cooperation here is the key word to success. The balance seems to be in the hands of the bi-racial committee to work out and solve Lafayette's desegregation problems. The question is whether or not there will be enough community involvement and understanding to abide by the bi-racial committee's recommendations in the areas of faculty and staff, transportation, extracurricular activities, facilities, and student assignments and transfers. Working together, a unitary system can be achieved in Lafayette.

School Board Approves Student Election Races

SHREVEPORT — The Caddo Parish school Board approved a plan whereby each school will have 10 cheer leaders beginning next year.

The plan which is mandatory, makes the principal at each school responsible for the execution of the election procedure when the plan goes into effect.

The Caddo School board okayed the plan which was drawn up by a committee of faculty and students from across the parish.

Principals will also be responsible for annual reports on rules as they apply to:

— Election and or appoint ment of students to student offices.

—formation of student clubs

—all other extracurricular activities in which students take part.

Each school is required to have a faculty-student advisory group reflecting the ethnic make-up of the school including student body and teachers.

Part of the committee functions is to inform the school on existing conditions of extracurricular activities, the need, if any, for upgrading or changing existing programs, election supervision, and publicizing various school organizations so that all students will be aware of requirements if they desire to join.

Also included in the new policy is a requirement that voting machines be used for two major elections, with the school absorbing the cost. In addition, all schools are required to keep results of all school elections for a minimum of six weeks after the balloting. Permanent records must be kept of election results and the outcome must be made public.

Petition Ask City Schools Be Unpaired

MONROE — Citizens of Monroe's southside presented petitions to the Monroe City School Board asking that Clara Hall and Carver Elementary schools be unpaired.

The same petition has been submitted previously to the system's bi-racial committee, but the group deadlocked on whether to recommend the change.

Board President Jimmy Rivers said the board could do nothing about unpairing the schools because its court order requires any changes to go through the bi-racial committee. He said he would seek advice from the district attorney.

The 1219 southsiders asked the two schools be returned to neighborhood school status like all other schools in the system. When the new desegregation plan was approved this year, the schools remained paired as they were under the last court order.

The residents said the pairing required unnecessary bussing.

Bienville Gets Clean Bill

ARCADIA — The Bienville Parish School Board has received a clean bill of health from state legislative auditor J.B. Lancaster.

The auditor's report said the board's accounts had been examined and found in compliance with state statutes.

The board's accounts have been maintained in "their usual satisfactory manner," the report said.

Nixon Telephone Address Highway Second Annual Drug Institute

MONROE — A telephone address by President Nixon highlighted the Second annual Drug Institute here in October.

The seminar was sponsored by educational and law enforcement agencies in Ouachita Parish.

Some 21,000 students from local schools, educators and law enforcement officers gathered at the Monroe Civic Center to hear the President speak via telephone hookup.

Nixon's first connection with the civic center arena was cut-off but was reconnected within minutes.

Describing drugs as "public enemy No. 1,"Nixon told the students, .."Young people are the target of the peddlers of drugs, and they must be the ones who must lead the fight against them."

Keynote speaker at the meeting was Dr. John E. Ingersoll, director of the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

The next week, the seminar continued with two days of in-service training sessions for law enforcement officers and teachers. Four experts on drugs and alcohol addressed the seminar, and later help rap sessions with students.

Dr. Ed Bloomquist, a professor at the University of Southern California's medical school and author of the book "Marijuana," spoke on "The Drug Culture and Its Effects in Schools."

George Dimas, director of Oregon's alcohol and drug section, spoke on .."Alcohol Education in Schools and Solutions."

Dr. John S. Sinacore, drug education director for the New York State Department of Education, discussed drug education in schools.

Robert K. Squire, national founder of Smarteens and Smart Set, spoke to local affiliates and their sponsors.

Students Man Classes While Teachers Rest

MONROE — Northeast Louisiana University education students are taking over Quachita Parish school classrooms for a half day a month while teachers attend in-Service training programs.

Education department head, Dr. Bernard Shadoin said the students—20 of them—are assigned separately or in pairs to conduct both elememtary and secondary classes while the teachers attend the refresher courses.

The students do not teach the classes but conduct some type of single concept or reinforcement of the material already learned, Shadoin said.

This arrangement offers the student"the chance to get excellent experience and to professional ambitions," Dr. Shadoin said. Students receive credit in a laboratory experiences program.

Abbeville Hi Still Simmering;

(Continued from page 3)

A teacher yelled at me to tuck my shirt in and I did it right there in the hall, but you can't expect me to respect someone who doesn't respect me. The teachers don't even set good examples. They want me to shave and some of them aren't c ean-shaven," he said.

In getting into the shady realm of "outside agitators," there is a great deal of misrepresentation in the community. The "outsiders" who are probably the reference of such remarks are Sister Ann Catherine Bizalion, Tony Alverez, Carolyn Moss, Edgar Jordan, and Father Albert J. McKnight.

Sister Anne Catherine said that an agitator is one who "puts their nose ~~where they~~ shouldn't start a mess." Father McKnight is a "man of peace" she added and he probably "kept fighting from starting." McKnight has been a resident of Southwest Louisiana for 18 years.

The Sister is the head of Southern Mutual Help Association and Alverez, Moss, and Jordan are workers under a federally funded Emergency School Assistance Program grant. The purpose of the grant is to aid in integration.

Tutoring Centers

There are three tutoring centers operating in Abbeville. "During the three weeks of demonstrations there was an accent on constructive action to keep the children busy and off the streets," said Sister Anne Catherine.

"We are a mixed staff and we have some contacts in both communities. We want to be a bridge o communication in some way. This is the first step and we want to continue. Basically we have a kind, good-hearted community on both sides. Racists are not the majority on either side.

"Louisiana politics is a skillful maneuver to keep poor whites and poor blacks fighting among each other. That is the way the powers-that-be remain on top. Political maneuvering keeps people from constructively getting together," the Sister said.

In talking about the police actions taken in the last few weeks, the sister said that although Noel is trying to be progressive by putting blacks on the police force and trying to show the city administration that more educational training is needed for his officers, he has fallen short. "The theory of a show of force as a way of maintaining order is a misconception. The blacks hadn't shown violence, and this was liable to provoke them into it," she explained.

Jordan noted that when proper channels close, one perpetuates violence. Miss Moss pointed out that the out-of-state license plates on two of the staff cars cause a little trouble. "The police feel we are outsiders. I got stopped five times in two weeks for having an out-of-state license plate," she said. Alverez said that rather than being agitators, their presence was helpful because there were "less kids on the streets."

Root of Problem

Sister Anne Catherine noted that some of the roots of the problem were in the fact that Louisiana is last in the nation as far as persons over 25 completing five years of school, and "Vermillion Parish is last in the state." There has been a 62.2 percent increase over one year in dropouts since integration began. A lot of blacks feel the teacher isn't interested and don't want to go to school, she said. "This isn't the fault of the child, teacher, or the black community; but of the whole system. If there is anyone to blame it is the people in power." Along the lines of absences she expressed a feeling of disgust that authorities do not enforce attendance laws until it becomes appropriate to do so, as in the case of Picard suspending black boycotters for non-attendance.

Ouachita, Monroe Systems Hold 3 Teacher Workshops

MONROE — Ouachita Parish and Monroe City schools have held three teacher workshops during the past month.

The Ouachita system sponsored a two day workshop for mathematics teachers with consultant Miss Vivian Gallant, a math teacher with Will W. Jackson Middle School at San Antonio, Texas. The teachers learned to use teaching aids that they will employ in the classroom.

The parish system also held an advanced reading teachers workshop, lead by Dr. Richard Van Donger, assistant professor of elementary education at the University of New Mexico.

Parish workshops were in service training programs funded by the federal government through grants from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Dr. George Immerzeel of the University of Northern Iowa conducted workshops for Monroe City School system math teachers. At the same time other groups of teachers met to discuss problems and improvements of their teaching areas.

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WELDON MIRE, a recent University of Southwestern Louisiana graduate, is the new program director of the Lafayette Natural History Museum and Planetarium project. The program is funded by a $38,000 grant under the Emergency School Assistance Program.

AT LAFAYETTE

Museum Complex Is Adventure In Learning

LAFAYETTE: Teaching is one of the prime objectives of the Lafayette Natural History Museum and Planetarium. Surely not in the conventional sense of a classroom with four walls and an uncomfortable desk. But rather in a sense of seeing and doing, and adventure to inspire and direct the energies of school children into a gratifying learning experience.

It was in this spirit of offering a culturally enlightening program to school age children and a directed effort to involve all segments of the community — Black and White, French, Spanish, Acadian and Indian — that the museum received a $38,817 grant under Title 45 of the Emergency School Assistance Program of the federal government.

Mrs. Beverly Latimer, museum director, has selected Weldon Mire, a recent University of Southwestern Louisiana graduate, as program director. This endeavor will be conducted in four phases with an overall goal of involving the community more fully in the teaching processes of the museum.

The phases are focussed in the areas of parental involvement, understanding the races, participation in in school-related extra-curricular activities, and pre-school education.

The museum first became interested in the areas of black-white community relations when it became evident to Mrs. Latmier that blacks were simply not totally utilizing the facilities. At a Human Relations Council meeting in October, she explained the projects the museum wished to initiate, in hopes that blacks would receive more use from this building and facility which was built with their taxes.

Cultural Pride

"We want to build the program in such a way as to put pride into people. We want integrated cultural programming to build the community with all groups showing interrelationships. Lafayette Parish is like an eco-system in that we all depend upon each other," she explained.

In explaining the problem of parental involvement, the minimal interest of blacks in the museum's programs has been attributed to the fact that the museum is on donated land surrounded by white neighborhoods. Furthermore, integration in the community is hampered by the fact that Caucasians often harbor the feelings that blacks are basically uncultured. By providing the opportunity for blacks to participate at no charge in a cultural activity, the museum might begin to lessen this problem. It is in the hope that blacks might learn that, open to public, includes them, for so many times in the past blacks have been excluded from such activities until they

(Continued on page 3)

MONROE CITY

'Model School' Program First In State's History

MONROE: The Monroe City School System has initiated the first experiment school program of its kind in the state at two all-black elementary schools.

Although the program being used at Lincoln and Clark schools has been successfully test-run in other school systems, it is the first time a "model school" program has been tried in Louisiana.

"Horse and buggy education is not going to get the job done," said Dr. Lynn Snell, the assistant superintendent heading up the program. "Children face retraining a minimum of three and a maximum of five times in their lifetimes because things are changing so fast."

"Children must be taught flexibility to cope with the changing world," he said. "We are trying to get away from the idea that two plus two always equals four. Public education should help in every way possible a child to seek the way he's going to live. What happens after that is his decision. The model school is a step in that direction."

The model — experimental — schools were created at the behest of the city school system's bi-racial citizens committee as part of its compromise desegregation plan. Lincoln and Clark are both located in poor black neighborhoods and are not integrated. Since the committee arrived at its compromise plan, black committeemen have accused the school board of breaching faith in instituting the model school program and in carrying out other parts of the plan. Subsequently, the plaintiffs have filed new motions in U.S. District Court, where the matter will be resolved.

It is not the purpose here to rehash the conflict, but rather to describe the philosophy of the program and how the schools operate under it.

Own Level

The whole model school idea revolves around reaching each child at his own level, letting him learn at his own rate of speed and encouraging him to learn for himself. Ideally, this gives each child the opportunity to develop his mind to its full potential.

"The philosophy lies with the fact that children learn at different rates, have different backgrounds, different needs and mature at different rates, not only physically, but emotionally and intellectually," Dr. Snell said.

"Children learn individually. There is no such thing as group learning, only collective learning. Children have the right to development of their capabilities up to their limits. This teaching approach has a much better chance of doing this than anything that's been done before."

The teaching approach is called "differentiated staffing." In the typical class-

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'Model School' Program

(Continued from page 1)
room there is one teacher for about 30 students, Snell explained. In differentiated staffing, three teachers and one aide take care of 105 to 110 students, giving a student-teacher ratio of 35-1. "The idea is to provide more adults with which the child can interact and learn from, rather than use the stereotyped situation we've had for years."

In addition to the teachers and aides, each school has two to three reading teachers, an elementary counselor, a research librarian and a special education teacher. "The key to the whole thing is that not one person but teams of people must plan together daily to provide proper experiences for the children in order that they learn the concepts," Snell said.

Two Specialists

Working directly with the schools are two elementary education specialists. Mrs. Olive Lee Cochran, director of elementary curriculum, is in charge of Lincoln's program; and Mrs. Virginia Eddleman, supervisor of elementary education, handles Clark's program.

The children are situated somewhat differently as well. Instead of the usual grade 1, 2, 3, etc. students are assigned to units: Unit A includes students aged 6-8; Unit B those aged 8-10; and Unit C those aged 10-12.

"Children are ranked according to test scores," said Mrs. Cochran. A pictorial vocabulary test is used for children just entering school and the Stanford Achievement Test is used for grades 2-6.

Then the "stratified 10" concept is applied. That is, in a class of 30, one-third would be brighter students, one-third average students and one-third poorer students.

"The children in the bottom third can learn more readily from their brighter classmates. Therefore, there are 10 potential teacher helpers in each room," Snell said. "The top third work as part of the unit. Not only does it help the poor third but it helps reinforce learning (of the upper third)."

Lincoln and Clark students attend class five hours a day, leaving the sixth hour for teachers to plan the next day's activities and schedule the children for special work, Mrs. Eddleman said. The children study language arts for two hours, math for one hour, science, physical education and art and music for a half hour each per day.

The children change classes. Once arrived at class they may not always remain in the classroom set-up.

Small Groups

They may work in small groups with the instructional aide. "The aide is not a teacher. She instructs small groups of children, but works under the supervision of the teacher. She does not plan classes. She is an auxiliary person with whom the children can identify," Snell explained.

Or the students may go to the resource center to work with the resource librarian. "The resource librarian is a master teacher. She is totally familiar with everything that's in the resource center. She normally sees about 250 children per day for 30 to 40 minutes. Students with particular needs will be sent to work on particular skills. The teacher sends the child with a prescription sheet, which may be for a taped program in phonics, a math program with a response sheet for answers," the assistant superintendent said.

Or they could be sent to the reading laboratory where reading specialists help them conquer their problems with the basic skill. The reading labs house a variety of audio-visual equipment and handle 20 students per hour.

Or they may see the elementary counselor for testing or individual counseling.

"The teacher tries to determine the need and gives the child several experiences and whatever type of explanation he needs to learn a particular concept." Snell said. "This requires a greater variety of media, multilevel material and multisensory approaches."

"There is less lecture-type class and more discovering for themselves about the basic concepts and ideas about how the world around them operates. It's a firm foundation to build on. We encourage them to seek information at every source, think for themselves and look around them — look at not one but both sides." Snell gave factories as an example: while the children should learn that factories pollute the environment, they should also learn that factories provide jobs for people.

Team Planning

The teams of teachers come into play in planning. Home room teams are made up of art, music, and social studies teachers. There is another team for language arts, which includes reading, writing and speech, and a third for math and science. Curriculum teams are established for each unit.

Teachers at the two schools do not use grades as such, said Mrs. Eddleman, but progress reports in the form of a check list. "We are hopefully getting away from that A,B,-C,D,F, thing anyway." Reports are issued every nine weeks, as at other city schools.

"By midterm there will be parents' conferences," Mrs. Cochran said. "A note will go home when we can't arrange a conference as an explanation of what the child is doing."

As for promotion, Mrs. Cochran explained, "Student tests and teachers' judgement are the main consideration in promotion of a child. If he has achieved, he will be moved up." She added there is much more compensatory education to upgrade the children at the two schools.

Mrs. Eddleman summed: "The advantage of the model school is that we can try anything we think will work. We're struggling to see where we can better education."

Abbeville Reports Calm

(Continued from page 2)
protest during October, knitted a tam in home economics class. She wore it to class and was told to take it off by the teacher. When she asked why other students were allowed to wear hats, she was allegedly told, "If you take yours off, the others will too." In the office of the principal a heated discussion almost resulted in her expulsion. She was acknowledged to be right in wearing the hat, but was told to refrain from wearing it in class.

Lawrence Shelvin used to attend Abbeville High School. He is now out of school because he was told that if he returned, he would most likely be expelled the next time he was sent to the principal's office. He is hoping to attend Holy Rosary in Lafayette, but is in doubt over where the money will come from to go there. His father is disabled and his mother does not have the money to send him to school. The Welfare Department is one hope for a source of funds in this case.

Problems arose in Lawrence's classes when he was making up the work that was missed while the students were boycotting the school. He was to have made a booklet, then take a test which is usually comprised of ten to fifteen questions. After completing the booklet in class, he asked to be given the test in the final twenty minutes of the hour. The teacher asked him if he was sure that he had time and he said yes. He saw the 52 questions on the test and started to complete it before he realized he wouldn't have enough time. Asking if it was possible to finish it the next day, he was turned down. He then wadded the test up and threw it in the trash can.

The teacher told him to go to the principal's office, and he said that it didn't matter to him, he was going to get an F anyway. Not realizing she was standing right behind him as he left, he shoved the door shut with his fist. The teacher received a bruise about the size of a half dollar and a five page report of the incident was sent to the principal.

In the report it was also stated that Lawrence had been asked to button his shirt and tuck it inside of his pants. He obeyed the first order, but told the teacher that the shirt was made to hang out. When a conference was held in the principal's office, Mrs. Shelvin was told that she did not bring the right shirt. (She had brought the shirt in question to prove that it was to be worn outside of the pants.) The teacher remitted the statement after Mrs. Shelvin became very indignant that the teacher said it did not belong to her son.

"We are poor, but I teach my children not to steal," she said.

Then Lawrence was told that he was welcome to come back to school at anytime he chose; but the next time he came to the principal's office, he would be expelled. His mother felt there was no other choice than to take him out of school, because she felt the problems in discipline would soon see him have an explusion marked on his record.

Museum Complex

(Continued from page 1)
feel they must be closed.

The objective of the parental involvement phase is increased black participation. They hope to accomplish this by offering free cultural activities; they will also provide free transportation to the museum. Two parent coordinators from the ten schools (both elementary and secondary) in the parish with the highest concentration of Negroes will be hired. They will personally disseminate information about the museum and its programs to parents from their respective schools.

A special series of programs is planned which include a planetarium program and tour of the major fall and spring exhibits at the museum, an explanation of the science programs in the schools of the parish, and a field trip to the city-owned nature trail maintained by the museum. Other field trips planned are to Avery Island and another natural area in South Louisiana. Also a lecture by a black authority in the field of science will be held and a sensatorium show involving special equipment available only at the museum will be presented.

Different Cultures

Lafayette Parish is populated by people of five different cultures — French, Spanish, Negro, Acadian and Indian. The influx of oil industry personnel has resulted in still another group which understands little of the native cultures. One of the barriers of true integration is the failure of one race to know or understand the history and culture of other races. The achieved desire of racial understanding is the second phase of this program. It is directed towards improving the Louisiana History Program in Paul Breaux Elementary School.

This school, formerly the all black high school in Lafayette, has been the subject of controversy ever since initial desegregation occurred. It is now attended by many white students whose parents still resent integration and the Negro race. Many blacks are resentful that the high school that once was here no longer exists. The school now has 871 whites and 307 blacks in grades one through eight.

Since eighth graders are studying Louisiana History, it is generally felt that a pageant which would present the histories of the various cultures in the Lafayette Parish area would supply cultural enrichment for the children. Museum staffers will work with these children during after-school hours to produce such pageants. In the past the museum has sponsored an "Evangeline" Pageant which centered on the Acadians and a "Highlights in Negro History" pageant.

The staff will be composed of qualified professionals, headed by a museum employee who has a degree in drama and theater. Approximately 100 students will be involved, including both races. Presentations will run from February 1 to June 1, 1972, with a schedule of approximately ten programs.

With the advent of integration in Lafayette Parish, culturally deprived children find themselves in the minority in some schools. In the secondary schools many of these children fail to participate in extracurricular activities because they have developed no talents. Children such as these are in need of programs which will provide them with skills allowing them to participate in some type of extracurricular activity in high school.

New Motions

(Continued from page 2)
zone to play football without penalty, but obtained disqualification of the Carroll football team on alleged grounds that students outside the Carroll zone were playing football.

— The board sought and obtained disqualification of the all-black Wossman High School basketball team on the ground that the students were ineligible because they had transferred under the majority to minority rule.

—The board had advised black students they would be ineligible to play if they exercised their majority to minority transfer right.

The plaintiffs asked the court to issue contempt citations against the school board members "ordering them to show cause why they should not be held in comtempt of this court for willful disobedience of the consent decree..."

They asked the court to order the school board to comply with the consent decree, to issue an injunction against the Louisiana High School Athletic Association to prevent the alleged discrimination against blacks and to award attorneys fees as set by the court because of the "willful disobedience" of the court order.

Desegregation

(Continued from page 4)
er than going to school in their predominately-white home parish school, cross parish boundaries to attend a black Catholic school. Of the 384 families with children in one New Orleans black school, 136 live outside its parish's boundaries. Though some blacks do have an emotional attachment to certain schools and to the religious orders that run them, at least part of this crossover can be explained by black parents simply feeling it the proper social thing to do.

"You've got to re-educate the blacks and you've got to re-educate the whites," said Sister Eugenie Simoneaux, O.S.B., who is doing staff work for the archbishop's special committee. "It's going to take a long — please, God, not too long — process of education . . . There have been some efforts (toward integration), but there has not been an overall effort. In some cases, it's goodwill but a lack of know-how."

Much of the challenge facing the Catholic Church in Louisiana is increasing the incidents of goodwill, especially among parish lay and clergy leaders.

The School Reporter

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IN LAFAYETTE

School Bd. Pulls Reverse; Broussard New Superintendent

LAFAYETTE — The Lafayette Parish School Board recently overturned their Nov. 17 election of Paul Broussard as the new superintendent of schools and has chosen Harold Gauthe. This reversal came in their Dec. 1 meeting. The previous vote had been 7-6 in favor of Broussard, yet the parish district attorney, Bertrand Deblanc gave his opinion that a majority of the elected members, that is eight, must confirm the election.

In the Nov. 17 meeting of the board members, Woodly Credeur, was not in attendance. Board president George Dupuis refused to vote, saying he only had that privilege if a tie developed. At that meeting a request from Jack Gremillion, state Attorney General, was made. He advised that the election of Broussard should be valid. For all practical purposes, Broussard appeared to be elected, but it remained for the board members to confirm this at their next meeting.

At the Dec. 1 meeting, board member Stanley Babin moved to delete the portion of the previous minutes which elected Broussard. With the entire board present the vote was 7 to 7 for deletion. President Dupuis then cast the deciding bote in favor of Babin's motion.

Then the board voted 8 to 7 to elect Harold Gauthe to the $21,000 a year post. He replaces retiring F.C. Delana who had 1 ½ years remaining in his term of office. Gauthe will be superintendent until 1977.

Before his election Gauthe had served as supervisor of curriculum for the parish. He received his BA degree in social studies from USL and his master's of education in administration and supervision from LSU. He has acquired an additional 32 graduate hours in education beyond his master's from LSU and USL.

Gauthe has attended numerous conferences all over the nation. In 1967 he was awarded the Louisiana Association of School Librarians Award for school library promotion. He has served as president of the Louisiana School Supervisors Association and president of the Association for Student Teaching. He is also a Louisiana representative on the Executive Council of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools which is responsible for accrediting schools and colleges.

AT DULAC

Community Center Strive To Help Indian Children

DULAC — For over 35 years, the Dulac Community Center has been serving the residents of Dulac, a small fishing village 20 miles south of Houma, Louisiana.

Jim Bopp, the Center's Executive Director, relates, "the center was originally established as a school for Indian children who at that time were barred from the public schools. It has since developed into a large multi-purpose operation providing a kindergarten and day-care program, a medical clinic, recreation, clothing distribvtion and individual social services."

With the advent of school desegregation the Center with the cooperation of the Indian Angels, an Indian community action group, developed a special program to assist the desegregation process. In the spring of this year, the program was funded by the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

"The program is operating in three phases: involvement of parents, involvement of students, and tutoral assistance," explained Bopp.

The Center has hired three mothers from the community, who are responsible for personally contacting all of the parents in the area. "People in the Dulac area do not generally attend meetings, thus we have to go to them," stated Bopp.

"One of the big problems existing in this community is absenteeism," explains Bopp. "When our community worker finds a family where children are not going to school, help is offered."

Many of the poor students are ashamed to attend school because of old and inadequate clothing. When these situations are uncovered, the Center's Clothing distribution program is utilized.

Likewise, medical problems can hinder school attendance. Parents are urged to take advantage of the medical clinic at the Center.

To assist in handling problems of high school youths, a student group has been organized. This group has been meeting regularly since the beginning of the current school term.

With desegregation, black and Indian participation in school artivities has been stifled. There are no black or Indian cheerleaders and none of the school traditions existing in the old high schools Bayou LaCarpe, the Indian High school was closed in 1966 and Southdown High, the black school was closed in 1969) have been adopted at South Terrebone High. This readily results in increased frustrations among minority students.

"These frustrations," said Bopp, "have been heightened by the schools refusal to permit activities to commemorate 'Black History Week.'" The student group is currently surveying all of the black students at the school to obtain their opinions on celebrating "Black History Week." They then plan to submit the results to the school administration in hopes that a program can be planned for next year.

Some of the members participated recently in a field trip to Mississippi. They visited the Choctaw Indian Reservation and spoke with Fannie Lou Hammer.

At the present time plans are being made for the Center's youth group to meet with several student leaders at the school. These include the Student Government officers and newspaper edition. The school administrator has been cooperative in this effort. Hopefully a meeting will be held before Christmas. It is hoped that such a meeting will improve communications and ultimately create a better atmosphere at the school.

The final phase of the Center's program, tutorial assistance, is just getting underway. The local elementary school is currently compiling a list of students who are having academic difficulties. These children and their parents will be contacted to explain the tutoring service offered by this Center.

Tutors are being selected from among the local high school students. This service will be provided at the Center after school hours.

Abbeville Reports Calm; Bi-Racial Body Formed

ABBEVILLE: Abbeville, the scene of racial tension and school disorders during October, is outwardly calm at present. According to several black students questioned, many of the problems that sparked their recent protests still exist. This period of calm is attributed to a hope that the newly formed bi-racial committee will resolve many of their grievances.

Different sub-committees have been set up by the bi-racial board, one of which handles complaints are sent to the Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Joseph Kite, and the principal of Abbeville High School, Cecil Picard. If satisfactory action is not received, then the committee can bring the complaints to the attention of Judge Richard Putnam.

The problems arising from make-up tests which are allegedly harder than the ones missed, unequal application of discipline by teachers, and unresponsiveness of the principal to the students' side in disciplinary cases have made many black students feel that nothing is being done.
done.

The Southern Mutual Help Association, in attempting to work out problems for black students, arranged for a group of Abbeville students to "rap" with 22 students, from Thibodaux High School. The Abbeville students were surprised to learn that similar problems had led to disturbances in Thibodaux last zear. The exchange of ideas was formulated as a means of determining solutions for problems and ways that students can return to school as a group.

The main problem that students encounter at Abbeville High is in the area of discipline. In some cases students have left the school to attend Holy Rosary Institute in Lafayette, or have gone to Houston or other areas of Louisiana, or have merely dropped out of school altogether.

Several reported cases show some arbitrariness in the motives of the teachers and a reluctance of the principal to acknowledge the fact that students may be in the right. He has been known to say that in 99 out of 100 cases the student is wrong.

Cassie Levy, one of the students who organized the

(Continued on page 3)

School Board Named In Ouachita Suit

MONROE: a non-tenured teacher has filed suit against the Ouachita Parish School Board charging his civil rights were violated when he was fired in 1970.

John D. Griffin, who had taught for two years with the parish system, contends he was fired without justification. His suit asks the U. S. District Court to enjoin the board from failing to renew his contract and for damages.

U.S. District Judge Ben C. Dawkins, Jr., has ordered briefs filed in the case.

In a similar case, Orr vs. the Columbus, Ohio, Board of Education, the U.S. Appelate Court ruled that school board's have the right not to renew a non-tenured teacher's contract without hearings.

In its June 16, 1971 decision, the court said that to rule otherwise would confer tenure status on non-tenured teachers.

New Motions Filed In School Desegregation Suit

MONROE — Plaintiffs in the Monroe City School desegregation case have filed new motions for relief, contempt, preliminary injunction and attorneys fees with U.S. District Court.

U.S. Dist. Judge Ben C. Dawkins had set a hearing on the motions, but cancelled. The plaintiffs are now asking the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals to order Dawkins to hold a hearing.

The plaintiffs contend that the school board has broken faith in carrying out the July 30 compromise mix plan, which provides modified neighborhood schools.

Under the plan, students within a mile radius of a school would attend that facility. Each school was to have a 70 per cent to 30 per cent majority to minority ratio.

Two model schools — Clark and Lincoln Elementary—were exempt from the ratio requirements.

The Plaintiff's petition charged the school board has "displayed an arrogant lack of good faith" by:

—encouraging whites to circumvent attendance at black schools;

—"by doing absolutely nothing to promote the plan adopted;

—"by failing to compel attendance of students to assigned schools;

—"by gerrymandering assignment zones to pull in blacks from previously assigned white schools to the new model schools;

—"by failing to provide equal attendance at the three high schools."

The petition cited 11 schools that they alleged were not complying with the ratios; presented figures that showed majority black Carroll High School has only 28 per cent of the high schoolers, while Neville has 38 per cent and Wossman has 34 per cent: and presented figures that showed increases in black enrollment at Lincoln and Clark elementary schools.

The city system's bi-racial committee had deadlocked along racial lines in resolving the conflicts.

Also hit in the petition were alleged discrimination against black athletes and against the Carroll High Football team.

The plaintiffs charged:

—Carroll had received little or no assistance from the board in scheduling football games since it had been reactivated as a high school under the July 30 order.

—The board had refused to schedule a game between Carroll and Neville although there was an open date.

—The board had permitted students outside the Neville

(Continued on page 3)

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

Desegregation Challenges Louisiana's Catholics

By Ferrell Guillory

N E W ORLEANS — T h e Catholic Church in Louisiana has had the issue of desegregating its schools thrust upon it especially forcefully in the past couple of years. And, though bringing whites and blacks together is certainly a moral concern, the Church is finding it may not be completely prepared to deal with all the complexities involved.

To induce some urgency in integrating Catholic schools, some Catholics themselves have dared to use bold man euvers:

ITEM: Teaching nuns pulled out of a school in the Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans when that school accepted an influx of white students, many of whom were apparently fleeing newly desegregated public schools.

ITEM: In the Diocese of Lafayette, some Negro Catholic parents, supported by a group of priests and nuns, filed suit against the bishop and school officials to break up what was in effect a dual school situation in the nearby town of Opelousas. In response, the two schools, one of which was all-black, the other overwhelmingly white, separated from each other by an integrated cemetery, were paired at the beginning of the 1971 fall term.

ITEM: About 300 blacks demonstrated outside the bishop's residence in Baton Rouge, expressing fear that a formerly all-black school would be closed down, after most whites abandoned two inner-city schools that had been paired.

ITEM: A committee of the New Orleans Archdiocesan Human Relations Commission made a series of suggestions to the Catholic school board, including the possibility of breaking up the longstanding tradition of neighborhood parish schools.

Significant Segment

Catholics are a significant segment of the Louisiana population; half the people in the areas covered by the New Orleans archdioces and the Lafayette diocese are Catholic. In heavily Catholic areas, Negroes comprise as much as 10 per cent of the Catholic population.

Louisiana Catholics have long established a wide-ranging network of elementary and secondary schools. For decades, the Louisiana law requiring segregation in schools applied to the religious parochial schools. Catholics accepted the situation as part of the mores of the time. In many cases, Catholics set up black "national" church parishes and schools to care for blacks shut out elsewhere.

When federal courts ordered public schools desegregated throughout the South, integration of Catholic schools, became a touchy subject. The court rulings did not specifically concern the Catholic schools, but church leaders recognized the moral and ethical issue. There were some Catholics — definitely a minority — who courageously worked for racial equality.

Yet, when the time came to desegregate Catholic schools, church authorities generally followed the standard of the state schools. If a city began by desegregating just the twelfth grade, then the Catholics simply did the same. In a few cases, Catholics have taken the lead, but sometimes, too, Catholics have done even less or moved later than their public school counterparts. The result was not much racial integration, mostly bits of tokenism.

Another phase of Catholic school desegregation developed in the wake of the Supreme Court's ruling putting aside the "all deliberate speed" concept and mandating public schools to desegregate immediately. Tremendous pressure began to build on the Catholic schools to accept white students fleeing the state schools in avoidance of the court order.

It has been reported that 6,700 whites found havens in Catholic schools. Archbishop Philip M. Hannan of New Orleans and Bishop Robert E. Tracy of Baton Rouge issued orders designed to prevent their schools from accepting those trying to escape desegregated public schools. School officials feel that the initiative of the two bishops was largely successful.

Accelerated Rate

Even with the acceleration of public school desegregation and the concern over fleeing whites, there still was not among Catholics many positive efforts to promote integration in parochial schools and Catholic high schools. Most attempts to deal with the problem were fashioned in a negative way. To get rid of instances where the Church could be said to be discriminating in contrast to carrying out planned integration.

As a result, whites and blacks, with some outstanding exceptions, still generally go to Catholic schools with their own race predominating. In New Orleans, for example, more than a third of the 22,239 Catholic elementary school pupils are black, but of the 56 elementary schools, there are still eight-all-white, three all-black, 16 at least 90 per cent white and four 90 per cent black. Similarly, 9,300 of the 26,084 high school students in New Orleans are black; yet, of the 20 high schools, there are three all-black ones and 15 that are at least 90 per cent white.

Much of the same situation generally prevails in other parts of the state.

In mid-1970, a suit involving the schools in Opelousas was filed. It was submitted in federal court on behalf of 18 Negro parents by the Rev. Joseph Cooney, O.P., executive director of University Legal Services of Washington, D. C. , and Barry Portman, S. J., who at the time was associated with the New Orleans Legal Assistance Coporation. According to the suit, the Academy of the Immaculate Conception had approximately 1,115 white students and five black students in 12 grades during the 1969-70 school year and an all-white faculty. It also contends that during the same year, the neighboring school, Holy Ghost, had 632 students, all black, in 12 grades and an all-black faculty.

Bishop Schexnayder did not wait for the court to rule on the complaint. He ordered the Opelousas schools paired for the 1971-72 term; in fact, he previously had set 1972 as the deadline for doing away with all dual school situations under his jurisdiction, but after the suit was filed he moved that up to 1971, too.

Black School Closed

In the Diocese of Baton Rouge, since 1966, three all-black schools have been closed and their students bodies consolidated with that of other schools and two other all-black schools have been paired. As the 1971-72 school year approached, two dual school situations remained — one in inner-city Baton Rouge, and the other in the small town of New Roads. Bishop Tracy ordered the schools, paired.

In New Roads, local priests and laymen spent about a year and a half studying the problem and laying the groundwork. Catholic leaders labored to make the pairing work and it did. The whites have stayed.

In inner-city Baton Rouge, the story is different. One school, St. Agnes, was about evenly split in enrollment between blacks and whites. Its. neighbor, St. Francis Xavier, one of the former "national" parishes, was all-black. After the bishop's pairing order, souces close to the situation say, white leadership, including the clergy, was missing. All but eight of the whites, along with some blacks, fled, causing a combined drop in enrollment of 240. And now, instead of having one predominately black school in Baton Rouge, there are two.

The loss of students, moreover, created a financial squeeze. Tuition was raised, but a deficit still loomed. Black parents and nuns were concerned that St. Francis Xavier would be closed. Bishop Tracy pointed out that the St. Francis Xavier Parish Senate had requested him in 1968 to phase out their parish and he noted that he had gone out to find funds to keep the program there operating. The blacks now say that the people in 1968 who petitioned the bishop were speaking only for themselves and their sentiment is not now held by the people in the parish. The blacks said the pairing took place without their participation and they contend they could have worked it out successfully.

30-Minute Protest

On the night of September 20, blacks held a 30-minute p e a c e f u l demonstration outside the bishop's apartment. On the next day, a group of balcks sent him a message, declaring, "This diocese has a history of a lack of respect for the dignity o f b l a c k p e o p l e by making decisions without the knowledge of those concerned . . . We will no longer be treated as little children."

The diocesan school board has since appropriated $30,000 to keep the paired schools operating for the remainder of the school term. And a special board representing the parishes involved has been given the task of determining what can be arranged to maintain the schools after this year. But, beyond the local incident itself, the Baton Rouge controversy marks one of the first times black Catholics have organized and spoken out strongly to their bishop — in this case, Bishop Tracy, who made a speech during the Vatican Council II urging the church fathers to adopt a statement on racial equality.

In New Orleans, the archdiocese has begun to move towards determining how integration can be made more wide-spread and finding mechanisms that will be successful. On August 12, Archbishop Hannan commissioned a blue-ribbon committee on social justice, chaired by Bishop Harold Perry, the only Negro bishop in this country to delve into the tricky maze ot Catholic School integration. While saying that "I do not suggest that we maintain either all-white or all-black schools," Archbishop Hannan also asserted: Generalities that we can, by the sweep of the hand, bring all our schools to some percentage formula of black-white ratio . . . are based on emotion, not on firm facts."

About a month after the archbishop's commission tc the committee, the Institutions Committee of the Archdiocesan Human Relations Commission sent a letter to the school board outlining some concepts that might be used to bring about Catholic school integration. These concepts included breaking up the neighborhood parish school tradition, busing of both black and white students. faculty training sessions and more assigning of teachers from a centralized office. The committee also recommended that consideration be given to revamping the school grade system, so that instead of having schools from the first through eighth grade, there would be a primary school of grades one through four and another school of grades five through eighth.

Money and Customs

Any attempts, however, to promote the decent moral aim of having blacks and white Catholic students learn together will be complicated by two thorny considerations: money and custom.

The Catholic schools are in financial straits. The Archdiocese of New Orleans has closed 17 schools in the last five years, in large part because there wasn't enough money to support them. In addition, Catholic school enrollment is dropping, and as it drops, tuition clumbs, Higher tuition works against the poor, both white, and black.

Catholic lobbyist got the state legislature to pass a bill granting aid to parochial school teachers. The bill contained an antidiscrimination clause, but that clause was changed during the session so that it could be interpreted as allowing teachers in the white segregated academies to get money. The Catholic forces in the legislature accepted the change. The bill passed, became law in 1970, but was later declared unconstitutional by the Louisiana Supreme Court. The Catholic lobbyist organization is still in existence, trying to find a new method of aid that will win court acceptance.

Customs involves many com plex things. For one, racial integration is not a major pulpit subject in most Catholic churches. In Baton Rouge, the diocesan priests' congress in 1970 had before it a resolution calling for a toughening of the local Church's stand in favor of integration. Rather than vote for or against it, the priests tabled the resolution by a 53-39 vote.

In New Orleans, it has been found that many blacks, rath-

(Continued from page 3)

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STUDENT IDEABOOK

STUDENT IDEABOOK

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Emergency School Assistance Project
600 West Ninth Street - Suite 210
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
Phone 376-3541

DECEMBER 1971

FOREWORD

This student idea booklet represents the work of several young people working with the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Linda Frazzini, an ACHR summer employee with an MA degree from Yale University; and Glenn Mahone, also an ACHR summer employee and a senior honor student at State College of Arkansas; and approximately 125 high school students, blacks and whites, from 18 different high schools across the state worked to present these student ideas.

The idea for such a student booklet came about as a result of the many complaints received in the Arkansas Council office from students and parents in those school districts that were having communication problems.

Many of the complaints, especially those coming from parents, had to do with problems growing out of newly unified school systems (black versus white students, teachers, administrators). More than we had thought came from students who along with being concerned about problems of unification had other concerns such as: length of hair, mode of dress, exclusion from certain school activities because of a lack of money, the unquestionable authority of teachers and administrators and a total lack of regard for the thoughts and ideas of individuals or student groups. While this booklet was developed by students and for the use of students, in our opinion it can be of benefit to all who would like some firsthand insight into the feelings, concerns, and the thinking of at least a small percentage of the high school population in Arkansas.

ELIJAH COLEMAN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

INTRODUCTION

This is an idea book for human relations within Arkansas public schools, especially high schools, designed and written by a group of students from the districts in which the ACHR is working under an Emergency School Assistant grant from the U. S. Office of Education. A few other students from other districts also heard about the project and participated because it interested them. In all, more than 100 students were involved in its planning and writing.

This idea book is intended to be a resource for anyone interested in the conclusions of a group of lively, active, and involved students—black and white—who have cared enough to spend a lot of time and energy discussing the schools they attend. We cannot claim that they are typical students, or represent at all the same attitude that a poll of every Arkansas high school and junior high school student might produce. In general, they are student leaders, in the sense that they have been more involved in the problems they discuss than most students ever get. Many of them are official leaders in the sense that they are elected officers of their student body, or official members of a human relations council in their school. Others are unofficial leaders, students whose influence with other students is significant, and to whom these others turn for advice or understanding. Of these, some, being unofficial, are not in favor with the administrators of the schools they attend; others are almost as influential with their principal as with their fellow students, because the principal recognizes the key role they play in school affairs.

In short, these students cannot easily be labeled. Some would be considered conservative and others liberal. Among both blacks and whites, some would be called "militant" and some "model students." Their only common factor is their interest in their schools.

We have edited their work only enough to assimilate the efforts of several groups working separately into a coherent whole. The ideas presented here are their ideas; the words for the most part, are their words.

Some of the ideas have caused arguments among our staff at the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Some of us agree strongly with one section and disagree just as strongly with others. Neither the students whose ideas these are, nor our staff, is under the illusion that we have discovered the one best answer to every situation. In some sections, the students themselves have

noted that they could not agree, and therefore present two or even more alternate ideas.

We anticipate that the reception that this idea book finds among groups in schools or communities who use it as a resource will be similar to ours. Some of the ideas will strike you as creative, ingenuous, and appealing. Other ideas will strike you as offensive, divisive, and radical. But unless you are dealing with a group of people who all think exactly alike (in which case we offer you our sympathy), you will not agree on what is offensive and what is appealing, in our judgment. We think this is all to the good. What most schools need is not dogmatism or demands from students, faculty, administration, or patrons. Systems that work seem to be those that permit dialogue; open and honest sharing of ideas, points of view, likes and dislikes, hopes and wishes, with everyone served by the schools having a chance to voice his opinion and join conversation with everyone else.

Some principals and superintendents with whom we spoke before we began this project expressed a certain amount of misgiving about it. They were afraid that the students' comments would turn out to be entirely negative, all criticism and no constructive suggestions. We had to tell them in all honesty that we did not know whether or not this would prove to be the case.

To our relief these fears, we think, have proved to be groundless. The common thread running through the entire book, and through the whole series of meetings that led to it, is a desire to be a part of the system. Even in cases where students had basic complaints about their schools, even when they felt almost hopeless about their point-of-view being taken seriously even then we got the impression that the most evident emotion was not a wish to overthrow, to destroy, but an almost plaintive wish that things could be otherwise. Even the most militant student who took part in this project wanted nothing more than to be included. Not to run the school, dominate the decision-making, have the principal's or superintendent's job turned over to him, but just to have his voice heard, and to have a real part in setting the policies which have such a powerful influence on his present and future life and opportunities. His only demand is that his part be an honest part, and that he be free, not to impose, but to express his real opinion without fear of being labeled a "troublemaker" as a result.

For our part, we hope that this idea book serves the purpose that these students want it to serve. We do not intend it as a prescription for the school system, a thing to be accepted or rejected as a whole, but as the opening sentence in a continuing conversa-

tion in which many others will join, each from their own standpoint. Real communication is the key.

THE ACHR STAFF

STUDENT IDEABOOK

The following are statements and ideas voiced by over one hundred students from Emergency School Assistance Project districts within the state of Arkansas. Many of them were written at a July 9-11 weekend conference attended by thirty students from around the state. It should be noted that these are not the feelings and suggestions of the A.C.H.R. but rather those expressed by these students.

I. BACKGROUND

A. Purpose of Education

The students formulated the theory that education throughout the country, as well as in the state of Arkansas, appears oriented toward two major goals: to prepare students for college and to fit each person into a slot designated by his community. The schools assume that these aims can best be achieved in an atmosphere of order, obedience, and respect for the established system. The students do not necessarily agree with either of the above functions and feel that the schools should serve a broader purpose. They should do more than prepare young people intellectually for their futures. That in today's society a college education is neither necessary nor desirable for many intelligent students. These students strongly felt that many college students are finding that they are not prepared for any jobs while there are an increasing number of jobs open which require technical rather than academic preparation. The students summarized that education today should motivate students' interests in whatever direction they want to go and should develop them to the point where learning is self-directed; and this means that schools should encourage any student to express his thoughts and feelings openly; and this means that they should remain flexible in their program and curriculum.

B. Responsibilities of the Student

The students feel that as high school students they have a responsibility to help maintain a classroom atmosphere of mutual respect in which students respect the teacher and each other as the teacher respects each of his students. Indeed, these young people felt strongly that the attainment of respect for others and of self-respect is one of the major goals of this document. And the student is wholly responsible for all his actions, with other students and with the teacher. If a student acts upon another, as in calling a name or starting a fight, the other, even though provoked, is still at fault for reacting. Each student has a responsibility not to dis-

rupt education. The group thinks that students should learn the following: to analyze, to dissect, to look, to listen, to accept, and to reject. In other words, the responsibility of the student is to do everything in his power to increase his own knowledge without imposing upon other peoples' rights to do the same.

C. Human Relations Problems

The students felt that in many school districts, problems in human relations hinder both the educational system in achieving its purposes and the student in fulfilling his responsibilities. These problems may occur among any conflicting groups of people, the most common being students, teachers and administrators; students and parents; school system and parents; black students and the educational establishment; black students and white students; and conservatives and radicals. They tend to occur when groups are working, or are perceived as working, at cross purposes, and usually result in a mutual decline of respect and trust. It would seem that in order to alleviate these problems it would be necessary for conflicting groups to get together to agree on goals and methods of achieving them or, if this does not seem possible, to form a compromise acceptable to both groups. The students feel that one of the first steps which should be taken to improve human relations is to encourage communication among all parties involved. Many school officials claim that they are already doing all they can to cooperate with student groups, but the students feel that they are almost invariably treated as second class citizens in the school system, deprived of respect, responsibility, and power. They think that the principal should welcome chances to talk with groups of students; school officials should encourage black and white students to work together in and out of the classroom; and the school should set up a students' bi-racial council with power to deal with inter-racial problems arising in the system.

D. Purposes of this Ideabook

The students hope that this handbook will serve several purposes: to inform teachers and school officials of many Arkansas students' ideas and thus begin to facilitate communication among these groups; help to unite students in their attempt to improve the school system which governs them and contribute toward enhancing students' voice in school policies; and give students suggestions as to how to deal with their problems. This handbook will inform students of the areas in which they have legal rights and encourage them to seek legal aid if necessary. Finally, even if its suggestions are ignored by school officials throughout the state,

it will serve as a meaningful indication that students in Arkansas are becoming increasingly concerned about and involved in their own education.

II. PERSONAL RIGHTS

*A. Hair and Dress Codes

These students think that there should be no rules as to how a student wears his hair—that hair style or length in no way influences a student's ability to learn.

They also think that there should be no dress code, assuming that students are subject to local laws as to what constitutes indecent exposure. Although they would not personally consider a bathing suit, for example, as appropriate classroom attire, they feel that few students would want to wear one to school on a regular basis and that they do not have the right to legislate against it. They feel a student's dress has little influence on either his own ability to learn or that of his classmates', and that a dress code is an unjustified enforcement of arbitrary local standards.

B. Personal Possessions

The group agrees that a student should not be allowed to bring to school anything that was designed with the purpose of inflicting injury or death, such as a gun, a knife over 4" long, a switchblade, brass knuckles, etc. This list does not include such items as Afro hair rakes which are potentially no more dangerous than a compass or a sharpened pencil.

*C. Pregnancy and Marriage

The majority of the groups feels that a pregnant student should have the right to attend school as long as she and her doctor feel it is feasible. A smaller group think that a student should be asked to leave school after she is six months pregnant for her own safety and to relieve the school of the responsibility. Under no conditions do they think that a pregnant student should be asked to leave before this time. She should be allowed to return as soon upon having her baby as she desires. Days missed for pregnancy should be considered as "days absent" rather than "suspension" and therefore subject to make-up by the students. The school system should do everything in its power to alleviate the stigma which many pregnant girls are made to feel.

Furthermore, they feel that female students should not be required to report to their gym teachers the days of their monthly

*These passages deal with legal rights. Specific rulings in regard to these rights are listed in the appendix to this handbook. If you want more information regarding legal rights in a particular area, write: The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, 600 W. Ninth St., Suite 210, Little Rock, Ark. 72201.

periods or called into the office if the teacher suspects one has been missed. This is an unnecessary invasion of a student's privacy and is further discriminatory because it is not applied to students who take band instead of gym.

The group thinks that married students should have the same rights and privileges within the school system as single students, including holding class offices and participating in all extracurricular activities. There should not be a required two-week "adjustment period" during which married students are not allowed to attend school. In addition to placing a stigma on marriage, this policy increases academic problems which might already be complicated by married life.

III. COMMUNICATIONS

A. School Newspapers

The students agreed that the purpose of the school newspaper students and the public of the ideas, activity and business of the school. It should serve as a line of communication giving accurate and straightforward reporting of all news and events. Although there has been no legal ruling as to whether freedom of the press applied to school papers, they think there should be no censorship by the administration and that the paper should be encouraged to publish students' ideas and opinions on any subject. The paper should follow legal standards regarding libel, slander, and pornography. The staff of the newspaper should be open to all students interested in devoting their time and effort and should be solely responsible for the content of the paper. Letters to the editor from all students should be welcomed in an attempt to reflect the views of all student groups in the paper. The journalism teacher or paper sponsor should function in a purely advisory capacity. In an ideal situation, the paper should publish any language which best reflects a student's thoughts, but we recognize the following dilemma:

> The principal of a school is hired and fired by the school board composed of elected representatives of the community. The school newspaper is the only official report of school activities available to the community. Therefore, public response to the school paper can, and often does, result in the principal or responsible teacher's being hired or fired.

The students feel that in spite of this problem, the principal should give the students sole responsibility for the paper, thus expressing his trust and respect for their judgment. To do otherwise is to assert the opposite, that he does not really trust students to exercise responsible journalism. If the principal deals honestly and openly

with the student body by describing to them his precarious position, the students will almost invariably uphold this confidence.

B. Public Address System

The students felt that the public address system should be used only for public service announcements or announcements related directly to the school and school activities, but there should be a bulletin board which all students can use to post announcements. At no time should the P.A. system be used to listen in on a class without informing both teachers and students that this is being done.

C. Evaluation of Teachers

The group thinks that students are the best judge of teacher's competence in their classroom, because if a majority of a class does not think that they are learning anything, then the teacher is not successfully teaching. Students, therefore, should be allowed and encouraged to complete written evaluations of their teachers. These evaluations should not be given to the teacher but be readily available to the principal or superintendent. Although P.T.A. Magazine (Feb. 1971) feels that there is no logical way this can be done since no two students have the same opinion, the students feel that the principal should take this student evaluation into consideration in making his decision where to place or whether to rehire a teacher.

***D. Literature and Petitions**

The students feel that they should be allowed to pass out any literature in school which conforms to legal standards regarding libel, slander, or pornography. Because they feel that education should involve exposure to and consideration of all ideas, such distribution of literature would actually be beneficial to the educational process. For the same reasons students should be allowed to pass petitions in school. Neither literature nor petitions should be subject to approval by the principal or other person of authority before circulation. However, students should not be boisterous or disruptive when distributing literature and should not hand out literature or pass petitions during class periods. They should never try to force their material or ideas on other students.

***E. Symbolic Speech**

The students think that symbolic speech in the form of armbands, buttons, headbands, and articles of clothing should be permitted on all occasions. The students do not support the premise that "politics should be kept out of the classroom" because, as is emphasized in civics and government classes, politics is an integral and important part of American life. As stated above, such sharing of ideas should be an integral part of the educational process.

*F. Pledge of Allegiance

The students felt that no student should be required to stand or to recite the Pledge of Allegiance or any other statement of belief. There should be no threat to put his actions on his permanent record for this in itself constitutes a form of unjust coercion. Students should be not only allowed but also encouraged to express diverse beliefs and opinions within the educational system.

G. Extracurricular Activities

As mentioned in Section 1, the group thinks that the school should encourage clubs and extracurricular activities as a means of broadening friendships and furthering communication among different groups within the school. School sponsored activities should be open to students of any race or belief, but clubs formed around an interest, such as an Afro-American Culture Club or a New Politics club should be permitted so long as they are not discriminatory in the membership selection. At least one Arkansas high school has had success with holding an activities period during school hours to encourage even working students to participate in extracurricular activities.

All activities such as teams, band and cheerleaders which require try-outs should select their participants from all racial groups on the basis of individual skill. These members should be selected by a racially-balanced committee which would attempt to give all groups of students fair representation on teams and squads. In newly integrated school districts, the students think that an attempt should be made to retain colors from both schools and the cheerleader squads should combine cheers from both black and white schools. In other words, integrated schools should attempt, through their clubs and extracurricular activities, to make all students feel accepted as a vital part of the school's life.

IV. STUDENT GOVERNMENT

A. Purpose and Power

These students felt that student Government should be based on the assumption that high school students are capable of assuming responsibility for themselves and their school. Therefore, the student government should give the students a voice in all that affects their lives at school. Many school handbooks presently state that one purpose of student council is to provide students with "first hand experience in participating in democratic government"; however, the students thought that most student councils function only as puppet governments in a system in which the administration has virtually total executive, legislative and judicial powers.

The group thinks that students should participate in the legislative branch of school government. The student council should be incorporated into a student-faculty-administration senate in which each group has an equal representation. If the principal or other person in executive authority has the power of veto over the decisions of this senate, the council should be able to overrule this veto by a two-thirds majority. Thus, the student government should not serve as a puppet organization for administrative policies but rather should represent student ideas and opinions in such a way to provide them with true participation in policy-making decisions.

B. Representation

The students agreed that all groups of students—racial, ethnic, or ideological—should be represented in the student government. But the group realizes that in any government based on "majority rule," minority groups do not receive adequate representation. Thus the student portion of the legislative branch must be formed by some other principle. It is obvious that each system will have to devise a government relevant to its particular situation, but they offer the following form as one possibility. The student government should consist of a council of representatives each holding equal status. Removal of such prestigious positions as president, vice president, etc. would reduce the extent to which student government elections become contests for popularity and status. Representatives would be elected from each major racial, ethnic, or ideological "interest group" according to its proportion of the student body. Home room elections could be made more representative if each student were allowed to select his home room according to his own interests. All student council meetings should be open to the entire school and should welcome suggestions or criticism from any students or school officials.

The students felt that in order to make student government more representative of all students there should be no grade-point requirement for participation in the council. They didn't accept the arguments that good grades indicate greater ability outside academic work or that student councils take too much time from the school work of the poor or average students. This is a decision the student should make for himself; indeed, for many students, such involvement in meaningful activity could provide an incentive for doing better school work. The student council should cease to be "simply an extension of the National Honor Society" and should become representative of **all** student groups in the school. The group thought that the main criteria for a student's participation in the student council should be (1) intelligence and independent thinking; (2) a broad range of association and influence in the

school; (3) an ability to feel for all sides; and (4) the courage to stand up for his convictions and "to be himself."

C. Student-Faculty Court System

In addition to the student council as part of a school senate, the students thought there should be a court system which makes final decisions in disciplinary appeals. This court should have equal representation of students and teachers and have a proportional racial distribution. Within this framework students and teachers should be drafted in a rotating basis with each having the option to refuse service. This court would hear all cases involving major punishments (presently suspension or expulsion) and would accept appeals from students who felt they had been treated unfairly. Students called before this court should be permitted to express their grievances honestly and openly without threat of being charged with disrespect, impudence, intimidation, etc. This court should meet during at least one period a week, perhaps during the allotted "activity period" which allows students to pursue their extracurricular interests during school hours.

D. Relations with School Board

The group felt that as a last resort, students should be able to appeal their cases to the local school board which should be representative of all community groups. This means that the school board should represent student ideas as well as those of their parents. Students should be encouraged to form advisory committees to the school board and ultimately be included as part of the board's voting membership. If the student's plea is rejected by the local school board, the student should follow other strategies as discussed in the final section of this handbook; his final recourse should be the local or federal courts of law. In addition to disciplinary cases, the school board should welcome the presence and contributions of all students, teachers, and parents at their meetings. Only by maintaining channels of communication can the school board adequately serve in its capacity as link between school and community.

V. DISCIPLINE

A. Classroom Behavior

The group decided that in conjunction with the classroom atmosphere of mutual respect, a student should not behave in any way that is tangibly destructive to classroom activity or the aims of education as discussed in section A. In the event that a student does not meet these requirements for "acceptable" classroom behavior, he should be asked as many times as the teacher desires to cease his activities. They feel that in any classroom situation the

teacher and student should make a sincere attempt to communicate openly before any disciplinary action is taken. However, if misbehavior persists the student should be asked to leave the classroom and discuss his problem with either the principal or the student-faculty court.

These students strongly felt that a written copy of all school regulations and the punishments for breaking them should be readily available to all students. Such phrases as "disrespect," "intimidation," "unbecoming of a student," or "insubordination" should be defined in order to make enforcement of rules less arbitrary, if a student feels that according to the regulations he has been unfairly treated, he should be allowed to appeal his case to the student-faculty court.

Students should be expected to replace any property which they accidentally or willfully damage or destroy. If they can not pay for it, they should be required to earn the money or do work around the school or community of equivalent worth. Other than this repayment, a student should not be punished for damage of property.

B. Suspension and Expulsion

Although it is exercised throughout the Arkansas public school systems, many of the students do not think that the punishment of suspension serves any useful purpose. It simply removes the problem from view rather than reaching to roots to solve it. They feel that in many ways suspension is actually damaging to the school and students involved and it does not change a student's attitude but simply makes him bitter and more resentful toward the system. It is severly detrimental to the student's education, especially when 2% is subtracted from each grade for each day suspended. Thus, suspension leads to drop-outs rather than encouraging students to stay in school. Finally, it rewards the student who wants an excuse to legally stay out of school. There are other possible alternatives to suspension as a punishment including detention halls, before or after school work projects, school janitor duty, or community service projects. Failure to comply with these assignments should be brought before the student-faculty court.

Similarly, these students think the punishment of expulsion is detrimental to the goals of education. The only time expulsion might be justified is if a student, after review of his record and advice from his counselor, is considered to be physically dangerous to himself or others. If a student actually commits an illegal act he is subject to punishment by local law enforcement. The school should encourage students with emotional problems to seek psychological help and should allow any student who is unable to function in a school situation to remain home if he desires and to

complete his work independently for credit or his diploma.

Those students who accepted suspension or expulsion as legitimate punishments insisted, however, that it should not be exercised through the power of just one person. It should be used only as a last resort, and should be made only on the unanimous vote of the student-faculty court. Furthermore, there should be no grade points automatically removed from the student's record and he should be allowed to make up all work missed during his absence from school.

C. School Attendance

The majority of the students do not agree with the State's compulsory education laws which require 12 - 16 year olds to attend high school and require high school students to be present in class for a given number of days. This does not mean that the students advocate breaking the existing law, but rather support working toward changing it. Although compulsory education serves the community by relieving parents of responsibility for their kids and by keeping teenagers from flooding the overcrowded labor market, it does not benefit the student. You can not force a student to learn by making him attend school and often this coercion results in a decreased desire to learn. If high school education were not compulsory, the overall standards of the school would rise. Attendance would not necessarily suffer a drastic decline, but if it did, this decline would force schools to re-evaluate their program to find what makes it seem worthless to large numbers of students.

Although they think that a student should be held responsible for all work assigned for any class, the group does not think they should be required to attend class. Many students can learn through reading and independent study better than in a classroom and should be allowed to decide for themselves whether attendance in any given class is valuable to mastery of a subject. A student should assume responsibility for his own work, and if he does not need to be present in order to learn, he should be allowed to "cut classes" and go to the library or study hall or stay home from school. Furthermore, neither a student's grade point nor his class standing should be influenced by his attendance record, so long as he completes all required work on time and does well on all tests. Again, if some teacher finds that very few students attend his classes, he should re-evaluate his own teaching to find what makes the class seem worthless to them. This whole system would result in the general rise in the quality of public school teaching.

D. Police on Campus

Although they realize that according to law police have a right to come on school grounds to arrest a student, the group

feels that, because of the disturbing effect on the student body, the police should be discouraged from entering school property. If police have reason to arrest a student they should wait until he has left school to do so; if a student breaks a law while in school he should be taken by school officials to the local law enforcement agency. Only if the student refuses to go voluntarily should the police be called. The only other time police should come into the school is when called by the principal to help avert what threatens to be an immediate danger to the student body (as in a serious fight, riot, bomb scare, etc.). Students should not be punished by the school for acts dealt with in the courts. This places a student in double jeoparty—paying twice for an act which he has already been punished for.

Students felt that the principal should not be permitted to search a student's locker or personal possessions without a warrant unless he has reason to believe that the student body would be in imminent danger before a warrant could be obtained, e.g., a bomb scare.

As a guide to how problems might be equitably handled under the ideal system, these students present the following hypothetical problems which could arise in any Arkansas high school. The solutions they offer are not the only fair way they might be handled but do offer guidelines as to how such problems might be approached.

Situation A:

A homeroom teacher has a rule against students' putting their feet on the desk. She sees a white boy, an A-student, putting his feet on the desk and tells him to remove them with the warning he could be sent to the office. She then catches a black boy with his feet on the desk and tells him to go to the office. He swears in complaining that it's not fair and the teacher adds charges "impudence," "disrespect," and "profanity." What should be done?

Under the present situation the black student would have to go to the office. The principal, however, should listen to the student's complaints. Taking into account the reason for provocation the principal should decide on the punishment for swearing at a teacher but should also investigate the teacher's alleged discrimination, and act accordingly.

Under the ideal situation the student should be able to appeal his case before the student-faculty court while the principal would still be responsible for investigating the alleged discrimination.

Situation B:

A student is continually disrupting an English class by throwing spitballs and making aggravating noises. Although he has been to detention hall a number of times, his behavior is getting

worse rather than better. He claims the reason he acts up is that the teacher is boring and the class is a waste of his time. What should be done?

Under the present situation the student should be allowed to change classes and see whether his behavior improves. If there are other similar complaints the principal or school board should investigate the competence of the teacher.

Under the ideal system, the student should be allowed either to change classes or to complete his work, for full credit, outside the classroom. If there is no other teacher available, he should be encouraged to take the alternative of independent study.

Situation C:

A black student and a white student are arguing in the hall and appear to be on the verge of fighting. They are both told to come to early-morning study hall. The next morning the black student comes but the white student doesn't appear. When called into the principal's office, he refuses ever to go to study hall because the fight "wasn't his fault." What should be done?

Under the present system, the school should have a written statement as to whether a student is as much at fault for participating in an argument or fight as for starting one. If so, he should be required to attend study hall or have his parents notified.

If not, the principal should investigate the situation to find out who was at fault and use his judgment in determining a punishment.

Under the ideal system, the student should appeal his case to the student-faculty court and abide by their decision.

VI. STRATEGIES

The group decided that the student's first strategy for dealing with problems and grievances within the school system should be to attempt to communicate this problem through all possible existing channels. This means that he should first try to talk directly with the person involved in the conflict and reach an agreeable solution. If this does not prove successful, he should attempt to work with other school officials such as sympathetic teachers, guidance counselors, the principal, etc., and through available media such as the school newspaper, petitions, etc. Students have noted, however, that they have other outlets to help them ensure their constitutional rights. They can organize a community petition; when certain things erupt they can take their problems to civic and church groups to let them share with the problem; the

students can also launch a political campaign with the intention of getting someone elected that can see and understand their problems, before and after they have started. Also the students can seek help from their P.T.A. in their own school and outside; there are also many groups within the state who will give assistance to student groups that are having problems. As a final recourse, students can and do often go to lawyers who are willing to take their cases to court. However, it should be emphasized that often a problem can be dealt with simply by the presence of a lawyer before it ever reaches the courtroom. Whether or not the Supreme Court will ultimately rule that the First Amendment rights must be guaranteed to students is a question for clairvoyants. Many constitutional and civil liberties lawyers believe that the courts will eventually come around to guarantee and enforce these rights for all students.

The students decided that in conclusion . . . . . .

Student groups should have a voice in the formulation of school policies and decisions which affect their education and lives as students through student representatives which have real responsibility. Through such participation, students can be a powerful resource for the improvement of the school, the educational system and the community. The students are asking that the school system which often expects them to "behave as responsible adults" stop treating them as children. As long as students are confronted with restrictions which stifle their free expression and intellectual development and face regulations which indicate that the school thinks of them as untrustworthy and irresponsible children, they will continue to act as such.

Public education can not evade responsibility for effective instruction in the dynamics of human relationships and interaction and in the development of skills, understandings, attitudes, and values which lend support to the concept of human dignity and the significant importance of the individual personality. Many studies indicate that the schools have not discharged this responsibility effectively. While leadership at all levels struggles with these problems it is vitally important that professional educators examine present educational practice at both the instructional and administrative levels in an effort to re-evaluate their schools and policies.

APPENDIX

Legal Rights Pertaining
to material covered in this handbook.
For further information write:
The Arkansas Council on Human Relations
600 W. Ninth St., Suite 210
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

1. The Supreme Court has yet to rule on the question of whether a student can wear his hair as long as he desires. Lower courts have gone both ways, although over the past year increasing numbers of decisions have been in favor of students. A decision in our district upheld the right for students to wear their hair long in Arkansas.

2. The Supreme Court has not yet ruled whether schools can maintain dress codes for students. It is being argued that dress, as a matter of personal expression, could be considered a form of symbolic speech and thus protected by the First Amendment.

3. In Ohio a court upheld a rule requiring a married girl to withdraw from school while she was pregnant. The court said she could not be forced to stay home simply because she was married, but that she should stay home while pregnant allegedly "in the interest of her own physical well-being," not as a punishment. The court agreed with the school that she might be a disruptive influence on the other students, but that she could come back to school after she had the child. However, in Arkansas this law has not been contested, and most schools do suspend pregnant students.

4. There is no clear law at this time saying that students do or do not have the right to distribute leaflets or other political information on campus. The First Amendment has been held to guarantee the right to distribute political literature in public places as long as you don't clog up pedestrian traffic or block entrances to buildings; furthermore, it might be argued that if any type of literature is allowed to be passed out (such as boy scout advertising) then it is discriminatory to prohibit others.

No one can legally prevent you from handing out political literature just outside school grounds (on the corner or across the street).

5. In February, 1969, the United States Supreme Court handed down a crucial decision on freedom of expression for high schools in the nation. The Supreme Court, in an opinion written by Judge Fortas, concluded that a student has the right to express his opin-

ions at any time while he's in school, even on controversial subjects like the war, as long as he does not "materially and substantially interfere with appropriate discipline in the operation of the school" or interfere with the rights of others. This decision means that school officials can't keep you from expressing yourself politically, or using symbolic forms of expression, so long as you don't disrupt the school process.

6. The Supreme Court has ruled that no student is required to recite the Pledge of Allegiance or any other Pledge that he does not believe in.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations would like to express its appreciation to the Emergency School Assistance Project and the Interboard Committee on Crisis (Presbyterian Church) for their financial assistance in printing this booklet.

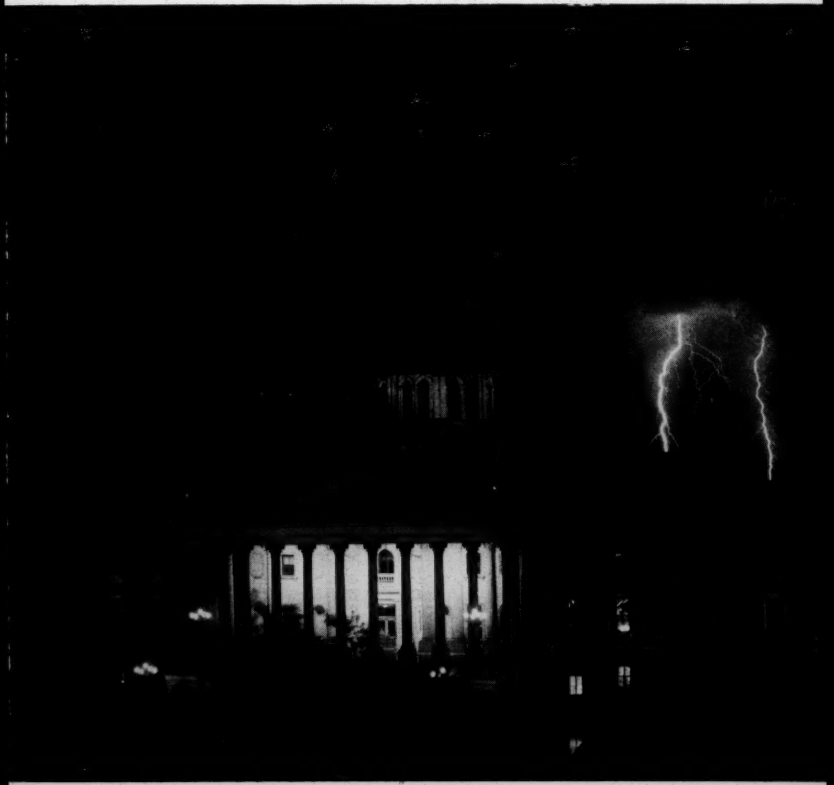
We are especially appreciative to the many students who met on their own time -- nights and week-ends -- with Mr. William Holshouser, Jr., Assistant Director of ACHR, and his assistants, Glen and Lynda, to provide the kind of discussion that resulted in this printing.

Too, we are indebted to both Michael and Barbara Graves: Mike for the art work on the cover and Barbara for her editing.

NOTE:

The thoughts and ideas expressed in this booklet are not necessarily those of the Emergency School Assistance Project.

SOUTH CAROLINA SUMMER STUDY ON STUDENT INVOLVEMENT 1971



"We have learned that the most important, and perhaps most difficult, task in problem solving is to obtain a clear statement and understanding of the problem"

CYRIL B. BUSBEE
State Superintendent of Education.

students involved

LEIGH BOONE
Rock Hill — Northwestern High
Senior — 16
- Youth Advisory Council
- Secretary for Coaches
- Homeroom Vice-President
- Art Work for Newspaper
- Drawing and Painting of School Mascot

BARBARA FLEMMING
Eastover — Lower Richland High
Senior — 17
- Vice-President of Student Government
- Human Relations Committee
- President of Society of Friends
- Vice-President of Drama Club
- Pep Club

CARL GATHERS
Mt. Pleasant — General William Moultrie High
Senior — 16
- Student Government First Executive
- Bi-Racial Club
- Assembly Committee
- Inter-Club Council
- Handbook Committee
- Junior-Senior Prom Committee

RICHARD GERGEL, Student Director
Columbia — Keenan High
Senior — 16
- President of Student Government
- Chairman-Tutorial Advisory Committee
- Inter-School Council
- Co-Ordinator, Keenan's Workshop on Human Relations
- Student Advisory Board

ROSE LEE MASON
Aiken — Aiken High
Senior — 17
- Student Council
- Choir
- Unitary School System Committee
- Teen Council Resident Smith-Hazel Recreation Center
- Annual Staff

WALTER MCRACKAN
Sumter — Sumter High
Senior — 17
- 4-H Club
- President of Student Government
- Community Action Program
- ROTC

GARY MYERS, Student Director
Columbia — Keenan High
Senior — 16
- President of Student Government
- Student Advisory Committee
- Inter-School Council
- Basketball Team
- Football Team

MICHAEL STEPHENS
Dillon — Dillon High
Senior — 16
- President of Student Government
- Student Council
- Math Club
- Track Team
- Football Team
- Recreation Club

PAUL W. BEAZLEY, Adult Director
- Presbyterian Minister
- Graduate Student in Guidance and Counseling, U.S.C.

statement of purpose

1. To solicit meaningful information on student involvement from the senior high educational community of South Carolina.
2. Compile and interpret this information in such a way as to contribute positive suggestions for secondary education in South Carolina.
3. Share it with those responsible for quality education in South Carolina.

plan of procedure

The method of study will be personal interview by students of a random sampling of students, teachers, principals and recent dropouts in 32 representative senior high schools from the Piedmont, Pee Dee, Central and Lowlands area of South Carolina.

advisory committee

DR. CARLYLE HOLLER
Executive Director of the South Carolina Association of School Boards, Chairman

MR. ROBERT S. DAVIS
S. C. Chairman for the President's Committee on Schools

DR. WILLIAM DUFFORD
University of South Carolina College of Education

DR. CARLOS W. GIBBONS
Executive Secretary of the South Carolina Education Association

MR. PHILIP GROSE
Executive Assistant for Public Affairs, The Governor's Office

MR. JOHN H. HUDGENS
Principal, Orangeburg High School

DR. CLAUD KITCHENS
Superintendent, Richland County School District No. 1

MR. ISAAC McGRAW
Assistant Director for Technical Assistance, State Department of Education

THE HONORABLE T. TRAVIS MEDLOCK
South Carolina House of Representatives, Richland County

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Student Consultant, South Carolina Education Association

MR. HARRY WALKER
President of Student Body, University of South Carolina

"What the morally concerned students are asking is nothing less than a thorough moral reconstruction of education itself"

PHILIP H. PHENIX

SUMMER STUDY ON STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

Center for Educational Development
University of South Carolina
503 South Main Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29208
Phone 777-4837

STUDENTS' RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414

1971

Students' Rights and Responsibilities
Grades 10-12

1. Student Government

Seeing that student government is the voice of the student body certain criteria must be established.

1. All positions in student government must be open to all students regardless of academic standing.
2. The student government shall select its advisor.
3. In the event of any student petition containing signatures of 5% of the student body, then a referendum of all students shall be held.

An increased and improved communication between students, faculty and administration is needed. One means of achieving such communication would be through a student, faculty and administration senate.

II. Freedom of Press and Speech

Students have the right to publish school newspapers, literary magazines, yearbooks and the like. The staffs shall consist of students who voluntarily register for these activities and an available, qualified instructor who shall be chosen by the participating students. The responsibility for censorship will rest solely on the staff and its advisor. Academic credit shall be rewarded, when earned, to students who take part in these programs.

Students also have the right to publish and distribute any other publication they so choose. This right is limited only by civil law and the standards of responsible journalism.

The financing of all school publications is the responsibility of the students involved in the publication. Persons other than students and school personnel cannot sell materials on school grounds.

Students may distribute leaflets, handbills, announcements, etc., without prior censorship or authorization so long as classroom procedure is not directly interrupted by the act of distribution.

III. Assembly and Free Association

A student shall have the right to freely associate himself with political and/or social groups without fear of having punitive measures being taken. This right shall be inhibited only by the ordinance from the Board of Education

which bars secret or selective societies or fraternities; except when sanctioned by the Board.

Students shall have the right to invite outside speakers into the school when a teacher is in agreement. Students must:

1. inform the administration of intent
2. arrange time and place
3. know and stay within bounds of the trespass law.

IV. Curriculum

When planning curriculum, courses should be established according to student needs; therefore, students shall be directly involved in curriculum planning in each department. This planning would include the formation of courses through student petition when physically and economically feasible. Require courses shall have electives within themselves (i.e. English, remedial reading, poetry, grammar, mass media, etc.). The content and objectives of each course shall be made known through course descriptions issued by the teachers at the beginning of the course with enough time to make it possible for a student to plan his program.

Within any given classroom, the student shall have the option of independent study. When it is physically possible, the student, working with his counselor shall have the final say in the planning of his program. The student should be encouraged to draw on the school resource centers and the community for information.

A student shall be free to attend or not to attend classes, but he must complete the requirements of that course.

The present mandatory ABCDF grading system will be replaced with a credit, no credit or partial credit system.

If a student passes a course he has the option of either receiving a letter grade, or receiving credit in full without a grade. If a student does no work at all, he would receive no credit. If he completes part but not all of a class requirement, he could receive partial credit. In the event that an imcomplete is given, the student could accept no credit, or partial credit depending on the amount of work done, or continue to work and receive full credit in an agreement with the individual teacher. Only full credit and partial credit shall appear on a student's record. Classes shall be evaluated by both teachers and students.

V. Open Campus

During lunch hours and other undelegated time, students shall be free to leave the school grounds. The school shall make it clear to the community that once a student leaves the school grounds the school is no longer responsible for the conduct or safety of the student. In the same respect a teacher is no longer responsible for a student when that student chooses not to come to classroom activities. In these cases the responsibility is redelegated to the student and/or parent.

VI. Freedom of Appearance

Student dress and grooming is the responsibility of students and their parents unless some standard of appearance presents an obvious physical danger to the student or to others involved in school activities. As long as a student's appearance does not, in fact..constitute a threat to safety it shall remain the responsibility of the parents and students. Thus, there shall be no restrictions on students' dress or grooming other than stipulated by civil law.

VII. Personal Freedoms

Certain rights do not fall under the other categories, however, they are necessary rights.

1. Each student and qualified school personnel shall be allowed to read his own cumulative record card and have the right to add his own comments thereon.

2. A student has the right to go to the counselor of his choice.

3. In a public school a student is entitled to a free education. Therefore if students deem the fees unnecessary they need not pay them. Grades may not be withheld for failure to pay this fee or any other fines.

VIII. Discipline

A distinction must be made between "discipline" and punishment. Previously, punishment has been used to achieve the goal of discipline. It seems evident that a more positive method of achieving discipline is action through the learning process. Often, punitive measures taken, not only discourage, but deny the continuation of the learning process, therefore, the following steps must be taken in any "disciplinary" action.

After discipline is taken a student has the right of appeal to a Board of Review. The membership shall consist of one administrative representative, two faculty members, three students and a parent.

Unless the student presents an obvious danger to the school, disciplinary action shall be suspended until the Board arrives at a verdict.

The decision of the Board shall be final within the particular school situation. There exists, however, the possibility of appeal to the School Board or to a joint All-City Student Faculty Board of Appeals.

If the student appeal to the School Review Board has failed, he has the option of appeal to the All-City Student Faculty Board of appeals. This Board shall consist of All-City Student Council working in conjunction with their faculty advisor group.

G O T T A G R I P E ?

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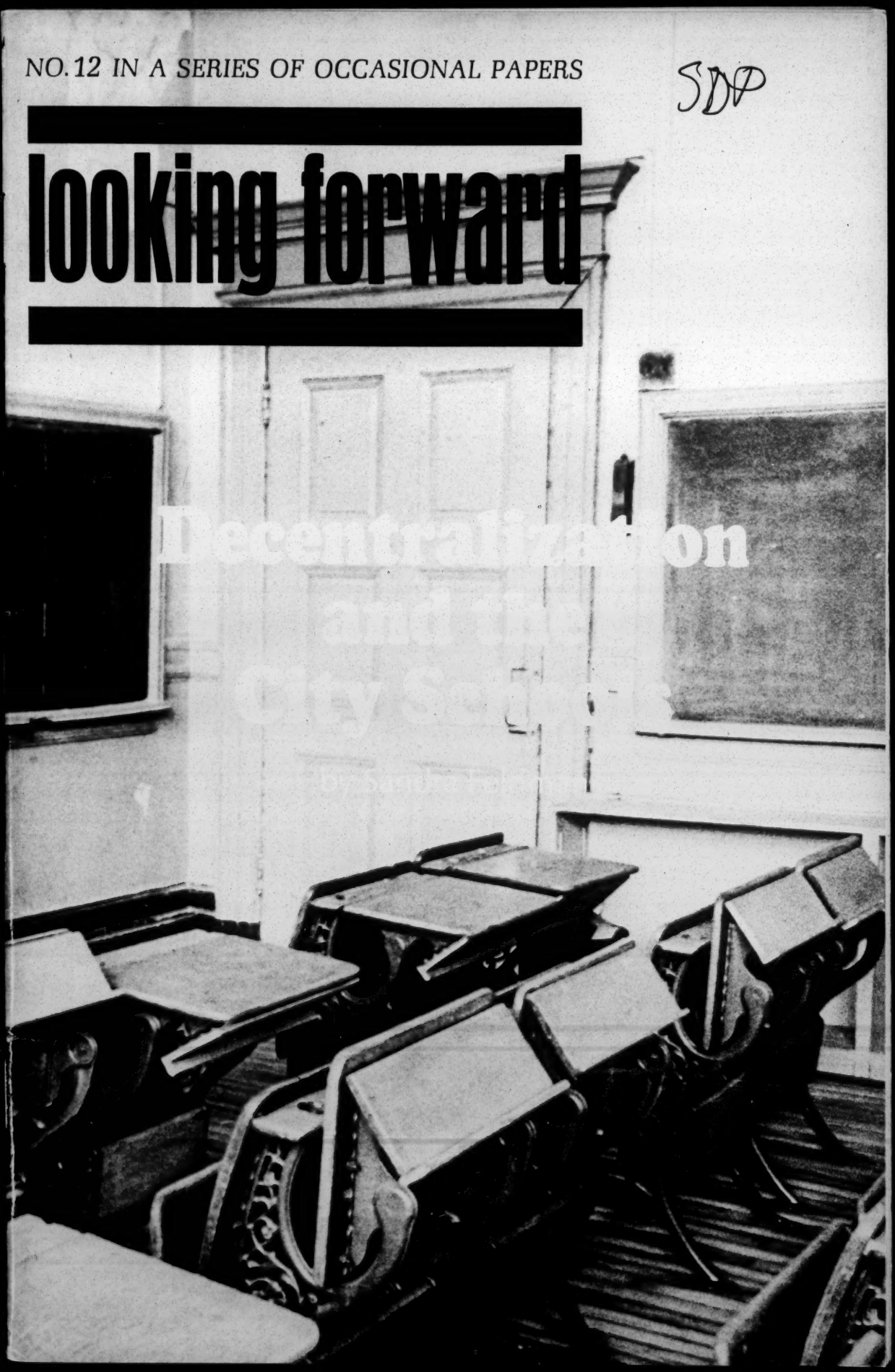
NO. 12 IN A SERIES OF OCCASIONAL PAPERS

SDP

looking forward

Decentralization and the city schools

By Sandra Feldman



The Author

Sandra Feldman is on the staff of the United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO and a longtime civil rights activist. The views presented here do not necessarily represent those of the UFT or the LID. They are published as part of a continuing discussion of the critical problems confronting urban education.

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Decentralization and the City Schools

by Sandra Feldman

Legislation has been proposed for the establishment of 30 to 60 autonomous, competitive school districts in a city whose problems of poverty, discrimination, and ethnic estrangement are among the worst in the nation. The major impetus for the recommendation made by the Mayor's Panel on Decentralization, headed by McGeorge Bundy, was the failure of the school system; the specific nature of those recommendations was shaped by the political climate. The report has come at a time when the struggle for equality, despite a decade of glory, has failed to heal racial division; when, especially among youth in the ghetto, there is an angry and bitter retreat into separatism. Many liberals, weary and disoriented, are willing to settle for "separate but equal" and grasp thankfully at the opportunity to cloak this retrogression in the militant-sounding rhetoric of black power. In the name of reform, private enterprise is offered as a greater healer of social and economic ills than the public sector. The "competitive spirit" is regarded as more constructive than alliances, for in the face of failure and resulting anger, competition is easier, less complicated, than cooperation.

Now, in the name of radical school reform, the Mayor's Panel has written legislation which strengthens segregation and places upon poor communities the burden of creating desperately needed massive, substantive, programmatic changes in their schools.

Yet the ostensible basis for this new proposal is high-minded: the schools in New York City are not educating minority group children. The educational bureaucracy has grown to proportions which make accountability and responsiveness impossible. Decentralization of the system is needed.

But there is a less apparent motivation. The threat of violence in the ghetto is ever-present; the causes are deep-seated and require solutions which neither the city nor the state can really provide. Unable to make a breakthrough in housing or jobs, the Negro community has focused major protest action on the schools, where society's dereliction is painfully, undeniably obvious. And while a total solution to the school problem may be impossible without seriously attacking unemployment and bad housing, it may be possible for protests to be mollified without substantive solutions. It may be — and that's what this discussion is really about — that in giving local communities total control over their schools, society is copping out.

At any rate, the long-needed break-up of the unresponsive school bureaucracy in New York is coming. The move towards greater accountability must be welcomed. But the specific proposals require careful examination. The fundamental question is, how will this upheaval affect the classroom? Will it raise achievement levels?

The Bundy proposal has engendered considerable debate and is likely to be revised. The argument offered here aims to create support for extensive revision which will maximize benefits and minimize dangers. The need for change is indisputable.

Possible Advantages

A proper redistribution of power would increase both the operating efficiency of the schools and their responsiveness to the lay public. Smaller districts run by locally elected boards would better allow education to be tailored to the needs of children in the district. Such a system would give parents real power to affect school program and policy, and this increased power, according to supporters of the Bundy plan for community school districts, would have three major effects:

First, it is claimed, increased parent power in ghetto communities would give the children greater feelings of self-worth and the conviction that they can influence their own destinies; the result would be greater motivation for learning.

Second, the new system would make the professional personnel accountable to the community in which they work — and therefore more responsive to the needs of the children and their parents.

Third, this increased power and the concomitant necessity to compete with neighboring districts would release creative energy and imagination in each community, resulting in a more dynamic and vital educational complex. An analogy with suburban school districts is often made to illustrate this point.

Dangers

While there is some truth in each of these assumptions, the disadvantages are heavy. For example, a careless redistribution of power could decrease efficiency by creating a number of little bureaucracies. More important, we need to re-examine the argument that heightened feelings of self-worth in children depend solely upon increased parental power and involvement. While the theory obviously has some validity, it is asserted by different groups with differing goals in mind. It is used by black power militants who regard decentralization as a step toward self-determination for the Negro community; it is also used by milder proponents of community control, white and black, who have despaired of integration and have begun to favor separatism. Here is Clarence Funnye, former pro-integrationist chairman of New York Core, in a recent piece in the *Village Voice* called, "Bundy and Black Power: A Retreat to Reality;"

"Some will invoke the dream of multi-racial education, saying that schools controlled by ghetto parents will not be 'integrated.' But are they integrated now? Is there any hope that they ever will be? And isn't locally-controlled segregation at least an improvement over the present centrally-controlled (white) quasi-colonial system?"

There is a very real danger that decentralization will mean an end to the possibility of school integration in New York City. Breaking up the school bureaucracy may be a necessity, but balkanizing the system into 30 to 60 autonomous districts drawn along neighborhood lines could be an educational disaster. Any feelings of "control" or self-worth which Negro schoolchildren might acquire in a system controlled by Negroes could be seriously offset by a continuing segregation sanctioned by society.

The Case for Integration

The massive Office of Education Report, *Equality of Educational Opportunity,* authored by James P. Coleman, found that the feeling of having "control over one's fate" — a very shorthand phrase for complicated feelings of adequacy and hope — was an important variable in educational achievement.

Some leaders in the Negro community have maintained that once that community is able to exercise the same power over education that most small white communities have, and once, as a result, there are more black authority figures among the professional personnel for children to emulate, the children's feelings of control over their own lives will be greatly enhanced and achievement will rise.

Arguing for the parents at IS 201 who were fighting for community control and a black principal, Floyd McKissick, National Director of CORE, said:

"The parents knew — perhaps better than the professional educators — that their individual and collective feeling of powerlessness and the resulting lack of self respect had had and would continue to have a crippling effect upon their children. They therefore demanded . . . black authority figures (e.g., a black principal) with whom their children might be able to identify and to whose position they might aspire."

In that same article, McKissick argues against school integration:

"In fact total reliance on integration is at direct odds with that sense of 'control' over one's fate which, according to the Coleman Report, correlates closely with achievement."

Yet the Coleman Report demonstrates precisely that minority group children in integrated schools have a greater sense of control over their

destinies than minority children in segregated schools; and, even further, that academic achievement among those Negro children in integrated situations is much higher than among Negro children in segregated schools. Coleman saw this as a direct result of the integration itself; that is, being in the integrated situation and having the chance to make his way in the larger world, creates in the child the feeling that obstacles can be overcome by his efforts. It is this that engenders hope and a sense of control over his fate. These are feelings which a ghetto child in segregated schools presumably cannot have because his segregation imprisons him against the opportunity to function in the larger community.

In a summary of his findings in *The Public Interest,* Coleman writes, ". . . The schools are successful only insofar as they reduce the dependence of a child's opportunities upon his social origins."

Can neighborhood schools in a depressed area do this? Will community control and black authority figures make the difference? Not if Coleman is right when he concludes:

> **"It is important to reduce the social and racial homogeneity of the school environment, so that those agents of education that do show some effectiveness — teachers and other students — are not mere replicas of the student himself. In the present organization of schools, it is the neighborhood school that most insures such homogeneity."**

The conclusion that children in segregated schools have seriously damaged feelings of adequacy and control is reinforced by the report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,* which states in part: "Racial isolation not only inflicts educational damage upon Negro students when they are in school, it reinforces the very attitude and behavior that maintain and intensify racial isolation as well."

And the importance of integrated schooling was further demonstrated in the White Plains, New York, experiment, where Negro children in integrated schools showed startling gains in just a few years.

Therefore, while the major gain projected for decentralization is the enlargement of the power and authority of the ghetto parent over his child's education, there is a major danger that extreme decentralization will permanently "lock up" school districts, and that community control of a small ghetto district, assuming no change in the low socioeconomic status of the residents, will lead to even greater feelings of despair and defeat in the schoolchildren.

If the districts created are too numerous and if boundaries are drawn along the "community" lines suggested in the Bundy legislation, defacto segregation will graduate to the level of an accepted institution.

Acceptance of institutionalized segregation is already in the air. We know it is favored by large segments of white society. Even more tragically, it is seized upon by some in the Negro community as a positive benefit. In his endorsement of the Bundy report, Clarence Funnye argues:

> **"Given the existing residential patterns, this means in effect that we are going to recognize a dual school system (which already exists), with real local control. This may hopefully provide for the first time, a mechanism whereby Black superintendents, principals and teachers will educate Black children, and Black parents for the first time will have control over what is taught."**

Obviously, the converse of this is that white superintendents, principals and teachers will educate white children . . . and that black teachers will be kept out of white districts. Of course, many "community control" sympathizers are "morally" opposed to this eventuality. Mr. Bundy himself expresses the hope that it will not happen. But if we have learned anything from the long, unfinished struggle for equality, it is that good will is not enough.

Will segregation in the guise of community control give greater hope to Negro schoolchildren? Not if, as all the serious studies indicate, integration is essential to their achievement. And integration — remember we are speaking of economic class, not simply of race — can be attained in a city as complicated and diverse as New York only by exercising enough central control to achieve a degree of consolidation. Heterogeneity where neighborhoods tend to be homogeneous requires the widening and crossing of school district lines, and the establishment of what is often talked about as decentralization but is really a centralized school structure — the educational park and/or complex.

It ought to be noted that in Chicago an equally radical plan for reorganizing the schools has been developed, and it takes a direction almost completely opposite to the one proposed in New York. The Chicago plan calls for massive busing, campus schools, enlargement and consolidation of districts — all for the purpose of integration as well as school improvement.

In New York, the central school board has lost the confidence of the public — for good reason — and decentralization rather than consolidation is coming. To avoid setting up a permanently segregated system, we must keep the number of districts to less than thirty, and we must draw district lines deliberately to achieve maximum integration as a primary goal.

The Need For Quality

Complete school integration cannot be achieved today or tomorrow in New York City. Maintaining an absolutist position in favor of integration could lead to postponing immediate school improvement.

This trap can and must be avoided. Programs providing much more than "compensation" must be established now. The More Effective Schools Program, for example, is a total school program which radically changes the internal structure of the educational institution by offering individualized instruction through drastically reduced class size and increased numbers of teachers, specialists, clinicians, and special services. MES is not a panacea but it has raised reading achievement, and it has stopped, in the early grades, the progressive academic retardation which is prevalent in ordinary special service schools. Something very much like it is immediately necessary, to help the inner city children who are failing so terribly, and to stop the tidal exodus of white children from the public schools. (In one predominantly Negro More Effective School in Brooklyn, 200 white families bus their children to the school each day — and have done so for three years. Obviously, the school offers an excellent, saturated program.)

The trouble is that local control is regarded as an *alternative* to integration. While most Negroes and liberals agree that integration is best, too many have lost hope of achieving it. Yet integrated schools are not impossible — just very difficult. More difficult than simple decentralization, and more expensive.

There are areas in Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx, for example, where neighborhoods are close enough to have integrated schools. In Brooklyn and Queens, some of these areas cross borough lines, and even in Manhattan there are borderline streets where a school could replace a block of tenements and be fed a heterogeneous pupil population. Of course, integrated schools have to be really good — good enough to raise the achievement of poor children, good enough to retain the middle class — and good schools cost a lot of money. (New York City spends approximately $450 per pupil in "special service" elementary schools in disadvantaged areas. MES schools cost approximately $950 per pupil, and that is still not enough.)

The fact is, whether we have decentralization or not, without vast expenditures — for all children, not just the disadvantaged — the public school system will continue to deteriorate. The transfer of power from central to local, or from white to black, will not make the important difference when the power itself is over a starved institution.

Decentralization as a Substitute

Another great danger in the current move toward decentralization is that it can be used as a substitute for real (i.e., budgetary) school improvement. If this kind of substitution is permitted, the schoolchildren in poor communities, whose schools are greatly in need of expensive, concrete improvements, will be the first to suffer and will suffer the most.

Let us look at the "suburban schools" analogy offered by decentralizers, and the probability that the proposed decentralization will see cutthroat competition between autonomous neighborhood districts for scarce money, services, and personnel.

The suburban areas that are looked to as examples of "good schools" because of local control *spend more money*. (Almost all of them have taxing power.) New York City spends approximately $750 per pupil (system-wide) compared to the typical suburban community's $1,100 per pupil. There is no indication whatever that significant sums of money will be provided to upgrade New York City school. If hiring power, for example, is given to the individual districts, and schools in segregated poor communities do not experience a simultaneous material change in conditions, how will they compete for qualified personnel? And further, how will the higher income taxpayers be persuaded that a good share of their taxes must go to separate school districts in low income areas? Will middle-class communities allow public funds to be disproportionately distributed on the basis of greater need to school districts outside of their own?

The Bundy report does provide for a greater allocation of state aid to the schools on the basis of decentralization, and also includes a complicated formula for the distribution of that aid on the basis of need. The report even acknowledges a great need for resources beyond the state allocation.

It ought to be noted, however, that a good part of the increase in state aid will be eaten up by operational costs — including the expense of the initial changeover. According to Bundy, whose estimate is probably conservative, "The net annual cost of decentralization might be very small indeed, or it might in the long run go as high as $50 million or even $100 million a year, depending on the choices of those responsible for the new system." (That same amount could provide for 100 or 200 More Effective Schools.)

As for the acquisition of additional money, there is nothing in the report beyond the enthusiastic recommendation of district-by-district competition for supplementary funds from foundations, the federal government, and other agencies. Instead of an economic program, the

panel relies upon the third major decentralization argument — that power and competition will release creativity and dynamism, and communities will "awaken" to demand what is due them. From a social science point of view, the argument is interesting. From a political point of view, it is disastrous.

One liability of surburban school systems, for example, is the frequently lost battle over increased school taxes. It is very likely that high income taxpayers will resist any increase of taxes for schools in New York City when it is not their schools which need them.

Interestingly enough, the parochialism of the small town outlook has already manifested itself in the calls of some so-called Negro militants for a stop to increased school funds. At the end of last year, the Peoples' Board of Education published an analysis of the school budget, concluding that what is necessary is an end to waste, not increased funds. They wrote:

> **"Unless there is decentralization in which local communities can hold the local schools accountable for how the money is spent, can introduce the local kinds of 'quality control' to make certain that local needs are really being met, it seems wasteful and undesirable to simply increase the education budget. Instead it makes more sense for a detailed decentralization plan, for the entire city, to be drawn up with the local groups involved in the design, so that next year education can receive top priority, and the money won't be wasted in artificial and fake programs."**

The Bundy method of school funding seems designed to keep taxes low and the budget down. It requires community boards to base their proposed budgets "on an estimate by the Central Education Agency of the amount likely to be available in the ensuing fiscal year. . . ." Districts are forced to compete for additional funds from private foundations and city, state, or federal agencies. Instead of this, there must be a sweeping revision of the proposal in the legislature to provide a *guarantee* of substantial supplemental funds for district use.

Just as the call for Black Power without a realistic economic program cannot provide an answer for thousands of Negroes suffering from poverty and joblessness, local control of ghetto schools without a realistic funding program for school improvement cannot end massive academic retardation. Just as Black Power receives support from conservatives because it does not make extensive economic demands on the larger society, local control of schools will receive that support for the same reasons.

"Reconnection"

The Bundy Report is called "Reconnection for Learning." Its basic assumption is that local control will reinstate community confidence in the schools, and improve relations between parents and professionals. It is reasonable to believe this could result, but in at least one demonstration district where a decentralization experiment has been established, the contrary has occurred.

Last year, teachers and parents in Ocean Hill-Brownsville met regularly and, in several instances, demonstrated together for school improvements. They won a few small victories. Because relationships were fairly good there, the area was chosen for experimentation in local control.

Now schools which were overcrowded, understaffed, severely lacking in special services, and sorely in need of renovation for years are under control of the community. They are still overcrowded, more understaffed than ever before, completely lacking in services, still in need of renovation, and handicapped even further by an atmosphere of tension and hostility which has driven a wedge between the teachers and the community.

Rather than the "reconnection" of community and school which the Bundy Report talks about, there has been a widening of the gap. There is increased blame-placing on both sides for poor learning conditions, and there is greater tension as parents and teachers, each from separate vantage points, see radical changes in procedure unaccompanied by substantive change in educational assets.

Although racial overtones intensify the conflict, the cause of the basic tension is unmistakable: academic failure. Teachers, losing confidence, beset by difficulties, and unable to make a significant dent in the retardation, blame the parents for not preparing their children for school. The community, which elected a governing board, which hired their own superintendent and principals, is discouraged and angry and blames the teachers.

Unfortunately, the greater accountability desired by the community (the second argument for decentralization) cannot be realized by severe criticism or even discharge of professionals: there must be a rise in achievement, and teachers alone, without a substantial increase in services and personnel, cannot provide it — not even under threat of dismissal.

The attitudes of parents and teachers toward each other in the decentralization experiments should be compared with those of parents and teachers of children in More Effective Schools, where services and personnel are abundant. MES has served to "reconnect" as no other

program has. With MES the community and the school are convinced, by the tangible evidence of achievement and available services, that society has — in that instance at least — placed a high value on the education of their children. Will poor communities left to their own devices without adequate funds be able to accomplish this?

The Danger of "Disconnecting"

There is certainly the danger that local control will become an expression of the narrow parochial interests of certain groups in each area, to the detriment of the needs of the public generally. Care must be taken to see that decentralization is an expansion, not a shrinkage, of democracy.

With districts competing for supplemental funds as well as for personnel, there is a danger of intensifying conflict. Herman Badillo, Bronx Borough President, was adamant in his criticism of this kind of competition in a society where class and ethnic lines are firmly drawn. "We will see more civil strife than ever before," he declared. Indeed, besides the losing battle the poor communities will wage with their middle-class neighbors, there will be wars within the already divided and sub-divided minority communities. Local boards with the power to dispense funds and create jobs will have to be exceptionally high-minded to avoid creating little political clubhouses out of each school district — especially with the Mayor appointing 5 out of 11 members on every school board. There will certainly be more "Mayor Power" in these areas than "little city halls" could create. There could also be real power for irresponsible extremist elements — right or left, white or black — that would not otherwise be able to attain such influence.

It must be understood further that along with the acquisition of power, there will be, for the Mayor, a simultaneous dispersal of his responsibility for the success or failure of education.

The onus will be on the local boards to produce academic success. Then, according to the *New York Times* editorial writers and other cynics, they will have no one but themselves to blame for failure.

Cynicism of that sort is a "moderate" backlash reaction to the blunt anger of black power types who are among the most vocal leaders in the school fight. It is eerily compatible with the guilty reaction of some liberals to that same anger — a patronizing willingness to support separation because to do so is less painful than to argue against Negro bitterness for something which seems lost forever anyway.

Destroying an archaic, ineffective school hierarchy doesn't have to mean a balkanized, segregated system. We need change, but we need change for the better.

Conclusions

Decentralization will certainly be a part of the solution to the school crisis, provided it is not substituted for resources, provided competition is minimized and funds are maximized, provided enough central control is maintained to prevent districts from locking each other out and provided district lines are drawn to assure that inroads toward integration can be made. The positive aspects are obvious: greater community involvement, less bureaucracy, more accountability. But these advantages will not in themselves ensure greater learning achievement. To do that, whatever form decentralization takes, a coalition of parents, liberals, teachers and other trade unionists must wage an all-out fight for increased funds for education. Only the federal government can provide the kind of resources needed, and only a massive coalition of forces can prod Congress into action. To the extent that an ascendent separatist point of view prevents groups in the Negro community from coalescing with white allies to demand increased federal aid to schools, and to the extent that the white community uses black extremism as an excuse to turn its back, the children, white and black, will suffer.

Some Guidelines

In any decentralization scheme, we must maintain a city-wide Board of Education which retains considerable powers, including the licensing and appointment of teachers. Professionals must be hired on an objective basis so that, for example, Negro teachers cannot be turned away from schools in white areas and white teachers from schools in Negro areas. Also, appointments must continue to be made equitably where vacancies exist, especially while the teacher shortage lasts. If communities have the power to hire teachers as has been proposed, then, conversely, teachers will have the power to choose where to work. As we have already said, without immediate and radical changes in the conditions of schools in poor areas, these schools will not be able to compete for teachers — white or black.

The city-wide board should set city-wide educational policy and enforce standards, to ensure equal educational opportunity. It should contract for independent expert evaluative services and should function as the clearing-house for evaluative information, which would include district by district comparisons of pupil performance. It should have jurisdiction over zoning and site selection, to ensure equal allocations of new buildings and the construction of schools in borderline areas where integration may be possible. The city-wide board should also have power to bring charges against any local authority, lay or profes-

sional, for severe violation of moral, legal, and educational ethics.

Beyond the powers of the central agency, the powers of laymen and professionals on the local level must be clearly defined to preserve the integrity of the schools.

The decision-making power of the community should reside primarily in their lay board's control over the district superintendent, whom they should hire and have the right to fire.

Moreover, the local board should have enough leeway to mandate particular broad curriculum emphases within the prescribed policy and standards set by the city-wide board. They should also have authority over supplemental funds for special programs they deem necessary for the particular needs of their district. They should be able to contract independent educational expertise for help in the development of these programs, and they should be empowered to commission outside agencies for evaluation and studies.

Professionals should retain jurisdiction over matters of professional personnel, including rating, hiring and firing of teachers. A district superintendent who does not weed out incompetent teachers would himself be uprooted by the local board.

Recourse to an impartial third party, for both the parent and the teacher, could be worked out in the event of conflict. The establishment of an *ombudsman* or similar vehicle for the review of parental complaints against professionals, and of professional complaints against the lay board, would be extremely valuable.

Also, within the policy mandated by the state, city, and local boards, teachers—not parents—must have the power to construct and organize courses of study, and to determine methodology and texts.

The sharing by parents and teachers of a wide range of advisory powers with regard to school program and policy would be beneficial and could be worked out in each school or district, or both.

Whatever form the decentralization of the school system takes, honest and sturdy cooperation between teachers and parents must be a primary goal, along with the preservation of democracy and equal educational opportunity for all.

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Preface

This report contains the findings of ~~a~~ the 8-member national committee on the UF crisis chaired by Paul Anthony, exec. director of the Southern Regional Council. The committee was formed in response to requests from Local 1880 of the American Federation of Teachers and the UF student government association to investigate the appropriateness of the University's conduct in the arrest and suspension of UF students on April 15, the crisis that ensued, and the ~~policies~~ conditions that precipitated the events.

The committee members approached Gainesville as independent, concerned citizens ~~intent~~ determined to listen to ~~these~~ all members of the university community who wished to discuss or report on the April 15th incident and surrounding conditions. On Thursday, May 20, the committee communicated its mission in a telephone message to UF Pres. Stephen C. O'Connell, prior to the public announcement of ~~their~~ its scheduled visit. On Friday, May 21, through Vice-Pres. Harry Sissler, President O'Connell or a representative of his office was invited to meet with and to testify before the bommittee. The committee was informed that the administration would not regard its meeting as official and therefore would not send a spokesman. A subsequent telegram informed ~~the~~ committee members they would not be allowed to meet on the university campus.

On May 25, the committee met at the Catholic Student Center in Gainesville and heard 27 witnesses, including black, white, and red students; officers of the student government and the Black Student Union; faculty members; administrators; and nonacademic employees. The findings of this report are based primarily on those testimonies, as well as on pertinent news stories, statements and releases from the President*s office and other documents presented to the committee by testifying witnesses.

This report contains 2 main subsections: an objective, accurate account of the April 15th incident and ensuing events, and the committee's recommendations ~~formulated by the committee~~ as to how best improve this particular situation as well as general, long-range conditions.

The incidents which occurred on the University of Florida campus in Gainesville cannot be understood without some background history of black student enrollment at the University. By law, blacks were denied entrance to the University of Florida and all other white schools in the state even after the 1954 Supreme Court Brown v. Board of Education decision, which declared segregation invalid. In fact in 1959, a black named Virgil Hawkins, who had been seeking admission to the University of Florida*s Spressard Holland Law School since 1949, was denied entrance. The Florida Supreme Court, presided over by Chief Justice Stephen C. O'Connell (now UF President), held that a Negro student on a white university campus constituted a "potential disruptive influence" and that segregation was a valid principle.

The first two blacks were finally admitted to Florida's 12,000-member student body in 1962. By 1964, the University claimed to have 20 blacks enrolled in a student population of over 13,000. As Sam Taylor, an undergraduate student then, explained, "It was quite common to go for two or three weeks without seeing another black student."

Later the blacks at the University of Florida formed a Black Student Union to combat their anonymity within the university community. "We felt very much alienated as individuals because there was nothing for us to identify with," Taylor said. "Most of the students had extremely little contact with blacks, at least a contact on parity...We found that the university activities reflected interests that were not our own. ..We also found that almost each of us...in general was without any kind of roots on this campus. More than that, we were very much alienated as individuals. We banned together in order to establish common interests, to further those common interests, to get to know each other, and also to change the basic reason for our problem: the fact that blacks were being systematically excluded from the university."

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~~Neqarly~~ Nearly two years ago, the black students ~~wrote up a list of~~ formulated 10 proposals ~~for~~ which they desired to be implemented. These ~~inclu~~ centered around a request for more ~~fully-supported~~ active recruitment of black students, faculty, and administrators; a department of minority affairs, to ~~service~~ serve Chicanos, Indians, veterans, women, and other minorities on campus as well as blacks; and a black cultural center to facilitate an outlet for black expression.

These proposals were submitted to the Student Senate and endorsed 18 months ago, thus making them proposals advocated by the entire student body. They were ~~submitted~~ personally endorsed by Steve Uhlfelder, a law student who served as 1970-71 student body president. They were submitted to the University Senate, composed of ~~no students but~~ faculty & administrative representatives from the various colleges and schools within the University, where they were favorably reported on by an ad hoc committee, chaired by Dr. ~~Barker~~ John F. Baxter, _____ (title).

Meanwhile, in March, 1969, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare announced an impending audit of the University. In April, the UF administration created the position of coordinator for minority and disadvantaged students and named a white professor to fill the post until June on a half-time basis. During the summer a black medical student filled the position. Then in September, Mr. Roy Mitchell was hired on a full-time basis with no job description, secretary, or office budget. ~~From~~ ~~Through~~ He was told in his initital interviews, ~~Mitchell understood that his function was~~ to counsel and recruit black students and to coordinate tutoring services for students admitted "under special ~~experimental~~ trouble." Borrowing funds from the budget of the vice-pres. for student affairs Lester Hail and enlisting the aid of student government representatives, Mitchell actively recruited throughout the state, utilizing both personal appearances and telelphone contacts. According to Mitchell, his speeches throughout Florida were several times reported ~~to Hail as inflamatory~~.

During his tenure as coordinator for Minority & Disadvantaged Students, Mitchell met with President O'Connell only once, in 1970 when 3 black students were alleged to have confronted some white students at gunpoint. ~~Mitchell intervened, asking that the charges be dropped, and says he was told to support the administration or resign.~~ Also during those 2 years, enrollment of black American full time students increased from less than 100 in 1969 (49 in 1968) to 251 in 1971.

~~When charges were dorpped, he renewed his recruiting efforts throughout the state.~~

~~When Mitchell was hired in 1969, there were less than 100 blacks in the University.~~ The previous year, there were 49 fulltime American black undergraduates in the University. After his vigorous recruiting efforts, 241 fulltime American black undergraduates were enrolled in the University when the arecent crisis erupted.

In 1968 (?), a Council for Minority Affairs was formed chaired by Exec. V-Pres. Harry Sisler and including Mitchell, ~~and one other constant member,~~ recorder Dr. Cline of the student health services, + other faculty & administrators. ~~who served as recorder.~~ This council, created to advise the President, ~~recommended the hiring of blacks in three positions: --asst. dean in academic affairs~~ voted unanimously in February, 1971 ("There is confusion as to time; there is not confusion as ~~affairs~~ ~~pertained~~ to the event," as black law student Mitchell Dasher related before the hearing committee) to crete a post of vice-pres., associate vice-president, dean, or director for minority affairs. ~~However, in April, 1971, President O'Connell claimed to have no knowledge of such a proposal or recommendation.~~

As of April, then, the black students' proposals had been circulated ~~about~~ throughout the University for over 19 months. They had been approved by the Student Senate and an ad hoc committee of the University Senate. Furthermore, the key proposal to establish some sortof department of minority affairs with a vpres, assoc. v-pres., dean, or director in charge was unanimously approved the the President's Council for Minority Affairs, chaired by Exec. V-Pres. Harry Sissler.

At about 10 o'clock in the morning of April 15, around 70 black and some white students entered President O'Connell's office in the administration building, Tigert Hall, to present a modified list of six proposals. They were:

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(1) "There shall be a commitment on the part of the university to recruit & admit 500 black students out of the quota of 2,800 freshmen and a continuance of the critical freshman year program.

(2) "Establishment of a department of Minority Affairs under the direction of a full V-President, & the immediate elevation of Mr. Roy Mitchell to this vice-presidency.

(3) "Hire a black administrator in Academic Affairs with the advice and recommendation of department of Minority Affairs to coordinate the recruitment of black faculty.

(4) "The hiring of a black assistant manager in personnnel.

(5) "Intensification of recruitment & hiring of black faculty so as to reflect

the ratio of black students admitted under the proposal in number (1).

(6) "The fair & equal treatment of our black brothers and sisters, who are employed by this university.

"Thus far, even though we have pleaded, begged, & worked diligently w/ the administration, our cries have been ignored. This university has consistently denied us these basic needs we deem necessary. We are the voice of the black student, the black worker, and the entire black community. & for our full participation as students, employees, & citizens of this state, these needs must be met."

single space

At 10:15 a.m., O'Connell told the black students that he would not consider any "demands" as long as his office was disrupted. He told the students they had 3 min. to leave the office before they would be suspended.

at 10:18 a.m., all the black students left O'Connell's office and met outside Tigert Hall.

After a discussion, the blacks decided at 10:40 a.m. to attempt again to present their 6 proposals to O'Connell and talk with him briefly. Ten minutes later, the President warned them that they had 3 minutes to leave before they would be suspended. He said he would listen to the black grievances if presented by a reasonable number of students when an appointment was made through "proper channels." Three minutes later, the blacks were informed they had been suspended. However, no attempt was made to obtain identification and the students once again left Tigert. Former Black Student Union chairman Sam Taylor arranged to meet with O'Connell at 11:30 a.m.

At 11:30, Taylor met with the Pres. for about 15 minutes. "He didn't really say anything," Taylor was quoted as saying. "He said we were making irrational demands and that we were insincere - nothing was accomplished."

Around noon, the blacks entered O'Connell's office for the third time. They were immediately informed that if they were not gone in three minutes, they would be suspended and arrested for trespassing after warning. Fifteen minutes, later, the blacks passively submitted to arrest and were transported to Alachua County Jail.

Student body president Steve Uhlfelder testifed that when he learned of the morning events and arrests, he tried to learn from the administration ~~whether or not~~ if the blacks in jail would be released on their own recognizance or ~~whether~~ on bail, ~~would be necessary.~~ Also seeking to learn what the nature of the charges ~~were~~, Uhlfelder and student body sect. for Minority Affairs Kip Smith obtained no answer from the administration. They therefore called a rally to be held in the Plaza of Americas at 2 o'clock to inform students of the morning events and to attempt to raise bail money for the arrested blacks.

At 2:55 p.m., over ~~100~~ 1,000 students marched from the Plaza to Tigert Hall, where they filled the building and front steps. By 3:30, the number had increased to over 1,500.

At 4:05 O'Connell emerged from his office to speak to students on the front steps of Tigert Hall. As ___Whitley, ~~the~~ majority leader of the Student Senate testified, O'Connell pointed his finger and said, "Anyone of you who remains in the building will be suspended & arrested." He declared that the charges against the arrested blacks (not specifying what they were), "~~would~~ will not ~~be~~ be dropped and the suspensions will continue."

Two university buses were then parked behind Tigert to transport anyone arrested to jail. Students massed around the buses and let air out of the tires.

at 4:30, Gainesville, campus security police ~~and~~ and officers from the Alachua Co. Sheriff's Office warned students to disperse or they would be arrested. When students failed to move, the police moved into the crowd in horizontal procession. As skirmishes began, tear gas was thrown in the crowd, which remained in the general vicinity of the administration parking lot.

~~About~~ at this time 8 more students were arrested and taken to Alachua County Jail.

At 6:15 p.m., the arrested blacks were released by Judge John Connell upon their own recognizance (which ~~he~~ Pres. O'Connell had suggeted in an earlier telephone conversatinn) or $100 bond if they did not have their UF identificaton card.

At 8 p.m., students ~~meet in~~ massed in front of Tigert Hall. At 8:30, President O'Connell appeared on WUFT-TV w/ Exec. V-Pres. Harry Sissler to claim that the administration had already moved to meet some ~~of the~~ black "demands".

("If I'd known they were going to be released on recognizance, I'd've gotten any affirmative reaction from the Univ., we wouldn't have had to try to raise bond money. But nobody could tell us if they were going to be released on recognizance or what the charges were." — S. Uhlfelder)

Specifically, he cited the following actions by the administration:

(1) hiring of a black assistant dean for academic affairs, Dean Thomas Cole from Wiley College in Texas.

(2) A black asst. dean in the College of Arts & Sciences "to give them specific scholarly assistance."

(3) planning for an upward bound program to encourage disadvantaged high school students to attend college, contingent upon receipt of goverment funds

(4) studies underaken for a Black Cultural Center.

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In the broadcast, O'Connel reaffirmed his intention to "initiate proceedings to suspend all students who violated the rules of theuniversity." He said video-films made of ~~students participating in~~ the disturbance would be used to identify students.

Meanwhle ~~at~~ from 8:45 p.m. to 9 p.m.the students massed in front of Tigert marched to O'Connell's home, stopping in front of several dormitories to recruit marchers. When the President's news conference ended at 9:32, approximately a thousand students converged on his lawn pretesting his policies and calling for his resignation. He arrived hom at 9:45 and confronted students, leaving in a University Police Dept. car at 10:20.

Basically, then, the incident of April 15 at the University of Florida followed a familiar pattern: black students' attempts to get administrative action on proposals through regular channels; the frustration of these efforts over time; their use of more dramatic though peaceful sit-in tactics; their arrest and suspension; and the subsequent general campus concern tending toward violent outbreaks of behavior.

Yet the UF is unique in the developments which ensued the April 15 arrest and demonstration. ~~For~~ eventually, 123 of the 251 fulltime Ammerican blacks students enrolled atthe UF withdrew in protest when the adminstration adamantly refused to grant amnesty to the arrested black students ~~or~~ to accept in any way the blacks' key proposal, the creation of a dept. of minority affairs.

~~The next day~~ Friday O'Connell appeared at a noontime rally at the Plaza of Americas to defend his position.

"We cannot change yesterday," he declared, being peristently interrupted with shouts of "Yes, you can."

The President reiterated his decksion that there would be "no amnesty" for the arrested students. He said he had "no alternative" but to have the students arrested when they would not leave his office.

In a special Sunday meeting, the Student Senate passed a resolution in which it "generally" supported the BSU proposals but did not aprprove another resolution which backed the strike planned to begin the next day. Student senators did vote to start a letter-writing campaign to ~~members of the~~ Florida ~~Legislature~~ legislators to explain the recent disorder at the UF. The content of the letter charged that the disorders resulted due to an "immense lack of understanding between the administration and the students."

Recent events, ~~it claimed,~~ were only a manifestation of deeper problems. One problem cited in the letter was President O'Connell*s "lack of sincerity and willingness to deal with critical students." The letter continued that O'Connell had other acceptable and less harsh alternatives open to him at the time the incident with the blacks occurred Thursday.

"As a first gesture on the President's behalf, ask him to drop charges against the blacks," the letter concluded.

A resolution asking for O'Connell's resignation was tabled in the Senate.

Monday the planned student strike largely failed to materialize. That afternoon President O'Connell held a press conference in which he claimed that the 66 blacks arrested Thursday afternoon were being used as "pawns". He said they had "ceased to be the concern and objective sought by a number of groups and individuals."

That night black campus leaders appeared on WUFT-TV ~~in a press conference that resulted from their~~ after requesting ~~for~~ equal time after O'Connell's hour-long television conference thursday night. Deputy Minister of Information for the BSU, David Freeman, and Student Government Secretary for Minority Affairs, Kip Smith, ~~said~~ issued ~~an~~ this ultimatum ~~of sorts~~ by ~~black~~ stud ~~to~~ all ~~the~~

"If full amnesty is not granted for all persons arrested Thursday, April 15, 1971, and if there is no acceptable commmitment to resolve the proposals presented on April 15, then we the black students will withdraw from the UF, Monday, April 26, 1971."

For example, Cline related that dormitory residents had been instructed to speak with black parents in the same manner as with white parents; that blacks were reasssured they would not lose their jobs if they complained of discrimination; that a supervisor training program had been held to emphasize the necessity of equal treatment of all employees; that Roy Mitchell had ~~been~~ received access to the registrar's files in his recruitment efforts; that some money had been located to help blacks who could not afford to pay their matriculation fee. Dr. Taylor (?) reported that an unpublicized two-day conference had been held by the ~~administration's~~ University and sponsored by the goveror with presidents of black colleges to urge higher black attendance of the UF's graduate schools and departments. Dean Spivey related that letters had been sent out to all black students withdrawing from the University, urging them to return. Dr. Jenning told of the planned faculty-administrative task forces ~~planned~~ to attack and to resolve specific problems, such as the need for a black cultural center.

Yet the dominant thrust of the testimony before this committee ~~was that the~~ concerned the University's failures rather than its successes:

--"The firstmistake that was really made by the University was not more affirative action in terms of dealing w/ the black students' proposals. The proposals didn't become demands until two days after the incident on campus April 15." (Student Body President Steve Uhlfelder)

--"There wasn't much direct contact between the University administration and the black students where the real communication needed to take place." (Uhlfelder)

--"At no time in the last 18 months have I ever felt as a member of this faculty and University community, that there was ever any genuine commitment on the part of this University to minority affairs. It's what we call grudging assent." (Dr. David Lane)

--"The condition of injustice, prejudice, has existed on the campus for a long while prior to April 15th." (Father Michael Gannon)

-- "We were moving from here (roughly 1950), to here, when the black students were saying, 'But man, you should be here!'" (Dr. Cline)

-- "In fact if he (Pres. O'Connell) is not racist, if the administration is not racist, then it is at least irrelevant." (former black law student Mitchell Dasher)

--"I would say that the UF at best is operating in the 19th century." (Roy Mitchell, former coordinator for minority and disadvantaged students)

administration to resolve the BSU proposals.

"We've tried our best to maintain good relations w/ Prs. O'Connell," Freeman said, but it is "virtualy impossible to talk to the president."

During the same program, Roy I. Mitchell, Coordinator for Minority Affairs, said he would resign in support of the black students' proposals if they were not met by the administration. He also withdrew his name from the black student demand that he be elevated to the vice-presidency of a newly created department of minority affairs.

"My welfare is not important," he said. "I have no aspirations for the vice presidency. I withdraw ny name right now!"

Tuesday Mr. Neil Butler, a ~~graduating~~ graduate nursing student at the UF and the first black mayor of Gainesville, said ~~if black students withdrew en masse from the University, he would also withdraw.~~

"If these (black) students withdraw, I will also withdraw at the end of this quarter."

Wednesday afternoon, the faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences voted to support black student and faculty demands and recommended "dropping all university and civil charges brought against studentsin the past week." The resolution carried by a vote of 139 to 76.

Thursday afternoon approximately100 of 1,000 UF law students marched from the Spressard Holland Law Center to the President's office to present a petition signed by 300 law stu dents. The petition questioned O'Connell's actions during the incident and his membership in the all-white Gainesville Golf and Country Club. In addressing the group of students, Pres. O'Connell said he was "dedicated to doing the best I can bo bring a proper solution to this problem, but that amnesty is not that solution."

"Lack of discretion...that's what triggered everything (last week). . . Pres. O'Connell exhibited a lack of discretion," black law student Ed ~~Dawkinds~~ Dawkins was quoted as saying.

Also Thursday graduate students of the Black Student Union issued a statement explaining the six black proposals ~~presented to President~~ which the blacks had been trying to present to O'Connell when they were arrested the previous KThursday.

On Saturday, April 24, Pres. O'Connell met with the parents of about half of the 66 black students arrested. He announced that 60 of the 66 accepted 2 quarters of social

probation rather than suspension by admitting to the Student Conduct Council that they had violated the University code. He said the 6 others could receive the same sentence if they appeared personally before David West, director of Student Conduct.

Sunday it was reported that some unidentified administrators met with black students and faculty to try to stall the announced Monday walk-out if the black now-demands proposals-were not met.

"florida has failedus,"

~~On Monday,~~ Clarence Martin, president of the BSU, said at a rally at Tigert Monday ~~that~~ ~~"Florida has failed us-~~ Hall. "The BSU has not been able to extract an acceptable commitment from the University administration. We feel then that this lack of good faith on the part of the administration leaves no doubt as to the status of black students, ~~and~~ faculty and staff on the UF campus.

"We leave not because we are giving up the battle, but becuase to remain without the prospect of meaningful change would be an even less desirable alternative."

By Monday afternoon, 5 blacks had withdrawn and 160 had gone through preliminary counseling for withdrawal.

By Tuesday afternoon, ~~99 st-~~ 98 black students had withdrawn and Roy Mitchell and Dr. Chow, a black medical professor, resigned. O'Connell stated that the educational damage to the withdrawing blacks was "worse than the effect mass withdrawals have on the University.' ~~H asked~~ Asking the withdrawing students to reconsider, he admitted that the ~~problemisue~~ critical issue was the demand for creation of a department of minority affairs. ~~And on this issue he~~

* insert

And on this issue O'Connell refused to compromise.

O'Connell said that such a department would "interfere with the normal operation of every department in the college and take over in part their necessary operations and functions." He also said it would logically require him to create similar departments for other minorities. Later, he charged that creating a special department for blacks was a racist principle.

— Concerning O'Connell's fear of a proliferation of the university's general structure, black law student Mitch Dasher said he reminded Pres. O'Connell that the U.S. government had increased from 3 to 10 major departments, that the creation of new departments was necessitated by expanding population and more complex needs ~~of people.~~

Father Michael Gannon, associate professor of religion and history and representative at the Catholic Student Center, also countered O'Connell's objection to the ~~newly~~ proposed department's feasibility.

> "The times required a creative movement, which is always an action that exists outside...the parameters under which we normally live. I think this would've been a creative solution...
> One tends to operate within the written law and code within the formally and officially established table of organization. If some thing does not fit in, then it is not workable. But I believe it (the proposed Department of Minority Affairs) is workable, because I believe there's a higher code that we should follow than written laws and codes and it is the code of human sensitivity and moral consideration for other human beings."

— Concerning O'Connell's claim that he would be compelled to create similar deparments for other minorities, the blacks had specifically explained that the

Insert - As Student Body Pres. Steve Uhlfelder explained,
"Everything else could be resolved in some way.
The key question came down to the office of
minority affairs."

newly dreated department would embrace all minority affairs, not just black affairs. "We're not just talking about black students," Dasher testified before the committee. "We're talking about redskins (the so-called American Indians), Chicanos, all people who fit into the segments of life where whites today are increasingly incapable of dealing with these people."

Concerning O'Connell's third objection to the new department, that its creation would be racist, Dahser answered that: "What we are saying is that you have proven today that you are incapable of dealing with this problem. We think that black educators, red educators, chicano educators, should try to deal with this problem on an institutional level. It is not racism; we do not consider ourselves superior; we do not consider ourselves a dominate factor here. We are just trying to say that we might articulate our own desires."

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On Wednesday, April 28, 21 more black students withdrew from the University of Florida, totalling 119. A delegation of about 50 international black students headed by Karl Watson of Barbados presented a resolution to O'Connell backing the Black demands and deploring the way the President acted in handling these demands. ~~About-35-students-from-the-Department-of-Agricultural-Economy-also-met-with-O'Connell~~ The petition read, until the University "ceases to exhibit racism, we will discourage our governments from sending other students to the University of Florida and to cease all international programs now existing in this University."

About 35 students from the Dept. of Agricutural Economy also met with O'Connell to express their support for the black students. O'Connell gave each group a copy of the 1970 University report on minority affairs.

~~Also-on-Wedn~~ That same day, two bomb threats were received necessitating clearance twice of the Registrar's Office. There was also a false fire alarm and eight University vehicles were sabotaged by placing sand or sugar in the gasoline tank.

By Thursday afternoon, the total number of black students withdrawn from the University reached 121. The University Senate approved the favorable report of its ad hoc committee chaired by Dr. John Baxter on minority affairs, supporting "strongly" the intent of the BSU's requests but disagreeing that a department of minority affairs should be created. The University Senate furthermore praised Roy Mitchell, whose resignation was to take effect June 15 but who was asked to vacate his office as

soon aspossible by vice-president for student affairs, Lester Hale) for "the insight he brought to our deliberations."

The Veterans for Peace, led by David Chandler, sponsored a rally ~~for~~in support of the black students and their demands Thursday afternoon. Mitchell spoke, contending that "the UF is not conducive to mental health, growth, and well-being."

In a comprehensive article in the Miami Herald on May 3, Executive Vice-President Harry Sisler defended the administration, citing the two new black ~~administrators-and~~ assistant deans in academic affairs and arts and sciences, and 10 new faculty members hired partially in response to student requests.

"If you look at this in terms of an ideal, it's not much," Sisler aldmitted. "But ifyou look at in ~~in~~ terms of what we had in the past, we've come a long way."

On Thursday, May 5, the University Senate passed an amendment kproposed by Dr. Alex E. S. Green of the Physics Department, urging all withdrawn black students to return to the UF.

In late June, ~~charges-were-finally~~ Judge Ira Carter dismissed charges against 42 of the black students arrested and put 30 others on probation for three months. The County Solicitor who applied for dismissal of the cases said he had conferreed with university officials and the police, but declined to ~~identify~~ cite names.

Of course, all during this crisis period, groups of students, faculty, and administration met and discussed the issues repeatedly. For example, Dr. Irving Goffmann, chairman of the department of economics; Dr. David Lane, directr of the Critical Year Program; Dr. Herman Spivey, dean of the College of Arts & Sciences; and Dr. Cline of the student health services all testified before the committee that they and others had been involved in efforts to resolve the black students' grievances, to urge the administration to grant amnesty to the black students arrested in the peaceful sit-in, and to arrest the withdrawal of black students from the University. Some of the witnesses testified concerning the University's efforts to improve the atmosphere for black students on the UF campus before the April 15th incident.

The National Commmttee on the University of Florida Crisis issued a preliminary statement the morning after its hearings on May 25. In this statement, one specific and one general recommendation were posed. First, the committee recommended that the University secure the dismissal of charges against the students arrested on April 15. This recommendation is no longer relevant since Judge Ira Carter has already dismissed charges against 42 students and placed the other 30 on three months probation.

The second recommendation calls for the immediate implementation of a department of minority affairs headed by a top-level administrator. This committee finds it extremely signiificant that the Student Senate and the president's own Council for Minority Affairs chaired by his executive vice-president had approved this plan prior to the April 15th incident. It feels that President O'Connell's objections to this proposed department, although sincere, are unrealistic and unsubstantiated. Like Franklin Delano Roosevelt's administration during the depression, University administrations must adapt themselves to meet the needs of minority students arriving on campus in increasing numbers. Special needs often necessitate special and creative rather than traditional measures. Furthermore, the creation of this department does not compel the President to create similar agencies for other minorities. This department should be charged with the responsibility to remain sensitive to the needs of all minorities. Finally, this committee emphatically denies that the creation of such a department is a capitulation to racism. A department of minority affairs, chaired by a minority administrator, would merely maximize the democratic participation of minority members in solving their own problems.

This department would require not only an administrator, but adequate staff and budget appropriations so that it can carry out a meaningful program. From its budget allotment, perhaps the department could appropriate funds to programs like the Afro-American studies program, which currently consists of one professor without staff or funds; or to the Critical Year Program, which needs to be greatly expanded and therefore more heavily funded.

The Departmentof Minority Affairs should be responsible for extensive recruitment of black students, faculty, and administrators, for ultimately the best way to make the UF a more hospitable atmosphere for blacks is to increase black enrollment at the University.

This department, as well as related bodies such as the Council for Minority Affairs (If it remains viable) must be delegated adequate power to implement the policies which they propose. The heads of such bodies must receive greater support from the President and other top administrators of the University through frequent personal contact and exchanges.

~~Finally~~, this committee also suggests that President O'Connell and the Board of Regents ~~perhaps~~ reconsider the nature of the role of the president of a major state-supported university in the 1970's. It is this committee's conviction that the main responsibility of such an official is to serve as a model of leadership in the academic community. As Harold Carswell learned, it is impossible for public andprivate images to be entirely separated. It is not possible for the president of a university to play golf at a segreagated golf club on week-ends and then discourage segregation at an institution greatly supported by federal funds during office hours. Once an individual becomes a public figure, his behavior must be such that he serves as a model of exemplary action and attitudes to those whom he influences.

Finally, this committee recommends that all membersof the University community--administrators, faculty, students, citizens--commit themselves to achieving a hospitable atmosphere for blacks on the University of Florida campus.

WHAT THE LAW IS ON STUDENT RIGHTS

Prior to 1961, the Constitution stopped at the school house door. Schools enjoyed nearly total discretion in disciplining and expelling pupils because attending school was thought to be a privilege not a right and because the school official was thought to stand in the place of the parent (loco parents) with the duty to act in what he saw the student's best interests to be.

In 1961, the erosion of loco parents and the right-privilege distinction began. The erosion began with a case involving civil rights demonstration and the decision swept students into a new era of constitutional protection. Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education, 294 F. 2d 150 (5th Cir. 1961) involved black students who had been expelled from Alabama State College for participating in a demonstration in the lunch grill located in the basement of the Montgomery Court House. They received no prior notice of their expulsion, nor were they given a hearing. The Federal District Court felt bound by the precedents, including those of the Supreme Court, and denied the students suit for reinstatement. Public schools have a right, so the judge said, to dismiss students "at any time for any reason without divulging the reason." Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education, 186, F. Supp. 947, 951 (M.G. Ala. 1960). The court of appeals reversed on the theory that even if school attendance was a privilege rather than a right, the state could not deny even the privilege except for constitutionally valid reasons. The students were entitled to notice and a hearing. The following language quoted in the opinion in effect killed the rights privilege distinction in the context of students' rights.

> "One may not have a constitutional right to go to Bagdad, but the Government may not prohibit one from going there unless by means consonant with due process of law"...The State can not condition the granting of even a privilege upon the renunciation of the constitutional right to procedural due process. 294 F. 2d at 156.

The cases following Dixon have affirmed the constitutional rights of students. Tinker v. Des Moines School District, 393 U.S. 503 (1969), a landmark decision of the Supreme Court, goes as far as any case in establishing that students are entitled to the full protection of the constitution, not a watered down version of it. The students there, the Tinker children, went to their school in Des Moines, Iowa wearing black arm bands as a protest against the Vietnam war. They were expelled by school officials on the theory that school were for education, not demonstrations, and that the disruption potential of the arm bands was great enough to justify expulsion. The Supreme Court rejected both theories, finding that an arm band was a symbolic act closely akin to pure speech and thus entitled to the protection of the first amendment, and that the mere generalized fear of disruptions could not justify the action taken. Otherwise, constitutional rights would cease to exist.

In the most sweeping language to come from any of the student rights cases, the Supreme Court made clear that students are not second class citizens and that they do not shad their rights at the school house door.

> In our system, state-operated schools may not be enclaves of totalitarianism. School officials do not possess absolute authority over their students. Students in school as well as out of school are "persons" under our Constitution. 393 U.S. Nat 511.

The doctrine of loco parents has been weakened by recent decisions involving the rights of juveniles. Criminal proceedings against children were traditionally different from those involving adults. The courts reasoned that their duty towards children was not simply to establish quilt or innocence and to punish, but to find out: "What is he, how has he become what he is, and what had best be done in his interest and in the interest of the state to save him from a downward career?" Juvenile proceedings were thus not adversary or criminal but proceedings in the "best interests" of the child. The juvenile courts stood in loco parents to the child much in the way schools have traditionally regarded themselves as standing with the child in disciplinary proceedings. Since the proceedings were "clinical" rather than "punitive," "administrative" rather than " criminal", the rules of criminal procedure did not apply. The elements of riminal due process include: notice of the charges, right to counsel, right to confront and cross examine witnesses, privilege against self incrimination, right to a transcript of the proceedings and the right to appeal an adverse decision. The juvenile got none of these rights on the theory that the court knew what his best interests were, and he didn't need them. Juveniles, however, may no longer be excluded from our constitutional scheme. (In re Gault, 387 U.S. 1 (1967) revolutionized juvenile proceedings in the United States on the simple but unimpeachable theory that "the essentials of due process may be a more impressive and more therapeutic attitude so far as the juvenile is concerned," than the "gentle conception" of loco parentis. 387 U.S. at 26. The Court ruled that juveniles were entitled to the protection of due process to the same extent as an adult offender in a criminal case.

The relevance of In re Gault to student disciplinary proceedings is apparent. For in spite of the description of those preceedings by school officials as "administrative" or in the best interests of the child, they can be severely punitive. It makes little sense to afford a pickpocket who may receive no more than a 30 day sentence in the county jail the full protection of the constitution while denying it to a student who may be irreparably and permanently damaged by the loss of a high school education. The logic of In re Gault, while it speaks in terms of loco parentis, thus seems to be the same as that underlying the cases which abandoned the old rights-privilege distinction. Young people are persons within the meaning of the Constitution and nay not be deprived of their liberty whether by school officials or juvenile courts, without due process of law.

Having established that students are entitled to due process, the much harder problem remains defining the extent of it. The courts have not required school officials to follow any particular procedural model patterned on criminal, civil or administrative hearings. In this relatively new area of the law, the courts have apparently been content to state the generalities and leave the specifics to be formulated later on a case by case basis. The main requirement is that the proceedings be fundamentally fair and reasonably calculated to ensure a rational resolution of the issues. In the words of Due v. Florida A and M University, 233 F. Supp., 396,403 (N.D.Fla 1963), "The touchstones in this area are fairness and reasonableness."

However, there appears to be a general agreement among the courts that at least 4 basic safeguards are required in disciplinary proceedings which may lead to expulsion or other serious penalty. They are (1) notice of the charges, (2) information of the nature of the evidence (3) an opportunity to be heard in defense, and (4) no punishment except on the basis of substantial evidence. For an excellent article on students rights, see Wright, "The Constitution on the Campus," 22 Vand. L.R. 1027, 1071-2 (1969). The "notice" which is required prior to institution of preceedings should be in writing. Esteban v. Central Mississippi State College, 277 F. Supp. 649, 651 (W.D. Mo. 1967). Nor should students be preceeded against on the basis of added or remember charges not previously set out in the writing. Hammon v. South Carolina State College, 212 F. Supp.

The "information of the nature of the evidence" requires as a minimum "the names of the witnesses against him and an oral or written report on the facts to which each witness testifies." Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education, supra, 294 F. 2d at 159. Dixon does not make the right to cross examine and confront accusing witnesses an absolute requirement in every case, but where the determination of issues turns whilly or in part upon the credibility of witnesses, it is difficult to conceive of a fair and adequate hearing without the attendant rights of confrontation and cross examination.

There is no apparent limitation on the student's "right to be heard." "He may put up witnesses, examine them, make a statement, submit other exidence relevant to the matters which are the subject of the hearing in "considerable detail". 294 F 2d at 158. It is genrally conceded that students may be temporarily suspended without a hearing in exigent circumstances involving extremely dangerous or disruptive behavior. However, the exception to the right to a hearing prior to disciplinary action is a narrow one. If the requirement of a prior hearing can be dispersed with on a showing of anything less, the right to a hearing secured by Dixon would amount to little. Thus in Stricklin v. Regents of the University of Wisc. 297 F. Supp. 216 (W.D. Wisc. 1968), the court held unconstitutional a 13 day temporary suspension without a prior hearing even though the court assumed the truth of the board's contention of disorder and threatened riot. And, where the hearing comes after the punishment, the board has a "heavy responsibility" to conduct it with disinterest and restraint. Fahey v. Mallonee, 332 U.S. 245, 253-254 (1947)

Finally, school officials may not take punitive action except upon "substantial evidence". In Scoggin v. Lincoln University, 291 F. Supp. 161 (W.D. Mo. 1968) two students were suspended for planning a "peaceful demonstration" against the bad food being served in the school cafeteria. The peaceful protest turned into vandalism causing $1500 worth of damages. The student planners were suspended. The court, however, ordered them readmitted because no substantial evidence had been brought forward that they had done anything other than plan a peaceful demonstration or that they had participated in any of the vandalism.

While there are some cases to the contrary, the better rule seems to be that each student has the right to bring a lawyer to disciplinary hearings. Especially does this seem appropriate where the board has its lawyer present. In view of In re Gault, there seems no logically defensible reason for denying a student counsel should he wish to be represented.

Whether or not the privilege against self-incrimination applies is somewhat disputed, although where the acts charged also violate the criminal laws, the rule is that the privilege is available. Otherwise the student would be faced with the dilemma of being expelled for refusing to answer questions, or answering them and running the risk of being prosecuted by the state on the basis of his confession. The courts will not force one potentially a defendant to exercise his rights against self-incrimination upon pain of losing his status as a student. Cf. Garrity v. New Jersey, 385 U.S. 493 (1967), and Wright, supra, at 1077, ft, nts, 276 and 277.

The courts agreed that the constitutional provisions against double jeapardy do not apply to school disciplinary proceedings. Thus, a student may be expelled for conduct and later prosecuted by the state for it without having either expulsion or prosecution offend the constitution as double jeopardy. Furutain v. Ewigleben, 297 F. Supp. 1163 (N.D. Cal. 1969).

The cases appear to hold that even though a student is entitled to a hearing, it need not be a public one. Zanders v. Louisiana State Board of Education, 281 F. Supp. 747, 768 (W.D. La. 1968). The theory is that both the interests of the student and school are protected by closed hearings, provided of course, that the other procedural safeguards apply.

The cases also hold that it is no denial of due process for a member of the hearing board to be a witness against the defendant. A limited combination or confusion or roles is not, according to some of the cases, unconstitutional absent personal malice or ill will on the part of the witness-judge. Jones v. State Board of Education, 279 F. Supp. 190, 200 (M.D. Tenn. 1968). However, the logic of such a position id doubtful, and "when other alternatives are so easy, it seems quite unreasonable for the judge also to be a witness." Wright, supra, at 1081. No cases of which I am aware hold that a

student is entitled to a transcript of his hearing for use on appeal. However, where such is available there would seem to be no reason for not making it accessable to the student.

The issue of student rights should not be what must the school give, but whether there is any cogent reason or substantial governmental interest for depriving students of the full range of due process guarantees. What is to be lost by guaranteeing a student the full right of confrontation and cross examination? The right to counsel as a matter of course? Our education system teaches b example. It can hardly expect to instill a sense of justice and fairness in our children or respect for the educational process by being stingy in the procedural due process it accrods them.

This article is adapted from McDonald, "Disciplinary Proceedings in the Public Schools, "Your Schools", February, 1971. For more information and the name of the nearest attorney who may be willing to represent yoi, telephone the Educational Resources Center of Mississippi, 1328 Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi, 353-0412.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO SUPERINTENDENTS, PRINCIPALS, ASSISTANT PRINCIPALS, AND DEANS OF STUDENTS IN THE AREA OF HIGH SCHOOL UNREST

I. **Actions which should be taken by elements of the school to deal with the causes of student unrest, and ultimately, to obtain optimum positive student involvement.**

A. Distribute students alphabetically in homeroom assignments, rather than by the trackings of students, in order to give each student a wider perspective on the entire student population, and to foster better understanding between different student backgrounds.

B. Provide for dialogue or seminar sessions for <u>all</u> students held on regularly scheduled dates, for the purposes of discussion of current school problems, communications among different student backgrounds and interests, or general surveillance of the current events of the day. (This suggestion carries optimum support from teens throughout the State. A procedure for implementing the above suggestion is allowing for one regularly scheduled course period per two-week or monthly period to be utilized for the session, with the time rotated between periods so as to relieve any one period of a greater loss of class time than another period.)

C. Allow teens to formulate and organize emergency committees with the powers to investigate and derive solutions to problems of unrest. By thus placing a larger burden of responsibility on the students, greater awareness of student capability and responsibility is engendered within the student populace.

D. Encourage and support students in obtaining a greater degree of responsibility in areas where they can play a primary role. Suggested roles might be:

1. Establishing a student court for advising on student discipline
2. Advisory committees to academic departments
3. Student-administered tutorial programs, under teacher guidance
4. Student-administered study hall situations during lunch periods
5. Student-administered monitor systems, when needed
6. Advisory committees to the guidance departments
7. Student-teacher administered cultural exchange program between various segments of the student populace (i.e., Oriental, Caucasian, Negroid)
8. Living-and-learning exchange programs within the community to gain cognizance of the total community
9. Student-faculty administered social-learning events among all segments of the student populace

E. Encourage the utilization of unity expressed in athletic events by capitalizing upon cheers which reflect all segments of the student body.

F. Provide transportation as often as possible to as many events as possible. (Perhaps special rate arrangements can be made with local mass transit systems for special events.)

G. Support the creation of more service-oriented clubs and interest clubs (i.e., photography) to meet expanding student interests and willingness to participate. Encourage and support the students in creating and chartering new clubs, with adult guidance, not adult domination.

H. Levy equal rewards and punishments for equivalent acts and in proportion to their importance.

I. Encourage faculty to participate in ethnic sensitivity training during their recertification periods and in in-service training.

J. Limit arbitrary rules to a minimum to maintain continuity of the educational process.

K. Encourage and support the appointment of students in ex officio roles to any and all curriculum study programs, for the purposes of communication between adults and students on matters of common interest and concern.

L. Use police minimally and then only to protect, not discipline, students.

M. Expedite integration processes by early and ultimate integration of the total school system, especially on the elementary level.

N. Encourage intra-faculty assistance on ethnic sensitivity, and capitalize on minority faculty members' experience.

O. Encourage principals of different schools inside and outside of the school system to communicate on progressive student involvement.

II. Utilization of administrative influence and respect to encourage greater and more positive student involvement.

A. Encourage all clubs in the school, whether of a selective nature or not, to be open to students of all types of backgrounds, both economic, social, racial, and academic.

B. Urge students of all types of backgrounds to respect the school as <u>their</u> institution of learning, rather than the institution of some small body of select students.

C. Encourage minimum monetary expenditures to be required for student participation, thus encouraging those of weak economic status to be as involved as those of stronger economic background.

D. Encourage complete participation by students at the junior high school level, and allow the junior high school student government as much responsibility as possible.

E. Maintain constant communication between administration and faculty, in order to grasp a total awareness within the total stratum of the high school.

III. Attitudes and actions which can be taken by the administrator to encourage the attainment of positive student attitude and involvement.

A. Be honest, straightforward, and frank with students. Do not treat them as less than adults until some action gives you cause to do so.

B. Despite all justifications raised otherwise, tell the entire truth about any and all incidents, for rumors are found to be a major stumbling block to unity and communication within the high school. The responsibility for removing rumor and rumor potential lies with the administrator.

C. Do not threaten or intimidate students with real and/or imagined punishments, and refrain from forcing students into positions where they are required to reveal fellow student offenders or face stricter punishments.

D. Support students when they are right.

E. In all cases where propriety permits, give full explanation for any and all actions taken, both positive and negative in nature.

F. Do not place the Student Council in such a perspective as to render it an "arm" of the administration. Rather, it should be respected for the representative body that it is. It should function as a voice to the entire school body for any and all student opinions.

G. Allow the local high school administrative staff as much flexibility and autonomy as possible, for inhibiting rules and arbitrary regulations set by the higher levels of administration (i.e., the Board of Education and the Superintendent) are often the center of contention between a responsible but "hands-tied" principal and a conscientious but inhibited student body.

H. Use suspensions and expulsions as punishments of the last resort. It is strongly recommended that offenders involving even major infractions be assigned punishment commensurate with their offense, rather than having to lose valuable and often crucial academic time.

I. The principal should establish and disseminate to all students the grounds on which a student will be disciplined, suspended, or expelled. These guidelines should list specifically those areas considered minor infractions, major infractions, and grounds for suspension or expulsion. Also, in light of recent court cases, the principal should make known to all students and parents the procedures he (the principal) will follow if any major disciplinary action, suspension, or expulsion should be necessary. This is to insure awareness and responsibility within the student body, to inform parents, and to prevent misunderstanding and confusion in the event of disciplinary action.

J. The principal's relationship to the school newspaper should be worked out early in the year to save embarrassment and misunderstanding. The principal should advise the paper, but neither he nor any other faculty member should ever censor or alter the newspaper. Rather, also early in the year, the student staff should establish guidelines under which they will print articles (these should probably deal with the areas of obscenities and libelous statements). It is recommended that a "Principal's Column" be included in the paper, to allow him to communicate his feelings on any and all areas of school concern. By this column a principal may communicate to the students on specific situations which warrant concern (congratulations to successful school groups, clarification of misunderstandings, and comments on future activities). This column should in no way limit the principal's concern with and practice of other forms of communication, but should be yet another avenue towards complete communication.

IV. Recommendations relative to increasing Student Councils' role in gaining complete student involvement.

A. The "Student Council" concept of student representation should be changed. Presently, the Council acts as a link of communication between the administration and the student body. This, however, is only a theory, for in practice the Student Council does not truly carry communications, for the students do not feel compelled to support an organization which can do little more than run social events and help with announcements before school. The Student Council should become a Student Government, capable of making final decisions on many student policies. Matters which are not so large as to require the principal, by law, to act should be handled by the Student Government, with the final decision resting with the students, without being subject to veto by the administration. Certainly matters such as hall monitors and school dress codes are areas which students could and should deal with, while disciplinary action should be ultimately decided by the administrator. Even in the area of discipline, however, advisory boards of students and student guidelines will encourage greater awareness, responsibility, and involvement on the part of the student.

B. In line with the "Student Government" form of Student Council, election procedures should be altered so as to gain optimum representation of all student groups. Because homerooms should be a mixture of all types of students, the homeroom is increasingly becoming inadequate as a voting district. Because most Student Councils or Student Representatives are chosen from homerooms, many students have little chance of getting

involved. As we are well aware, homeroom representatives are usually chosen on a popularity basis. Hence, a means of election reflecting more responsibility is necessary. Although there may be several methods, below is a suggested revision in voting procedures.

1. Voting shall be done on a precinct or ward basis, utilizing the existing adult municipal/county voting precinct or ward construction. In rural areas, these precincts or wards may have to be drawn by an impartial body of administrators, teachers, and students. By this method one capitalizes on housing patterns, social, and economic backgrounds to gain students truly representative of their voting district.

2. Students should file or run for office in his or her voting district only. Each student should vote on candidates from his or her voting district only. No qualifications should be required of a student beyond his being a registered student in the school. No requirements should be made concerning grades, club activities, activities outside of school, or previous conduct. In this manner all students are eligible to run for office, thus eliminating all concerns about a "prestructured" Student Council or "discrimination" by qualifications. The reasoning that more activities reduces one's effectiveness should be applied on an individual basis, not for the group at large. Each Student Council should be responsible for helping its members maintain his or her ability to be responsible and representative.

3. Students running for office should be encouraged to formulate platforms or statements of goals to be pursued during the next school year. In this manner popularity would hopefully stand second to issues. Campaign speeches and debates should be encouraged during lunch and activity times, as well as at scheduled convocation or assembly appearances, to gain maximum awareness and responsibility before and after the election.

4. At large candidates may be utilized, but it is recommended that these be few in number (no more than 10 percent of total representation on Student Council) and they should be voted on by the entire student body.

5. Election of major officers (including president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer) should be by a vote of the entire student body.

6. Procedures should be designed before election time to deal with all possible situations (i. e., write-in ballots, defaced ballots, incorrect voting methods). These procedures should be made known to the entire student body before election day.

C. The Student Council, in its "Student Government sense," should be prepared to meet, develop, and solve student needs. Hence it should create only such committees and groups as are really necessary and desirable. Rather than a "Welcome Committee" or similar group that functions only on the whim of the chairman, viable and dynamic groups which would catch

student interest and meet student problems should be organized. A good example is a Human Relations or Student Relations Council, which could deal with problems resulting from racial, economic, or social differences in understanding and cooperation.

D. Student Councils and the administration, to effect greater positive student involvement, should identify and utilize the "transitional leaders" within the student body. That is, the students that can relate: to the "apathetic," disinterested student, to the "militant" teenager (black or white), and to the "middle-of-the-road" student. While relating to these various segments of the school populace, these "transitional leaders" at the same time can relate to the "involved students" (i. e., Student Council) and the administration. By capitalizing on these groups of leaders, a principal and Student Council can communicate with the usually disenfranchised segments of the student body, and hence discover their opinions, problems, and suggestions. By utilizing these "transitional leaders," the principal and Student Council can spread awareness and a sense of "everybody getting in on the action." These "transitional leaders" may not always be the top academic students; they may even have poor conduct records. But by using their capabilities of leadership in their own groups, the principal and Student Council can help that individual and his group become more aware and involved. Appointment to special committees, responsibility for certain projects, and recognition of viewpoint at Student Council meetings are but a few ways to utilize the "transitional leader."

E. Student Council and the principal should recognize the differences in attitude and background of differing racial, economic, and social groups. Particularly, it is important to realize that black students often do not hold with the opinions of their parents, while in general white students still agree with their parents' viewpoint. Hence, various steps should be made to insure cognizance of all students' backgrounds. Far-ranging student attitudes should not be interpreted as impudence, but rather as an exploration for identity and accomplishment. Recognition of these factors can contribute to greater awareness and involvement of all segments of the student body. ??

EXPLANATORY NOTES

(Section numbers refer to sections in Recommendations)

I. D. These roles concern actual areas of potential student involvement.

1. Such a court or advisory group could maintain a channel of communication between administration and students concerning disciplinary procedures. Also, more students would be aware of the administration's viewpoint, thus enhancing student understanding and cooperation. One procedure for implementing this recommendation would be to have an application/selection procedure, where interested students apply and are selected by a student-faculty committee. Terms on the court should be on a rotating basis, perhaps revolving every grading period, to allow an optimum number of students to participate.

2. These advisory committees could be established as a communication link between teacher and students. This committee could be made up of students taking the various subjects (i. e., French, English, Social Studies, Science), and would meet with the departments and individual teachers. Students could help with instruction, sponsor outside-class study in the respective field, and advise the teacher on how well students are comprehending and reacting to the subject matter and instruction.

3. This is not a new idea; rather, tutorials have been used with large success in many areas of our state. We wish to encourage more tutoring programs within the high school. These programs should utilize all students, rather than being labeled under one organization (i. e., National Honor Society or Beta Club). Thus, an interested student could offer his services without being a member of any organization. More students should be encouraged to take part, for this program stands as an excellent weapon against dropouts. Perhaps a Big Brother program or a one-to-one tutoring program can be established to help potential dropouts and low-achievers. We ask you to utilize the manpower at your disposal to help fight our common problems.

4. This is to allow students to get closer to that perfect lunch-time trio: eat, play, or study. By having a study hall run by students away from the eating area, students can obtain a better perspective on studying and also get in a little extra cramming in a quiet place. This area could be a regular classroom not being used during lunch. Students could regulate the room; in this manner students could learn responsibility while freeing the teacher for lunch or other duties. This also has been utilized at many schools. Also, the creation of a student union for social mixing during lunch would be excellent in gaining better communication between students. Though dancing and extremely loud music would be inappropriate, a place where students could go to talk or play music would be conducive to helping students unwind and release pressure. Perhaps,

if popular music and classes don't mix, some student who sings and/ or plays an instrument (guitar) could be utilized to set an inviting background for talking and discussing pertinent issues. We ask you not to take this idea as foolhardy, but rather as a chance to help students relax and enjoy school, rather than endure it. An empty gym or bookroom might be renovated by students, or special facilities might be erected, dependent upon funds.

5. Students here again can learn greater responsibility. However, this should be used only when absolutely necessary.

6. These advisory groups could be of great service, for often the guidance counselors have too much work to do. These students could possibly help relieve the counselor's paperwork during study halls or after school. Most important, however, is the role they could play in research and communication. Many students feel that they do not have an adequate opportunity to obtain scholarships due to their ignorance about scholarship opportunities. This advisory committee could research all possible scholarships and report all their findings (including size of award, application procedure, etc.) either to the counselor or print up the data for the student body at large. Thus awards for all students, from whatever racial, economic, or social backgrounds, could be aware of scholarship opportunities. Also, this committee could assist in helping counselors spot and help potential dropouts. (Also, see No. 3 above.)

7. These could be seminars after school or activity periods or even regular class time. When students are allowed to swap viewpoints, their understanding and ability to cooperate is thereby increased. Suggested seminar areas might include: black culture, history, and literature; North Carolina folklore; North Carolina Indian history and culture, and local culture.

8. This program might be encouraged, allowing students to visit each other's homes and learn more about the total city, town, or county.

9. Student-sponsored interracial projects and parties can help teenagers get together on an informal basis, heightening the opportunity for communication and understanding. Projects might include clean-up campaigns around school, parties for school unity, and school fix-up programs on athletic fields and student unions.

SPECIAL RECOMMENDATIONS IN HYPER-SENSITIVE AREAS

I. Cheerleaders - Cheerleader selection has been and will continue to be a potential trouble spot in high school. Selection procedures must be fair to all students, and justly allow cheerleaders to serve as leaders of all students. Hence, the following policy is recommended in cheerleader selection:

A. Cheerleaders should be selected, not elected. The position of cheerleader, like that of the football player, should be one which is gained by ability, not popularity. Judgment should be made upon the characteristics necessary to being a cheerleader: poise, leadership, personality, physical ability to do cheers well, coordination, creativity, and ability to work well with other girls and with large crowds.

B. No grade requirements, activities records, or conduct requirements should be made of any prospective cheerleader. (After a student is selected to the squad, perhaps she should be required to maintain the same academic standing that students on athletic squads must hold--the passing of three academic subjects.) By eliminating these requirements before selection is made, any and all students may try out for the squad. Thus, more interest will be created, more students will be involved in tryouts, and less dissatisfaction will occur because certain students were "discriminated" against.

C. The judging panel should be made up of impartial people, preferably from outside the school staff. The panel should represent fairly all races and cultural groups. Selection of panel members should be based on ability to judge cheerleading styles, judge personality and leadership, and to be fair in appraising all strong and weak points of each student trying out for the squad.

D. Judgment should be made on merit; hence, the use of a scoring sheet is highly recommended. This sheet should allow each judge to score independently each student on several different categories (see I.-A. of this group of recommendations) with points being used in the manner of five--excellent, four--good, three--satisfactory, with two and one being unsatisfactory. In this manner the selection will be based on all students trying out, with only the tabulation picking the final winners. Tabulation should be done by an impartial person, witnessed by students. (Tabulator should not be a student nor one of the judges.)

E. Cheers used for selection proceedings should be truly reflective of all cheers liked in the school. Differences between white and black cheers do exist, as do differences for other cultural groups. Utilization of all types of cheers will eliminate any subtle discrimination.

F. Tryouts should be well announced to all students, with area for tryouts and selection procedure outlined well in advance of opening tryouts.

II. Homecoming Courts-May Queens-Christmas Queens - Beauty contests should be constructed so as to give all students a fair and representative chance at selection. The following procedure may be utilized as one method of selection:

A. Allow any club, athletic team, homeroom, or individual to sponsor a girl for the crown. No standards as to academic standing or conduct record should be made of any girl, and "black-balling" by any teacher or student, individual or group, is highly discouraged.

B. Selection should be done by popular vote, with plurality serving as the deciding vote, rather than by majority.

NOTE: No selection of queens or other beauty emblems can ever be done fairly until all students recognize the worth and dignity of all their fellow students. Continuation of beauty being defined as the "fair young maid with waxen hair and sky-blue eyes" will only lead to further difficulties. Encourage girls of all races and ethnic groups to be sponsored for the crown. Do not allow any girl who has been queen at any other school function during the year to repeat with another crown (i. e., Homecoming Queen also being May Queen). Serious consideration should be given the idea of allowing no student to be selected as a queen if she has previously won that title in past years. Once again, only a spirit of unity and understanding can overcome society's influences of prejudice and long-standing definitions of beauty.

III. Student Council - See page 4, Recommendations under IV.

IV. Marshalls at Graduation Exercises - Marshalls should be selected strictly on the basis of academic standing. One suggested method is to take the top ten girls and top ten boys in academic standing for marshalls. Methods which are selective or use a screening process generally run into more dissatisfaction than a clear cut method such as by academic standing.

V. Superlatives - Superlatives are generally traditions carried over from the day of small schools from one community only. However, in a day of consolidation and enlargement, superlatives are not the same commodity as before. Today few students really emerge as "Best All Around" or "Best Looking." In addition, such titles as "Best Dressed" emphasize wealth rather than personality. Superlatives should be expanded with more students involved. Or, superlatives should be dropped all together, with selection of more students to such groups as the National Honor Society or a "Who's Who" in the school.

The main thought behind any honor is to acknowledge those students who are performing up to or beyond their own capabilities. Serious consideration should be given to the concept that "Every student in my school will succeed and be acknowledged for his success this year." With greater involvement and recognition for achievement, even or a minor nature, students take greater interest and pride in their school. "Involvement breeds involvement" is quite true, and with greater student involvement the educational process will surely improve. Though not a business, school functions much like any enterprise: it is only as productive as each of its members turns out to be.

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SPA PROGRAM CUT

AFSC Youth Programs have been cut and undergone drastic changes in the last few years at both the national and regional levels. Recently a decision was made to reduce another program - Summer Projects Abroad (SPA). This international program directed from Philadelphia accepted college age young people for voluntary service projects in Europe, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and other places.

With the closing of this program, opportunities for college age young people to do a summer of service through an AFSC assignment will be greatly reduced. There will still be opportunities for young people to serve in Latin America, in the Middle East, and in the Tripartite Project (the program under which an equal number of American, British, and Soviet young people join together on a work-study project in one of those countries.) Anyone interested in Latin America, the Middle East, or the Tripartite Project can write to the High Point office for an application.

Young people interested in serving in another part of the world will now have to look to other organizations for assignments. The High Point Youth Program office has a supply of some back issues of the booklet, INVEST YOURSELF, which lists virtually every organization in the country which provides voluntary service opportunities both in the U. S. and abroad. These are free for as long as they will last.

The former head of the SPA office, George Marshfield, is now looking for new work and would appreciate hearing from anyone across the Southeast who might know of an opening that would suit his interests and qualifications. He has had fourteen years experience with the AFSC and has become an expert on campus work, student relations and problems, voluntary service, and community organizing efforts. He is interested and qualified for work on both the college campus and in the community organizing field. He can be reached through the national AFSC office at 160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102.

In past issues of AGAPE we have asked that our readers send in articles which we would publish in AGAPE. We have been successful in obtaining a few articles, poems, etc., but would appreciate receiving additional ones. Please send any items which you would like to be shared with other readers to the above address.

Brandon, S.D. (AP) "Do I have to go?" asked Clay Smykle when he got a letter from the local draft board directing him to register for the draft.

Kenneth Smykle assured his 6-year-old son he didn't, then alerted the Minnehaha County board of its error.

Edna Heilman, board executive secretary, said the mistake probably occurred when old school census records were being checked for delinquent registrants.

--Philadelphia Evening Bulletin--
August 7, 1971

FRAGMENTARY LIFE

I thought I was whole, but I found that I
was only fragments and ill-matching pieces.
I looked back and saw that I had broken many
times the fragile lights that illumined
The lives of others and in doing so I had
done it to myself.

Now I find that I am still doing it because
It has become a habit: "I have to make a
Living, don't I?" I looked at myself, and I
do not like what I see.
A child was building a castle and his mind
was filled with the glory of imagination
And creation, but I brushed it aside as I
crossed the room; "You can build it again,
But not in the way."

I destroyed the child's creation, and taught
something more, something about adults
That I wish weren't true. It was a hard
lesson, but I taught it to him many times:
"Lip service for the ideals, but please
Yourself first; do unto others as best
Serves your convenience." Is that what I
really believe? I thought I was whole,
But found that I was only ill-matched pieces.
Perhaps I can still take the pieces and
Find a way to put them together
So that they match.

- Robert T. Weston -

youth can VOTE for PEACE REGISTER!!

TRAINING FOR SCHOOL BUS DRIVERS

A large part of the country is upset because of the massive busing this current school year. The High Point school system started this process a year ago. A number of problems arose, but rather than refusing to deal with them and throwing up obstacles to keep the busing to a minimum, as some governmental local school officials have done, local officials started in Aug. to deal with the issues and problems. Some of them were related to race, but not all. The school system set aside 5 days in August for the training of bus drivers and school personnel involved in busing students.

The AFSC Youth Program director was a resource person for dealing with some tension-filled incidents which arose among individuals last year. Role playing was the primary tool used in recreating tenuous situations which bus drivers had to deal with. Students, faculty, and school administrators played various roles so as to get a feel for what "the other side" had to deal with. A local television station covered the training being conducted by the AFSC. It was felt by all involved that this was a good and realistic approach to trying to learn how to deal with volitile situations that could, and in some cases did, result in violence. The Youth director is available to help other school systems in similar ways.

EDITORIAL

Certainly busing and school desegregation efforts have been on everybody's mind this new school year. Not only is this of interest to me because of my position with the AFSC, but for the first time, all of my children are in school together: Kindergarden, second and fourth grades. We got our children into this school through a kind of reverse school desegregation process that involves considerable busing. We felt by busing we could provide them with a kind of quality educational experience that would prepare them for the multiracial world they must live in. In light of our experience, it startled me to think there could be so much objection raised on the part of some parents to the providing of equal educational opportunity to all students through busing plans.

Some readers may not know that my children are classified as white. Nearly 3 years ago we discovered near our home a formerly all-black elementary school which had been turned into an educational experimental enterprise by the county school board. Originally plans called for the closing of the school as a part of the country's desegregation plan, but the black principal importuned upon the board to let him try to run some non-graded, non-grading, open ended experimental efforts in the school buildings. The board agreed, and there is now a kindergarden (something N.C. has few of at the public school level), 2 or 3 grades occupy one large room so that there is team teaching, students are encouraged to work at their own rate without grades being given out, regular conferences with parents and teachers are held, and many other progressive innovations have been introduced.

Many white parents realizing that quality education was being offered at this school used freedom of choice (when that was still in

EDITORIAL - Cont'd

effect) to get their children in. Today the racial balance of the school is 50-50. They have a waiting list of students to get into the school.

Our children must catch 2 buses and ride nearly 10 miles to school. Clearly it becomes a very personal thing for quality education to be offered to my children, and I can sympathize with and work side by side with parents who want to get their children out of the disadvantaged situation that has become the inheritance of the segregated school system. Busing may not be an ideal solution, nor does it solve all our educational problems (as we have learned in our situation), but it's certainly a step in the right direction and deserves our support.

The High Point regional office expects to be adding to its staff in the coming weeks a person who will initiate a new program in Nonviolent Action and Training. For over a year the Youth and Peace Education Programs have been placing increasing emphasis upon this area of work and study. Training and lecturing in nonviolence has taken place in Tenn., S. C., Ga., Fla., N.C., Miss., and other places.

Part of the plan for the program in nonviolence calls for the establishment of 5 or 6 centers over the southeast where students and peace-minded individuals will gather on a regular basis for training and action. It is hoped that these centers can be established in geographically strategic sites so that those who are associated with them might be mobilized for action and training in places of tension - such as in school desegregation crises, where racial animosities are sharp, where public demonstrations are planned, etc. If you feel your area would be a place for a center, contack Bill Jeffries or Jackson Pyles for further consideration. There is a desire for preliminary planning to begin now.

Some Chapel Hill high schoolers have started an alternative newspaper in there school with its purpose being to keep people informed of political and social happenings around their town, state, and the world. They have experienced some difficulties in obtaining information about what's happening at other high schools across the state because there is no existing network of communication. As Phoebe Pollitt stated in her recent letter, "We know there are kids in Durham and Greensboro who are going through legal problems because of their political activities, but to what extent and if there is anything we can help with is unknown". Plans are underway to hold a statewide conference in Chapel Hill the first weekend in Dec. for high schoolers. This conference will deal primarily with helping to overcome this communications gap and set up a political organization of concerned high school youth. On hand will be speakers on high school student rights, educational reform, and minority power. Seminars will be held on such things as the draft, social change - violent or nonviolent, Women's Lib, and other means of communication and motivation. Emphasis will be on teaching those who participate how to enlighten others. For more information, write to: Phoebe Pollitt, 1018 Highland Woods, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

AN INTERVIEW WITH SAMUEL BURFORD

William Penn High School was the institution which used to provide educational opportunities to senior high black students in High Point, N.C. As has been the pattern so often in the south, the all-black William Penn was closed three years ago and a new school was built on the east side of town, namely, Andrews Senior High School (Central High School is on the west side of town).

Samuel Burford was the principal of William Penn High School, and after considerable "lobbying" by both black and white local citizens, he was appointed principal of the newly built and newly integrated Andrews High School - the only black principal to serve a predominently white student high school body in the local school system, and perhaps in the whole of Guilford County, if not the state.

Unfortunately, this year marked the retirement of Samuel Burford from the principalship of Andrews High School. This is the first time in thirty-eight years that he has not been a part of the High Point public school system! It is an understatement to say that he was one of the most admired people in the entire school system. A banquet in his honor last May brought hundreds of local citizens to praise him for his years of unselfish and devoted service.

The Youth Program director, Jackson Pyles, felt it was important to try to share in an interview with the readers of AGAPE some of the experiences and thoughts of Samuel Burford in the hope that his insights might be helpful in dealing with some of the difficult problems related to the integration of our public educational systems.

JP: "Where are you from originally, and when did you become principal of William Penn?"

SB: "I am originally from Lynchburg, Va., and I came down here from that state forty-three years ago! I came to High Point in 1933 to become principal of William Penn. Prior to that I worked in Burlington, N.C. I went to Virginia Union University in Richmond for my undegraduate work, and then to the University of Michigan where I did one year of study beyond my Master's degree."

JP: "What is the background of William Penn High School?"

SB: "It was started originally by Quakers, I believe in 1889, to provide educational opportunities to black young people. It was called the High Point Normal and Industrial School and it went from the first grade up through normal school, which would be the equivalent of two years of college."

JP: "How did it become a high school?"

SB: "About 1923, the Quakers decided that High Point needed to provide for its own black citizens, and so the school was given to the city with the understanding that it would become a black high school. At that time it was named William Penn High School. The site has always been on Washington Street (near the downtown area)."

JP: "Was there resentment when the decision was made to close William Penn and to build a new high school?"

SB: "Before the building of Andrews, many black students had transferred to Central High School and those students didn't resent it because their loyalty was there. When black students went from Penn to Andrews, though, they resented not being able to stay at Penn. The reason was that there were already established clubs, cheer leader squads, and other organizations that they got into easily. At Andrews in those first years, their numbers were limited on the cheer leaders squads, they seldom got elected to offices, and so forth. With the closing of Penn, Andrews became about 30 percent black and Central about 25 percent."

JP: "How did you feel about this?"

SB: "I began to see it their way. I tried to talk with as many students as I could individually - both black and white. Many whites were skeptical of me. In talking with groups of students, I always made a point of talking with only integrated groups. Because of this some few blacks said I was pro-white."

JP: "I saw in the paper recently where some black students have been elected to some of the offices of the student government for this current school year at Andrews. I have a suspicion that your patient efforts to talk with students might have improved the situation and brought about some change."

SB: "This last year has been better; perhaps because a new generation of students has come on which has loyalty to Andrews. Three of the four officers at Andrews are now black. These three students got in because they are kind and open to all other students. They are involved in athletics and other activities. This does not mean that all our problems are solved, though. There was an article last year in the school paper saying that Andrews is not a truly integrated school; that blacks sit separately at student body functions and in dining halls, there are no officers, etc. I tried to point out to these young people that this was by their own choice. They are free to choose this if that's what they want. If this is what they finally choose, then they should not criticize the arrangement they themselves make. I have tried to point out that some of the black students should stop going out of their way to really try and knock white students. They'll never get in that way, whether they be black or white."

JP: "Do you see an improvement in student relations on an interracial basis in the future?"

SB: "Yes. For the most part, from the very beginning, we have had very good support from substantial numbers of black and white students at Andrews who wanted to see integration work. They were able to deal with situations that could have easily gotten out of hand had there not been someone there who was willing to

go out of his way to see that things work. I tried to be there all the time, too, out in the halls talking to students, and using every chance possible to get to know the students. The first year in particular some white students wanted to see integration work and tried to help black young people adjust to the new situation. Of course, it was a new situation for many white young people too, and numbers of black young people joined in this effort too. It seemed that some of the youngsters tried to make it clear that they had faith in me and respected me. Of course, there was a minority of young people on both sides who just could not see the woods for the forrest!"

JP: "What will you do now?"

SB: "I'm going to try to rest and relax and enjoy my retirement. That may be difficult, though. I've been elected to the city council. I now have four regular meetings a month, all carrying heavy responsibility. I'm head of the Service Division of the United Community Services of High Point, I'm a trustee on the hospital board, and I'm on the executive board of the Kendall Center (for mentally retarded). Also, I'll be teaching part-time at Bennett College in Greensboro."

JP: "What did you think of the banquet that was given in your honor?"

SB: "The night of the recognition banquet, I was scared. People began to say so many good things about me, and so many people testified to the influence I had on their lives. (One person pointed out that without Samuel Burford's encouragement, many hundreds of black young people from High Point would not have gone on for further degrees and worked so hard for self-improvement; and that now it was not possible to see anyone on the scene who might be fulfilling that role.) I began to think how easy it would have been to have led them in the wrong way. I didn't sleep that night. I just did what I felt was my job and what was simply right to do."

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT

Situation:

White and Black reaction to school desegregation has reached crisis proportions throughout the South. Parents, public officials, school administrators and others have become involved in the emotion-laden polemics of school desegregation, while government agencies, social and civil rights organizations have concentrated upon monitoring desegregation proceedings. In all cases, the welfare of the students has apparently become a secondary issue.

College students, working in bi-racial teams in their respective communities, can play a major role in alleviating the student's problems. The basic issue of school desegregation will be secondary to their efforts to promote and/or maintain peaceful coexistence among and between Black and White students.

Creativity and commitment are the underpinnings of this project. With the possible exception of the coordinator, there will be no paid staff. Mileage might be paid in emergency situations.

Purpose and Objectives:

The purpose of this project is basically simple: to draw attention back to the needs and the welfare of the students, Black and White; and, to prevent violence and further suffering to students in areas where this has and is occurring and to avoid such happenings in areas where the po-

*Except around Jackson, Tenn.; somehow public attention never riveted on the Lane College students despite the strenth and courage of their protest.

tential exists. The realization of this goal encompasses many objectives:

(1) To utilize the existing or potential peer group relationship between college and high school students.

(2) To establish a wedge of neutrality among and between Black and White communities. This will hopefully negate some of the power held by more aggressive, vocal factions since more reticent individuals will have someone to relate to.

(3) To shift the focus of the education system away from the political and administrative realm back to the more immediate needs of the students.

(4) To lay the foundation for future interracial projects, conferences, etc., for college and high school students engaged in the desegregation of schools.

(5) To establish lines of communication among and between the youth in the Black and White community.

(6) To foster the concept of non-violence among young people. To show that reason can transcend political stances related to desegregation, whether pro or con. (Hopefully, young adults can set an example for our "more mature" adults in doing this.)

Structure:

To facilitate communication and to cut costs, the project is structurally simple. There will be four (4) components:

(1) Regional Coordinator - a bi-racial team responsible for:

a. Administrative tasks

b. Coordination of regional activities

c. Formulation of the total roster. Informing out-of-state students of the needs in their community and thereby generating indirect assistance.

d. Mobilizing resources

(2) State Coordinators - a bi-racial team of volunteers which will be responsible to the Regional Coordinator. Their role and function will be similar to the Regional Coordinators in their respective states.

(3) Bi-Racial Teams - local impact teams of Black and White young adults. The team members can give the youth various types of assistance in their respective communities:

a. They can facilitate group discussions. Provide an opportunity for the quieter, more passive students to express their opinions.

b. They can help students realize that the Black and White students are coming from different bags. Consequently, they might react differently to a given situation.

c. They can help students become more aware of the consequences of certain acts. How would you feel if a group of White/Black students shook you down, ganged you, called you names, etc.? Looking at such situations from this standpoint, how would you react? How can you prevent such similar incidents?

d. They can help in leadership development. So often a vocal minority wrongly speaks

for and dominates the group by virtue of certain attributes - personality, physical power, etc. Students can be helped to realize that the most vocal people might not be the only and/or best leaders.

e. They can show by example that Black and White youth, though possibly in disagreement, can peacefully reconcile conflicts.

(4) Resource Pool - a pool of organizations, individuals ad hoc groups, etc. available to provide technical assistance, local advice, etc. (SRC, AFSC, Churches, etc.)

SDP

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THE PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY

Exposure to Mass Media and Readiness for Desegregation*

BY MELVIN M. TUMIN

If the mass media act as the instruments through which people of the different regions of a country keep in touch with the mass culture, one would expect greater exposure to the media to be positively correlated with attitudes which conform to the values of the larger society. The author confirms this hypothesis by relating measures of exposure and tests of readiness for desegregation.

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IGNORANCE OF ALTERNATIVES is an insulator and guardian of traditions.[1] Such ignorance may be maintained either by isolation from knowledge and/or by selective rejection of the kind of knowledge which could bring awareness of alternatives. The traditions of a region thus stand the best chance of remaining intact if ignorance of alternatives is *effectively* preserved.

A prevalent belief about the Southern traditions in Negro-White relations holds that these reflect and result from a degree of isolation and selective rejection of themes from the larger society, the mass culture. No one contends that this isolation and rejection are complete, but rather that whatever awareness of alternative patterns does exist among people of the South is not as effective in producing social change as it has been in regions where there is less history and less affect supporting the traditional patterns.

But no region as large and diffuse as what is called "The South" could conceivably be called homogeneous. Distinctions between hard-core states and border states, and between the Deep South and other as-yet-unnamed portions of the South, are current in the literature of race relations. The

* This is the first of a series of reports of a study of Readiness and Resistance to Desegregation. The study was conducted as part of a program of training graduate students, enrolled in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton, in Methods of Research. The training program is supported in part by a subvention of the Carnegie Corporation.

Co-authorship of this article should properly be ascribed to the students in the course, who participated at every level of the research. I can do no less than list their names. They were: Paul Barton, Bernie Burrus, Raymond Collins, Richard Dwyer, William Marsh, Robert Rotberg, Frank Seidner, and Frank Tysen: I would be most remiss if I did not also here acknowledge the continuous interest and help of my colleague Professor Warren Eason, and of Mr. Robert Cutler, who, as administrative assistant, provided indispensable help at every stage. Mrs. Leila Mattson, secretary of the Project, not only facilitated the details of our work in every conceivable fashion, but also shouldered the primary burden of the computation and statistical analysis of the data.

[1] See, for instance, Wilbert E. Moore and Melvin M. Tumin, "Some Social Functions of Ignorance," *American Sociological Review*, XIV, 6, December, 1949.

heterogeneity implied by these distinctions has to do with Negro-White attitudes and behavior. On the premise stated above, concerning the importance of ignorance and isolation, one ought (therefore) to find differences in attitudes toward the Negro-White situation to be associated with differences in exposure to alternative patterns.

The mass media—specifically newspapers, magazines, radio and TV—are among the primary instruments by which regions in the United States are kept in touch with the mass culture. It is through these impersonal media, as much if not more than by interpersonal contact, that the kind of knowledge and awareness which can be instrumental in producing social change are brought into an area.[2] If persons in the South differ in their degree of exposure to the mass media, there ought to be a corollary difference in their acceptance of the pattern of total segregation. Whether differences in exposure to mass media are in fact correlated with differences in "readiness for desegregation" is the central question to which this paper is addressed.

The anticipated relationship between media exposure and attitudes toward segregation would not hold, however, if the mass media, as they are broadcast, distributed, and circulated through the South, somehow lose their "mass" status and become converted into materials which simply or predominantly reinforce the local traditions. This could happen either by the selective perception of the consuming public and/or by the local agents' selective culling of the mass media materials, so that the media content is shaped to fit the local scene with particular regard to the traditions supporting segregation.

The data available to us do not permit a test of whether there is selective perception. But there is good evidence that the mass media themselves are not distorted or biased in the relevant regards. An analysis of a selected sample of newspapers in southern states reveals that the content of these newspapers is about evenly divided in its support and opposition to segregation. The author notes:

When content was classified by 'direction,' space allocations in the 12 Southern newspapers included in the study were as follows: Pro-integration 27%, pro-gradualism 12%, pro-segregation 30%, neutral 31%. The combined pro-integration and pro-grad-

[2] The number of variables which must be controlled before any definitive testing can be carried out, and the number of different kinds and intensities of impact which are possible, make the study of mass media, and the more general study of the "flow of influence" both fascinating and tormenting. A remarkably cogent ordering of the field and summary of findings has been achieved by Carl Hovland in his "Effects of the Mass Media of Communication," *Handbook of Social Psychology,* Vol. II, edited by Gardner Lindzey, (Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 1062-1103. It is the kind of summary which not only lists and categorizes but makes a significant contribution to the building of a theoretical structure for the field.

ualism space totals for all but one newspaper exceeded the pro-segregation total. In that one instance they equalled it. . . . all material overtly favoring integration, but not immediate integration, was coded as pro-gradualism.[3]

Some may argue that this even division is still a far steeper pro-segregation inclination than one finds outside the South. But a content analysis of papers of other regions might reveal the same kinds of leanings; or, that if we were to change our measures of pro- and anti-segregation materials to fit the local sub-culture, we would find that on these new measures, other regions would be no less pro-segregation in their total impact.[4] Additionally, one has to wonder how much can accurately be said about the impact of mass media materials upon attitudes. Finally, in a region where the major strain is toward an idealized version of total segregation, such an even balance constitutes a major deviation, and hence a stimulus to change of the traditional pattern.

In the case of media other than newspapers, our own data show that these media do in fact bring the "mass culture" into the region. Of the 110 respondents who listened to radio news analysts, some 89, or 80.9 per cent most frequently tuned in to a national hookup originating in a northern state; that the same was true for 206 out of 212, or over 97 per cent of those who watched and listened to a TV news analyst; and that of the 197 persons in our study who regularly read a magazine more than 94 per cent gave their primary attention to news and photo magazines (predominantly *Time* and *Life*) and other national circulation journals with no identifiable pro-segregation bias.

Moreover, the attitudes of those regularly exposed to local media do not significantly differ from those of the respondents who more regularly expose themselves to the non-local media. If the mass media make a difference, then, it is probably not because some are northern and some southern in origin, or some pro-segregationist and others anti-segregationist. The *sheer exposure* to news and information from circles and areas beyond one's immediate sub-culture seems to be the factor which makes a difference.

METHOD

The study was conducted in the fall of 1956 in Guilford County, North

[3] Roy E. Carter, Jr., "Segregation and the News: A Regional Content Study," *Journalism Quarterly*, Winter, 1957, pp. 3-18.

[4] Relative to the state of Negro-White relations, for instance, in Chicago or New York, how effective in increasing or reinforcing sentiment for segregation is any single spectacular crime report in which the assailant is identified clearly as Negro? The local balance of readiness and resistance to desegregation, while variable by region, may be more easily and more seriously knocked off balance in the less-segregationist states than in the states more traditionally segregationist. Conversely, what would scarcely pass even for news in a Northern state, much less in any way alter the balance of segregation-desegregation sentiments, might very well be a very significant piece of news and a very effective stimulus to new patterns, in the more traditionally segregationist states.

Carolina. The universe studied consisted of White occupied dwelling units in Guilford County, and the population was defined as "White males, in the labor force, 18 years or older."[5] The universe was divided into 50 strata of equal size, and then two sampling units (clusters of three each) were selected at random from within each stratum. By census definition, 32 of the sampling units were urban, and 18 were rural. The total number of eligibles in the study was 341. Of these, 208, or 60.9 per cent, were located in the urban portion and 133, or 39.1 per cent, in the rural areas. Our research target was 300 completed interviews. Actually 287 were completed of which 183, or 63.75 per cent, were urban and 104 or 36.74 per cent were rural. The majority of losses were due to ineligibility,[6] although 38 interviews were refused.[7] A preliminary comparison of the sample including substitutes with what the sample would have been like had it included all those originally selected reveals that there is little likelihood that the final sample differed in any relevant characteristics from the initial sample.

The questionnaire from which the data pertinent to this report were drawn included inquiries on a large number of variables, such as occupational and educational mobility patterns, frequency of contact with Negroes at various status levels, degree of industrial-exposure, and a host of the usual and probably relevant background items such as age, residence, religiosity, occupation, income, education, and size and makeup of the family. These materials will be reported upon in subsequent articles. The attention of this report is focused primarily upon exposure to the mass media.

Though we have a variety of information about the quality and intensity of exposure of our respondents to different mass media this study will utilize only a simple and gross measure of such exposure. In brief, a respondent will be said to have been "exposed," if

(1) he listens to a radio news analyst "a couple of times a week or more";

(2) he watches and listens to a news analyst "a couple of times a week or more";

[5] The sample was drawn by the Survey Operations Unit of the Institute of Statistics of the University of North Carolina. Dr. John Monroe, Head of the Survey Unit, also took considerable time and trouble to train the student investigators in problems of sampling, and employed them in the enumeration of some of the sampling segments. We are grateful to him for the many favors he extended beyond the range of his nominal obligations. In his report on the sample, we are informed that: "The estimate of the white male 18 years old and older labor force in Guilford County is . . . 46,717. The 1950 Census estimate for the white male labor force 20 years old and over is 40,919. The relative sampling error of this estimate is 7.33%. The 95% confidence limits on the estimate are . . . 39,868—53,566."

[6] Primary reason for ineligibility was the absence of a white male, 18 or older, in the labor force.

[7] A number of devices were employed to minimize the "refusals." In almost all cases at least a second call was made at a "refusal," and these second calls were surprisingly successful in reducing the original number of refusals.

(3) he reads a newspaper "a couple of times a week or more";

(4) he reads every other issue or more of any magazine.

Those who are exposed to none of these media, as defined above, will be scored as O, and labeled hereafter as the O-group. Correspondingly, those exposed to only one medium will be defined as the I-group, and so on, to those who are called the IV-group because they are exposed to all four of the media.

For our total sample of 287 persons, the distribution of exposure-types was as follows:

Number of Media Exposed to	*Number*	*Per Cent*
None	9	3.14
One	38	13.24
Two	89	31.01
Three	110	38.33
Four	41	14.28
Total	287	100.00

To estimate attitudes toward desegregation, five different measures were constructed. They included:

(1) an estimate of the image of the Negro's capacities and traits held by the White respondent;

(2) the respondent's beliefs about how "in general" a series of possible social contacts with the Negro ought to be handled;

(3) how the respondent thought he would *feel* if he found himself in contact with the Negro in these situations;

(4) what the respondent thought he would *do* if he were to find himself in these contacts;

(5) which of various measures to prevent desegregation of the public schools the respondent averred he would be willing to take.

THE IMAGE OF THE NEGRO

Respondents were asked to state whether they thought the Negro was superior to, the same as, or inferior to the White with regard to intelligence, morality, responsibility and ambition. Unfavorable definitions of the Negro in these regards are among the most dominant stereotypes. It is widely believed that discrimination against the Negro is proportionate to the extent to which the Negro is seen as an inferior, and that social equality cannot be achieved until the image of the Negro held by the White is altered. On the other hand, there is substantial research evidence that much social change in the direction of equality of status has already transpired without corollary

and matching change in stereotypes.[8] If the latter materials are sound, then one ought to expect the stereotypical image of the Negro to be expressive of the greatest social distance between Whites and Negroes. Similarly, one should expect that Whites should differ least from each other in their images of the Negro, relative to the differences they express with regard to other aspects of their relations to the Negro.

How should Negro-White contacts be handled "In General." Respondents were taken through a series of eight possible relationships with Negroes, and asked to comment how they thought such situations ought to be handled. The situations were (1) eating in the same restaurant; (2) riding on busses together; (3) membership, attendance, and worship in the same church; (4) working in the same place of employment; (5) having children attend the same schools; (6) having a Negro as supervisor at work; (7) dining at a friend's house when a Negro is among the guests; (8) living on the same block with a Negro.

We viewed these "in general" questions as permitting the respondent to construct his image of an ideal social system of relationships, without much regard to consequence, alternative patterns or the cost to other desired values. We reasoned that as a measure of social distance, these "in general" questions should verge closely upon the "image" questions in the degree of desired social distance which would be expressed.

How would the respondent feel about these contacts. This question was asked about all eight situations listed above, after the respondent was instructed to imagine that the contact had occurred. This question was viewed as tapping a more "realistic" response, in the sense that the respondent was probably forced to take account of more of the total context of possible responses, and more of the total balance of values. The scores on these questions should, therefore, deviate away from the traditional pattern of total segregation, and more toward a score which reflects a more ambivalent and more complex attitude-structure, inclining more toward the desegregation pole than the previous two measures.

What would the respondent do if faced with these situations. Again the same eight hypothetical situations were posed, and again the respondent was asked to imagine himself in them. We wanted to know what he would do. It was felt that being asked to describe what *action* he would take, rather than an image of an ideal situation, or the emotions

[8] Every issue with which we have here concerned ourselves, and a host of others as well, are brought together in a well integrated and theoretically sophisticated review entitled "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," by J. Harding, B. Kutner, H. Proshansky and I Chein. This review is Chapter 27 in *Handbook of Social Psychology,* Vol. II, edited by Gardner Lindzey, *op. cit.,* pp. 1021-1061. See especially, pp. 1031-34, on the relationship between Intergroup Attitudes and Intergroup Behavior.

which were aroused, would force the respondent to take even more into account the context of costs, alternatives, competing values, and, importantly, the probable responses of others in the situations. We should therefore expect an even more moderate expression of segregationist sentiment on this measure than on the preceding ones.

What would he be willing to do to prevent desegregation of the public schools. This question was seen as concretizing the matter, so that an actual and topical matter, with known costs, had to be considered.[9] Respondents were offered four possible courses of action, and asked to agree or disagree with the desirability of these alternatives. These ranged from the most impersonal, slowest, most law abiding extreme of "Amend the Constitution" to the most drastic, personal and law-violating extreme of "Use force if necessary." The reasoning which leads us to believe that each of the four previous measures should reveal decreasing adherence to the traditional pattern of total segregation, leads us to believe that this fifth measure should elicit the most moderate responses of all.

SCALE RESULTS

Each of these sets of questions was tested for scalability, and in each case, with minor deviations from rigorous scaling requirements, the items fell into scale patterns.

The first scale, that which measures the image of the Negro, contains five points, 0-4, in which 0 is the extreme anti-segregation and 4 the extreme pro-segregation indicator. The items, in the decreasing order of per cent pro-segregation responses, were as follows:

Characteristics	*Per Cent Pro-Segregationist*
Responsibility	72.8
Morality	69.0
Ambition	66.5
Intelligence	59.2

The coefficient of reproducibility was 92.51.

The distribution, by per cent pro-segregation responses to the three sets of questions on the situations of contact are shown in the following table. Scales were constructed for only six of the eight situations. In each of the three sets, the responses to the questions of dining at a friend's house and living on the same block as a Negro were over the 80 per cent line specified as a criterion of scaling.

[9] Since each of the four alternatives offered to the respondent were preceded by explanatory paragraphs, we shall not report the precise form here. After these explanatory paragraphs, respondents were then asked whether they strongly approve, approve, undecided, disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the proposal. The "undecideds" were included with those approving.

Each of these three sets constitutes a seven-point scale, varying from 0 for extreme anti-segregation to 6 for extreme pro-segregation.[10]

Situation	*"In general" segregationist (per cent)*	*"How feel" segregationist (per cent)*	*"What do" segregationist (per cent)*
Restaurant	81.87	59.58	51.91
Schools	75.61	71.77	55.74
Church	73.51	62.02	51.21
Supervisor	70.72	67.59	67.59
Bus	63.06	57.15	44.94
Co-work	39.72	44.95	39.71
Coefficient of reproductibility	92.57	91.0	90.07

Finallly, responses to the four alternative courses of action to prevent desegregation of the public schools were distributed as follows, in decreasing order of pro-segregationist attitude.

Course of Action	*Per Cent Pro-Segregationist*
Amend the Constitution	77.70
Withhold state funds from desegregated districts	56.79
Close the public schools	44.25
Use force if necessary	25.09

The coefficient of reproducibility was 95.65. The scale contains five points, ranging from 0 to 4.

We thus have five scales on which various aspects of White "readiness for desegregation" can be measured, in terms of scale scores and of central tendencies and variances. Before analyzing how the different mass-media exposure groups scored on these scales, we may examine the reasonableness of our expectation that the amount of segregationist sentiment will decrease as the measure moves away from an ideal image, unhampered by considerations of cost, toward a concrete, topical and well-known situation.

Two simple findings are very suggestive. The first is the per cent of all the responses to each of the various measures which were pro-segregationist in nature.

[10] If we view these percentage distributions as expressing "rank orders of discrimination" we can then compare our results with the well known Myrdal hypothesis, and some subsequent re-tests of this hypothesis. Generally, our own results here tally with those of Myrdal, but vary from those of Edmunds (Edwin R. Edmunds, "The Myrdalian Thesis: Rank Order of Discrimination," *Phylon,* Vol. 15, 1954, pp. 297-303). It is impossible to state to what extent our findings conform or disagree with those of Banks (W. S. M. Banks, II, "Rank Order of Sensitivity to Discrimination," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 15, 1950, pp. 529-534), since he interviewed only Negroes and we interviewed only Whites.

	Per Cent Pro-Segregationist
1. Negro defined as inferior (N = 1148)	67.77
2. Keep segregation "In general" (N = 1722)	67.41
3. Segregationist on "How would you feel" (N = 1722)	60.51
4. Segregationist on "What would you do" (N = 1722)	51.85
5. Resist desegregation of public schools (N = 1148)	50.28

Scales one and two yield virtually the same per cent segregationist responses out of all possible responses, and the per cent declines in each subsequent measure. The second finding which supports the reasonableness of our expectations with regard to these measures is found in the distribution of means for the total sample, on each of these five scales.

Scale No.	*Mean*	*Limits*	*S. D.*
1	2.752	0–4	1.518
2	4.069	0–6	2.008
3	3.598	0–6	2.277
4	3.094	0–6	2.306
5	2.063	0–4	1.377

As we go from scale 1 to scale 4, the mean values move away from the pro-segregationist extreme to the anti-segregationist pole. The mean value for scale 5 is exactly the same distance between its limits as the mean of scale 4 for its limits. In the main, the drift of central tendencies conforms to our expectations. In view of these two findings, the assumptions about the relationship of the measures to each other and to the various aspects of segregationist orientation seem justified.

We may now turn to the way in which the different exposure groups score on these various scales. The five groups, ranging from those who were exposed to no mass media to those who were exposed to all four media studied will hereafter be referred to as the O-group, the I-group, etc.

*Mean Scores on Five Scales for Five Exposure Groups**

Exposure Group	Scale I (0–4) Negro *Characteristics*	Scale II (0–6) *In General*	Scale III (0–6) *How Feel*	Scale IV (0–6) *What Do*	Scale V (0–4) *Schools*
0	2.77	5.60	5.33	4.33	2.55
1	2.84	5.0	4.78	4.15	2.73
2	2.80	4.01	3.64	3.08	2.23
3	2.74	3.94	3.28	2.81	1.81
4	2.58	3.34	2.87	2.53	1.65

*The mean for the 0–group is reported here only pro-forma. The small N = 9 forbids any use of this group in subsequent analysis

Several trends in the distributions of these means are immediately noticeable. In each of these five scales, the higher the degree of exposure to the mass media, the lower the pro-segregationist sentiment. This holds true even for the expressions of opinion about the inferiority of the Negro, though here the differences between the means are small. As one goes from the idealized version of how the situation ought to be handled in general to the more realistic situation of how one would feel, and finally to the question of what one would do, all of the means move toward the antisegregationist end of the scale. The lowest score on the scale of "in general" is higher than the second highest score on the scale of "what would you do."

This movement of scores has a number of implications. It implies that when one confronts respondents with situations involving a choice of concrete actions, he gets a different and perhaps more accurate measure of how the respondent would probably behave, than when he tries to infer this from questions which ask the respondents to conceive of the situation as they would like it best.

Some supporting evidence for the contention that the "what would you do" question strikes closest to the mark, for purposes of prediction of likely action, is to be seen from the scale scores on the question of the schools. The four alternative courses of action offered are graded in terms of their departure from acceptable and legal approaches to social change. Highest approval is given to the proposal to amend the Constitution which involves little or no sacrifice of other values. Second highest preference goes to the alternative of witholding funds from school districts. Again, this involves virtually no sacrifice, if it is school districts other than one's own which are had in mind. That this is what the respondents had in mind is evident from the sharp drop in scores when the alternative of closing the schools is offered. Finally, resort to force is disavowed far more frequently than is it avowed. In short, *when action in support of segregation involves the sacrifice of other desired values, and/or involves departure from legal and acceptable social procedures, the panel of southerners significantly alters its pattern of responses, and becomes increasingly mild in its expression of pro-segregationist readiness for action.*

This finding agrees with other research and theory cited earlier in this paper, to the effect that prejudice and discrimination may be and often are independently variable. To put it another way, a reduction in the pattern of segregation need not be accompanied or preceded by a commensurate reduction in prejudice or stereotypically unfavorable images.

The gap, possible and actual, between sentiment and action, or between ideology and practice, is one in which resolute leadership, responding to nonlocal norms and to laws of the central government, can interpose legal and

customary restraints upon the attempts to translate traditional prejudices and images into firm patterns of social discrimination.

Another significance of the movement of the scores lies in the consistency of this movement for all the exposure groups. All of the groups move about the same amount from their high pro-segregation scores on the "in general" question to their lowest scores on the "what would you do" question. Moreover, there are no reversals, for the rank orders of the exposure groups on all three scales remains the same. If exposure is what makes the difference between the groups, it makes the difference in the same way through all three dimensions of the attitudes.

The interpretation of the findings has so far relied heavily upon the direction of the changes in the means and the consistency of these changes. But these interpretations ought now to be modified by the findings which emerge when the differences between the means are tested for statistical significance.

Scale	*Exposure Groups Between Which Differences are Significant*	*Size of "t"*	*p <*
1. Negro characteristics	I vs. IV	2.39	.05
2. In general	I vs. III	3.60	.001
	I vs. IV	3.96	.001
3. How Feel	I vs. IV	4.04	.001
	II vs. IV	1.74	< .1 > .05
4. What do	I vs. III	3.23	.01
	I vs. IV	3.28	.01
5. Schools	I vs. II	2.07	.05
	I vs. III	4.08	.001
	I vs. IV	4.41	.001
	II vs. IV	2.37	.05

From the outcome of these tests, it is apparent that the different exposure groups are most homogeneous in their image of the Negro and most heterogeneous in the courses of resistance to school desegregation which they are willing to pursue. The case is mixed on the scales which measure the response to hypothetical situations, there being more internal heterogeneity than on the issue of images and more homogeneity than on the issue of the schools.[11]

[11] Two alternative but compatible explanations may be offered here, provisionally, to account for these differences on the various scales. On the one hand, we are probably dealing with the well known "crystallization" effect which results from concretizing and specifying issues. Familiar landmarks are provided by the concrete issue, to which, then, interviewees can and often do respond more particularly in conformity with their own special inclinations.

Alternatively, we can view these scales as tapping different "memberships." That is, the most general questions regarding cognitive stereotypes and idealized versions of social systems evoke those responses appropriate to the person's membership in the largest cultural system,

In all but the last scale, the significant differences in attitudes are between groups with at least two degrees of exposure difference between them. In short, if a person is exposed to four media he is almost sure to be different than one exposed to only one medium. But in only some cases, is a lesser difference in exposure likely to yield significant differences in attitudes.

These findings are less persuasive with regard to the impact of exposure to the mass media than our previous findings based upon the size of means and direction of means alone. If we combine the two sets of findings, the following generalization can be made:

Increases in exposure to mass media are associated with small but consistent and persistent increases in readiness for desegregation. These small differences become larger and reach statistical significance when the extremes of low and high exposure to the mass media are compared on their readiness for desegregation.[12]

This generalization about the tendencies of the exposure groups must be viewed in a context of what one might in general have expected by way of the range of differences which diverse segments would exhibit in a region where the major traditions supported some form of segregation, and where deviation from these expectations and traditions often proves costly to the deviator. Could one reasonably expect the arrays to be more widespread?

It is true that what occasions surprise to an observer can be as much a function of his own value inclinations as of his theoretical expectations. But to this observer it is surprising indeed that the spread of respondents through the various scale scores includes such prominent percentages in the lowest scores and that three of the five means on the scales which measure "what would you do" are substantially below a middle point of 3.5. For this is hardly what one would expect in a culture whose central strain is toward preservation of a traditional pattern best expressed by scale scores of 5 and 6.

One has the sense from these findings that about as much difference as can be safely expressed has turned up, and that exposure to mass media is a differentiating indicator of where these differences are to be found.[13]

Moreover, exposure to mass media appears to be most indicative of dif-

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the South. The more specific and concrete questions begin to force the respondents into their differentiated subcultures within the larger culture. Another way of saying this is to consider the larger and smaller cultures as different reference groups to which the respondents become oriented by the quality of the question.

It is clear that the two kinds of explantations jibe with each other. The reference group-subculture explanation may constitute an initial description of the dynamics of the "crystallization" process.

Both of these explanations are consonant with the findings of Olive W. Quinn, "The Transmission of Racial Attitudes Among White Southerners," *Social Forces,* Vol. 33, 1954, pp. 41-47.

[12] In this regard, see the well-founded doubts regarding the impact on attitudes of a variety of "informational" material which are expressed by Simon Marcson, in his "Research on Informational, Educational, and Propaganda Effects on Attitude Change," *Phylon,* Vol. 17, 1956, pp. 119-128.

[13] An attempt at accounting for differential changes in opinion about ethnic groups, as a

ferences when issues such as choice between competing values and the cost and profit of discrimination is implied. By contrast, exposure to mass media is least differentiating in its indications when it comes to the image of the Negro which the White expresses, so far as the inferiority of the Negro is concerned. In short, the various exposure groups hardly differ at all from each other in how they define the Negro, yet they differ substantially from each other in a critical issue of how forcefully they should insist upon segregation in the schools.

This suggests a patterning of influence of the mass media which varies from context to context. On the one hand, the data suggest, it doesn't much matter whether a person listens to the radio and TV and reads newspapers and magazines, or does not do any of these, so far as his image of the Negro is concerned. But on the other hand, the fact that one person is exposed to the mass media and another is not, seems to make a considerable difference when it comes to the kind of action he is willing to endorse in support of his image of the Negro and his idealized version of a segregation system.

Could it be a difference in recklessness vs. deliberateness, a difference in inclination and ability to see the situation as one of alternative and competing choices and values? Persons who are more exposed to the mass media seem also to be able to perceive more fully the interplay of competing choices and to calculate the consequences of their actions more fully. This in turn suggests that they differ from the less-exposed group in other characteristics of their lives which involve the capacity to see situations in terms of alternative and competing values.[14]

Whether in fact they do so differ in these other regards is a question to which we shall turn our attention in a later paper.

OVERVIEW

A number of the findings of this study deserve to be specially highlighted.

(1) Slightly more than 40 per cent of all responses given by the members of our panel to questions about their attitudes toward Negroes were unquestionably anti-segregationist. Even in the image of the Negro which the White maintains more than 30 per cent of all responses defined the Negro as equal to the White.

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result of exposure to communication, is offered by Lawrence Schlesinger in a paper presented at the 1956 meetings of the American Psychological Association, entitled, "The Influence of Social Communication on Ethnic Opinions." Our own findings and those of Schlesinger can be brought into consonance if we introduce the notion that the "exposed" groups are more sensitive to the opinions of non-southerners, as well as being more aware of them.

[14] This interpretation tallies neatly with that offered in Bradbury's "economistic hypothesis." See, W. C. Bradbury, "Evaluation of Research in Race Relations," (*Inventory of Research in Racial and Cultural Relations,* Vol. 5, 1953, pp. 99-133.) I have not had access to the original article and am here relying on the citations in "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," by J. Harding, *et. al., op. cit.,* p. 1033.

(2) The greatest readiness for desegregation is expressed with regard to having the Negro as a co-worker. It is not clear that this implies equal-status for the Negro in the situation of co-work. But it is clear that this verbal statement of readiness corresponds with the actual facts, for it is precisely in work situations that the White has the most frequent and enduring contact with the Negro. Indeed, the whole scale of social distance, as measured in our three scales ("In General," "How Feel," "What Do") indicates that the more frequent the contact already had with the Negro the more "readiness for desegregation" is expressed. Correspondingly, the greatest resistance was expressed with regard to living on the same block with a Negro and eating at a friend's house when a Negro was also invited. (These two situations each evoked more than 80 per cent pro-segregationist responses.) Can this be so because these are situations traditionally seen as involving the greatest amount of individual option and the greatest implications of social equality? Our data would suggest that Negro-White relations are like most other human situations, in which the more one engages in a given practice, the more accustomed he becomes. This should not be surprising except in view of the widespread notions that Negro-White accommodations are different from other human relationships in this regard.

(3) Less than 50 per cent of the respondents are willing to take any serious risks with other values they cherish in order to maintain a system of segregation by any strong measures. Specifically, with regard to desegregation of the schools, 55 per cent balk strongly at the idea of doing anything as drastic as closing the schools if necessary; 75 per cent reject the use of force; and almost 45 per cent even reject the idea of witholding state funds.

(4) Over 96 per cent of the total sample is exposed to at least one of the major mass media, and the content of these media do not seem to reinforce the local traditional pattern so much as they deviate from it.

(5) In general, what our respondents say they are willing to do, or likely to do, differs substantially from what they say they would like to see happen. The similarities among our exposure groups with regard to their beliefs in Negro inferiority, compared to their striking dissimilarities with regard to what they are prepared to do about their relations with Negroes, suggests that considerable social change, through custom, law, and impersonal institutional pressure such as can be exerted by management or industry, can come about without corresponding changes in stereotypes, ideal definitions of the situation and affect-tones.

This suggests that if public policy is predicated on some estimate of what people would like, a substantially different policy would emerge compared to that which one would devise if he calculated how much resistance he would likely encounter to a proposed change. This in turn raises some perplexities regarding the responsibilities of decision-makers in a democratic

society, where the preferences of the majority are often considered a key-criterion of legitimacy.

(6) The exposure of our respondents to mass media originating out of their own local region and culture, and the greater "readiness" for desegregation of the more exposed groups, creates serious doubts about the possible boomerang effects of northern "intervention" in the affairs of southern states. At the very least, one would have to conclude from the findings of this study, awareness of a northern or Federal point of view certainly does not impede the development of readiness for desegregation. Probably, to the contrary, this awareness is positively functional for the development of such readiness. A subsequent study will try to indicate the ways in which "northern interference" is likely to be most effective.

PROPOSAL

GEORGIA STUDENT RURAL PROJECT

Prepared by:

William H. Lease, III
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PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

GEORGIA STUDENT RURAL PROJECT

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DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR
GEORGIA STUDENT RURAL PROJECT

Introduction

In Georgia and the deep South today, several dynamic forces are afoot. Industrialization is replacing the quiet of a traditionally agrarian society with the hum of an industrial one. Cities and urban areas are replacing country towns, institutional life is expanding and population trends are shifting.

The dream of Henry Grady for Georgia in the 1890's, the New South, is on the threshold of fulfillment. From the plains of the Black Belt to the hills and mountains of the Piedmont and Blue Ridge, Georgians are rearranging their state, socially, economically, and politically. They are expanding by virtually every indices of growth. If we look more closely at these forces which are creating the new south, we experience both hope for the future and despair for the present, if some of the more disastrous trends are not reversed. The concept of industrialization alone cannot solve a region's problems, without the allocation of resources to the considerable social problems which attend the process.

The Negro revolution of the 1960's must be seen in the context of a similar revolution in the social, economic and political life of the south. In part, it was based upon a desire to reap the benefits of the New South. Negroes marched and demonstrated for the right to equal access to jobs, public accomodations and dignity. Mechanization in agriculture displaced literally thousands of tenant farmers (including whites) and created large farming organizations which have forced small farmers into a

precipous decline. If it did nothing else, the civil rights movement laid bare the problems of the tenant and small farmers, and showed how the welfare of every American is indivisably bound up with him.

> "The crisis of the Core City is also a crisis for Rural America, whose people are taking flight to the cities as farm manpower needs deminish. No program or effort which seeks to resolve the problem of the city slum can stand alone....."
>
> Senator Jacob K. Javits
> (New York Daily News, 11/22/67)

The crisis is indeed in the cities, but the problem lies in the rural south. Rural America is poor; and out-migration to the cities is a result of this poverty. An estimated 40% of the nation's poor live in rural areas against only 30% of the total population. In the rural south, 90% of the nation's poor are clustered within the poorest counties in the country. The annual out-migration from agricultural areas exceeded one million in the 1950-60 decade, it averaged almost 800,000 annually from 1960-65, the end being nowhere in sight.

All around them, rural youngsters see poverty; but their aspirations are not limited to the reality of their own existence for on television a world of possibilities unfolds before them. The affluent society which they see is always manifested in the cities so they go to the cities to seek fortunes, but like Dick Whittington and his cat, they find no streets paved with gold. They are uneducated and unskilled and in the cities unable to compete. Again, they are hopelessly trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty and degradation. The frustrations become critical and the fires begin. The urban problems of a few years ago are now the urban crises of today.

The fires continue to burn in the cities, not out in the fields or on the farms, and ironically, it is the squeak that gets the oil. Little attention, if any, is being given to the problems of the cities at their source: Rural America. Programs and resources of all descriptions are being rapidly developed to "save the cities" while little is being done to save rural America. These programs, no matter how imaginative, cannot save the cities unless comparable ones are developed which will direct attention toward resolving the problems of the Rural, for the more attractive we make our cities, the greater we make the magnet which continues to draw a relentless number of impoverished people to them, thus, invalidating the efforts of the cities to improve themselves. It is to the problem of reconstruction of the rural that the current proposal is directed.

If the problem of out-migration is to be rectified, we must begin to create viable alternatives in Rural America. Presently, it is <u>to</u> the cities or poverty ad infinitum in the Rural. This we must seek to change. Life in Rural America must be made equally attractive as is life "depicted" in the cities. Rural America must be given a chance to choose; if not, then America stands little chance of survival.

Since a Congress unsympathetic to the needs of the nation's poor has cut back further on needed funds with which to effectively combat poverty, and this, of course, has meant a decrease in funds for the rural poor, how can the problems of rural America be overcome?

After working in a rural project for over a year, it is our contention that Rural America can endure through the process of community organizing, program development, and involvement with private enterprises. There are two sources of power in America:

money and people. Rural people have no money, but they do have themselves, and it is through themselves that they can secure a chance for equal opportunities. By working in unity, through the process of self-help, rural people can make sizable changes in those things which most critically affect their lives. But sound community organizing requires proficient community organizers and effective program development requires skilled resource personnel, both are almost totally missing in Rural America. The SRP had a total one year budget of almost a quarter of a million dollars and practically the entire sum was for seed money alone. The two state projects had three field organizers for each of the two states; and in Georgia, there are one hundred and fifty-nine counties, forty-seven of which are among the two hundred and fifty poorest counties in the nation. Almost every rural county in the state has need of organizers and resource people to provide technical assistance. Certainly, no treasury is great enough to provide these services for all the Rural South; however, there is a tremendous potential resource available to rural America yet untapped. This potential resource is the college ~~student~~ and university system.

Student Involvement

By setting up a Georgia Student Rural Project, colleges in Georgia could provide the coordination for a program designed to promote student involvement in designated rural areas. This program would function as follows.

The participating students from the Liberal Arts colleges would work in the rural community as the organizers. They would recruit rural people for disscussions of their problems as the people themselves define them and then would begin to

formulate suggestions which would assist in solving these problems. Participating students from technological institutions would serve as the Resource Personnel, capable of profiding the technical assistance needed in the program development which would come out of the community organization. Since the technological students are far more advanced in a variety of technical fields than would be the average liberal arts student, their roles as resource persons would be of great value. For example, if the organizer has met with the people, and it is decided that it would be a sound venture to start a tomato hot house cooperative, technological institutes would then provide students who had the technical know-how for such a project, such as students who knew management, marketing, horticulture, supervisory construction, and methods of researching such problems as funding possibilities, etc. Each student employing his special skills would work with members of the coop and train them in these skills so that, eventually, the local people themselves could adequately run and manage this coop.

The technically skilled student could also play a vital roll in researching the possibilities of industry moving into a target area. They could conduct feasibility studies and discuss with industries the idea of sub-contracting with local people for productive purposes. If the industries are interested, they would provide the contract, the material and the management skills. The people would provide the place of work, the simple skills, the ownership and organization of their own business. This would be a gigantic step towards creating a source of income for many in a given community.

Now let us consider some of the most pressing problems of the rural community. Housing is number one. More than one million rural homes are delapidated; many unsafe and beyond repair. 27% of all rural dwellings as contrasted with only 14% in urban areas are in critical condition. In the rural south, only 36.5% of farm and 47.2% of non-farm dwellings are sound and contain all plumbing facilities. What this means for the majority, is a common pump "up the road", shared by many families; unsanitary privies, windows without screens, walls and floors with cracks, and no central heating. It means bitter cold and constant danger of fire in winter, insect borne disease the year round. For farm migrants, it is even worse, a duck coop, a tent, an abandoned car.

Due to the high cost of building construction, the concept of self-help housing has been proved thus far to be the only realistic approach to meeting the housing needs for Rural America. Family groups coming together with each contributing his labor on constructing all of the housing units has meant a great saving in cost. "Sweat Equity" has, in a number of cases brought savings of as much as 1500.00 in cost per unit. But a self-help housing effort is no easy matter. Much planning and organization must be pumped into it if it is to succeed. Student involvment here would be of great value. The students could work ro organize the participating families and present to them the process of mutual cooperation. Specially skilled students would serve as building supervisors, brickmasons, plumbers, electricians, etc. They would all assist in the construction of the unit, but more important, they would impart these skills to the family working on the housing. The people are taught how

to build their own homes and in the process, they learn valuable skills themselves. In a self-help housing venture, after completion, students could assist the now skilled builders in applying these skills towards earning a living. With proper training, the people could be shown how to form their own coop construction company. The accomplishments here would be twofold: first, a family would have received an adequate home; and secondly, incomes, because of the new skills acquired, would be substantially raised.

The self-help process reduces the cost of construction, but skill, the average cost of self-help housing runs about $6000.00 a unit, for too many rural people, $6000.00 is more than they are able to pay. What is desperately needed is a unit that can be built for about $3,000.00. No government or private agency has attempted to tackle this problem. Certainly, participating students from technilogical institutes in fields such as architecture could make an attempt to design an adequate low cost housing unit. The challenger would certainly put all of his skills to work, applying their educational skills to real life matters.

In the area of nutrition, students would be most effective. Malnutrition is a serious problem in the rural areas, as has been pointed out by the recently released reports to the nation by the President's Commission on Hunger and Malnutrition in America. Whether or not one agrees with the report to the nation that there is hunger in the land, almost all do agree that malnutrition is very much widespread, particularly in rural areas. Most of Georgia's 159 counties now have food programs, food stamps

or comodities. Where food stamps exist, students could work in the area of qualifying more needy people for stamps and more important, in the area of effective food purchasing, they could instruct recipients on how to pick the foods which would offer the most nutritional value for the family. Where there are comodities available, the students would assist the recipients in the proper manner in which to prepare them so as to receive maximum nutrition, in addition to pointing out what foods are essential for health that should accompany the commodities. Food programs in Georgia are administered by the Department of Family and Children Services. Although this department is technically supposed to provide the service needed to make the programs effective, due to a lack of money and personnel, out-reach services are all but non existent. Here the students would serve to fill the out-reach void.

Another paramount need of the rural poor is the need for the people to be able to take advantage of existing services: Health, Food Programs, Welfare, Labor, Agriculture, Social Security, Medicare, etc. Students could work in turning out simplified pamphlets about these services, after having researched them, and relate all manners of information to local folks about these services, conduct workshops and make various recommendations to the servicing agencies as to how their services can be improved.

In the area of job training, there is a great need to qualify persons for the training which is currently available, particularly by MDTA (labor) in Georgia. For example, even before a person can enroll in many job training programs, he must successfully pass an aptitude test, and like most aptitude

test, these tests are not designed for persons with culturally deprived backgrounds; far too many people who would do well in the actual job training programs are never admitted into the program simply because they are unable to pass the aptitude tests. Here again, the students could play an excellent part. Students could set up tutorial programs designed to aide persons seeking to pass required aptitude tests.

Also in line with this kind of service, students could make even greater contributions. Many rural youngsters do complete high school, but few are qualified for college. Students could assist those high school graduates who are planning to go to college in getting ready for a college entrance examination. Many rural youngsters, even though high school graduates, will not be able to go to college. What about their future? Students could set up courses in how to pass civil service examinations for those not able to attend college; thus many youngsters would be given a better opportunity for a better life that they would otherwise not have.

All of us recognize the need for at least a high school education if we are to be successful in compeeting with today's society. An appalling number of rural youngsters drop out of high school. Later, many see the need for a high school diploma and seek to get one, but all too often in vain. For such young people, Georgia offers little hope. The state does not have a single secondary education program for adults. Georgia is in great need of high school equivalency programs. Students could set up such programs in almost any rural area in Georgia. The need is great.

Finally, students could provide a variety of services in Georgia's Headstart Programs; tutorial services for day care centers serving in the absence of headstart.

Thus far, the needs we have outlined, and a tentative listing of programs which students might implement to meet those needs, have applied to both poor Negroes and poor Whites. Poverty, like a crippling disease, does not discriminate in the rural south, although Negro poverty is more visible than white. On Wednesday, November 27, 1967 the Atlanta-Journal Constitution offered a stereotyped cartoon on the poor white.

The poor white farmer is forgotten--he is complacent and inactive, but he is equally frustrated and powerless, and crushed by the same forces which have damaged poor blacks. If the Georgia Student Rural Project is not to be all black in conception and execution, some way must be devised to reach the desperate rural populations of poor whites. While the program needs might be essentially the same, i.e., the poor white needs social services that he is not getting, assistance with job training, education for his children, and so on, there must be a distinction made between the groups. For while we are committed to the notion of social change through a unity of poor blacks and whites, just now that ideal would seem to be unrealistic.

Where there are poor white communities, there must be white students to work. We believe deeply that it is possible to create organizations of whites, which indirectly would have the effect of fighting the racism that is destroying this country, and which would improve their social and economic conditions at the same time

The Atlanta Journal Wednesday, Nov. 29, 1967

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Labor unions are one example. When, and if, whites begin to organize and address themselves to the forces which contribute to their poverty they may realize that it is the same force oppressing Negroes; therefore, attempts of organizing students to stress the immorality of poor whites because they are racist in outlook, ought to be avoided. Likewise, organizing attempts should not stress how degraded and poor white people are, rather, like black organizing groups, organizers should look for the strengths and leadership potential existing in these communities, confident that as whites lose their powerlessness and come into a relationship of parity with the society at large, their social pathologies will disappear.

In this proposal we have tried to outline some of the kinds of activities students could participate in if this project is adopted. What has been outlined is by no means the extnet of the activities in which students could be engaged. The needs in the rural areas are staggering. For the student, he will find far more needs than he will find solutions to, but nonetheless, rural America does need his help, and for the student his work in the rural areas will be an experience he will remember all of his life.

Let us consider the role of the college and university in the area of rural poverty. Any community is only to glad to have a college within its mists. If for no other reason than the spending power that it represents and the interluded atmosphere. Colleges and universities as a whole do not serve the community in the area of poverty problems. A college is a tremendous resource; it has exceptional contacts with, businesses, industries, and government. This influence could certainly be of unlimited value if directed towards poverty needs. There are in Georgia, a total of 58 colleges and universities, 25 state and 33 private. The ultimate aim of the project is to bring about a rural renaissance in Georgia. Through the process of economic development, Georgia will serve as a demonstration model; a model which will show that through the involvement of colleges and universities, it is definitely possible to bring about substantial change in rural life. As the schools in Georgia demonstrate what can be done through the use of students, schools in other areas will most certainly adopt the project. It is our hope that by using Georgia as a model, the project will become nation wide.

Colleges and universities can provide an unending resource to rural communities at a fraction of the cost to that of a federal agency. At present the only agency providing anti-poverty service to rural Georgia is the Office of Economic Opportunity but such services have been at best minimal and in many areas non-existent. OEO has failed for a variety of reasons, but nontheless, it has failed; it has not been able to do the job of halting out-migration and affording rural people a chance to earn a livelihood on the land.

Here in Georgia, OEO employs some 2,913 poeple, almost 40% in clerical and administrative positions, at a cost of $17,628,874. a year. Yet in spite of this enormous sum, poverty in Georgia has not diminished; in the rural it has actually increased.

With 58 colleges and universities in Georgia, if only 100 students from each college participated, due to their locale, practically every rural community within the state would have access to benefits colleges and universities can provide. But let us consider also the overall benefits the program would provide for the state of Georgia. The essence of the GSRP will be to provide economic development for rural areas. This of necessity involves the bringing of industrial and business interests and resources into a community. It is mainly through these channels that rural Georgia can and will be regenerated.

It is not feasible to consider that, in the beginning, all of Georgia's 58 colleges and universities will participate in the project. Incidentally, it is perhaps best to start the

program with 8 to 10 schools. The colleges and universities which should begin the project, based on their geographical location, are Clark College & Georgia Tech - at Atlanta

Rome College - at Rome

University of Georgia - at Atlanta

Paine College & Medical College of Georgia - at Augusta

Fort Vally State College - at Albany

Valdosta State College - at Valdosta

Savannah State College - at Savannah.

With these 10 colleges and universities participating in the project the GSRP could provide as many as 1,000 students actually out into the field at an annual cost of less than $350,000.00.

Work Program

The participating college will serve as the project sponsor. Each college will select among its own faculty a person who will serve as coordinator to the project and who will work directly with the Project Director. The Project Director will act under the overall supervision of the Sponsor. He will be assisted by (a)an Administrative Assistant, (b)Planning, Resource and Training Director, (c)two secretaries, and (d) eight field Supervisors.

With the concultation of the College Coordinators, the Project Director will select the target areas. After the selection of the target areas is completed, the Field Staff will then move into these areas to acquire local sponsors for the project.

Students participating in the project will commute to and from their assigned locations. The students will be under the direct supervision of the local sponsoring agency.

PARTICIPATING STUDENTS

Can the students really do the job? Can they bring to the poor communities anything other than sympathy of indignation against the "system" or the power structure" and will the poor community view them only as friendly, nice young people who have a lot of good intentions, but a lot more to learn about the problems and who do not have all that much to offer in the direction of problem solving?

For the most part, the above adequately described the VISTA volunteers, and it is for this reason that VISTA has not been able to make any real impact in poor communities.

SRP knows that poor people don't need sympathy, good intentions, to be told what their problems are, or people who share their frustrations and angers. Poor people need people who are knowledgeable and can offer valid technical assistance to them in the solution to their problems. The college students who take part in the program will be "resource people". Before going into the field, they will undergo intrinsic in-service training. They will be thoroughly schooled on the problems of poverty in general and specifics of rural poverty. The students will be provided with a work up on the areas in which they will be working which will include poverty problems existing in the area; basic concepts as to how these problems can be best attacked.

Since these will be participating students from both liberal Arts and Technical schools, the project will attempt to utilize their educational skills. Students will for the most part be divided into two groups: Community Organizers and Technical Assistants.

The community organizer will, as the term implies, organize. He will meet with local people, listen to them as they define their needs as they themselves understnad these needs. His job will primarily be one of getting people together, to begin to do something for themselves and about their problems. The technical Assistant will inform the people about what is available; that is federal and private anti-poverty programs. The Technical Assistants will show local people ways in which they can best utilize resources already existing in their native areas, and outside resources as well. The students serving as technical assistants will have fed into them all information and material relative to federal and non-federal anti-poverty programs.

GEORGIA STUDENT RURAL PROJECT

Orientation & Training for Georgia Student Rural Project staff and students

A G E N D A

Georgia Student Rural Project hopes that the students will be able to recruit community interest through the active participat in the project by indigenous community leaders. The student will not work for the community, but rather with the community in the area of problem solving. It is therefore essential that the student be properly trained so as to be able to transfer his knowledge of Community Organization and Program Development to those local persons with whom he will be working. The following is a detailed outline of the training which the students will receive prior to entering and during their stay in the field.

TRAINING SCHEDULE

There will be a two week orientation and training session for each project cycle. The project will vary depending on whether a particular college is on a quarter or semester system; three cycles for semester and summer session - four cycles for quarters. The orientations and training will be held at the beginning of each cycle. The training will be conducted on campus at the individual participating schools, and will be set up by the college coordinators, the PRT, and the Field Supervisor.

The training will be divided into two basic catagories as will the students: community organizing and program development. Those students who are primarily concerned with organizing will be given training which directly relates to organizing techniques. Along with such training we will primarily provide in-depth information about the particulars of issues around which organizing is to take place (E.G., social services, agriculture development, housing, etc.). Those students who will serve in a resource capacity will receive training basically in the area of program development (setting up of coops, credit unions, basic education and GED classes, etc.). At each college there will be a number of students who will concentrate mainly on securing resources for communities within the target area. These students will also provide the project with vitally needed research and statistical data.

The initial O and T session will begin as soon as the students have been recruited into the project and schedules worked out with them. This session will cover the topics listed on the Training Agenda. There will be a ten day training program, the last of which will be spent by the staff and students in reflection and evaluation of the training received; and to formation of a work plan to find out how the training can most effectively be put to use in the

designated target areas.

The remaining two training sessions will be worked out by the college coordinator, the field supervisor and the and the PRT. Other material to to covered will be dictated by the need in the field. At these two sessions, local people with whom the students have been working will be invited to attend.

Outside consultants will be brought in by the Project Director, PRT, and College Coordinator in areas where special knowledge is needed. Whereever possible, these consultants will be secured at no cost, whether through OEO consultants or some other source.

Georgia Student Rural Project

Orientation & Training for Staff and Students

A G E N D A

I. Aims and objectives of the Project

A. Dynamics of Poverty
B. Causes and effects of rural poverty
C. Relationship between rural poverty and the urban crisis
D. Combating rural poverty

II. Program Development (Federal and State)

A. Title II-A (E)A) Community Action and Development Projects

B. Title III-B (EOA) programs for seasonal farm workers;
(1) Programs for migrant workers

C. Title I and Title III Programs under the elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Office of Education, HEW)

D. Job Development

(1) Title V (EOA) work-experience programs through the state Department of Public Welfare;

(2) Title II MDTA Job-Training programs under the Bureau of Employment Security (Dept. of Labor)

(3) Experimental and Demonstration Manpower Training programs under OMPER (Dept. of Labor)

(4) On-the-job training (OJT) programs under the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (Dept. of Labor)

III. Program Development (Private)

A. Setting-up of Cooperatives

(1) Industrial

(2) Agricultural

a. marketing
b. machinery
c. purchase
d. crafts

B. Establishment of Credit Unions

C. Setting up of adult basic education and high school

E. Housing

(1) Self-help housing

(2) Cooperative low-income housing

(3) Sources of funds - FHA, FFHA, HUD, and EDA

F. And other programs or programs or projects effectively designed for rural areas.

IV. Community Organizing

A. Techniques
B. Mobilization of Community Resources
C. Problem solving
D. Bargaining - negotiating techniques

V. Agriculture Development

A. ASCS election procedures
B. Make-up and working of SCS
C. FHA (eligibility and loan application procedures)
D. Function of the Cooperative extension service.

VI. Proposal writing

VII. Social Services

A. Welfare
B. Social Security
C. Medicare - Medicade
D. Consumer Education
E. Food Programs

VIII. Make-up of CAA and Laws governing CAA's

XI. Legal Services

X. Government

A. Georgia State and county Political structure and Make-up:

XI. Land and Industrial trends in Georgia

XII. Community Profile

A. Work-up and description of the target areas.

"In-Kind"

Each of the participating colleges will provide the project with the following "in-kind" contribution.

A. College Coordinator

B. 1 - Secretary

C. Office space

D. Transportation cost for the students

COLLEGE COORDINATOR

The colleges participating in the program will provide a staff person who will coordinate the activities of the students from his college. It shall be his responsibility to serve as overseer to all activities related to this project and to provide a channel of communication among the students, the coll- and the community group.

He will maintain constant communication with the various departmental heads and feed into them specific information as it relates to problem solving, relative to their respective areas of study, in an effort to utilize the full resource facilities provided by the colleges. Where a particular kind of expertise is needed for a rural community, the college coordinator will have the responsibility of working to see to it that the university provides the desired service. Suppose, for example, that after consulting the Medical Division and reviewing the situation thoroughly, it is decided that a mobil health unit would be the most effective way of treating a problem of inadequate medical services. It would be the job of the college coordinator to communicate this information to the students and assist them in their efforts to secure such a unit. He would work with students who would then involve themselves with collecting research material relevant to the problem, contacting the County Health Department, the State Health Department, the Medical Division of the college, and out of state Health Departments regarding the cost, maintanence of the vehicle, availability of funds and other pertinent information necessary for establishing such a

In working with the various department heads, the college coordinator will welcome their assistance in utilizing their years of experience in the development of business and industry, education, etc. He will invite, from time to time, these persons to the field for on-the-spot evaluation of the work of the students and to provide suggestions as to how the students can most successfully attack a specific problem.

The college coordinator will have the responsibility of evaluating, for grading purposes, efforts of individual students. It shall be his responsibility to follow through and provide assistance to those students who will provide research material for the project.

He will make contacts will Alumni Associations and keep them abreast of the project, with the hope of getting their support and individual assistance in specific areas of problem solving.

University Commitment and Support of Rural Area Projects

There are wide differences among universities and technical institutes in depth of commitment to rural work in the state of Georgia.

"Commitment" is used in the sense of an obligation or pledge to pursue program objectives with imagination and vigorous action in the rural areas of the United States. It includes interest in capitalizing on the experience gained from the various projects already serving in a given area and in building long-range university compentence in national affairs. To be "involved", without commitment, a university is drawn into a contract project, but is primarily oriented toward the rural area with unclear objectives. So just to be involved is not enough. It must be committed to the task of full support in the rural areas.

The universities and technical institutes can bring about a revolutionary change in our rural areas through what we call the "Rural Technical Assistance". Evidences of involvment with commitment are shown in the following seven points of emphasis.

1. A few universities and technical institutes have already shown an interest in developing its stature in the rural areas and recognizes rural work as a legitimate concern of the institution deserving added resources.
2. Faculty members can be involved in an organized way in major policy decisions on rural problems. The decision to enter into a rural area work program is made only after consideration by faculty members as well as the administrators. With this type

of commitment, there can be a continuing study and solicitation of ideas from the faculty through committees, seminars, and public discussions as a means of developing policies and reaching agreement on the proper role of the institution of higher learning in rural activities.

3. On-campus personnel can become actively engaged in determining problems and strategies for the university's contribution to the rural project. Guidance can be given to the field team without usurping the autonomy that is needed in the field for effective program implementation with the state or counties and the host institution of higher learning. The field team would be supervised by the college coordinator who is respected for his professional compentence and would become part of the administrative structure of that host institution of higher learning.

4. Rural work is an integral part of many of the different departments in a university. Departmental administrators can become actively involved in rural program planning and see that a well disciplined plan is carried out. Rural experience can be looked on as contributing to professional growth undergraduates and graduate students involved in rural problem research and actual project participation, the opportunities will be far rewarding both to a given community and those doing the work. This is one resource that has not been tapped as to its potential and gift to a community.

5. Rural program college coordinators will soon become sensitive not only to the needs of the rural area but also to the requirements for building university long-range competence in the rural area. They will help to communicate the needs to the community, county, state, and federal government and see that problems do not go unresolved.
6. Faculty members who have had rural assignments could be using their experience to build university programs and compentence in the rural area. With this method, there can be an organized and continuing program for soliciting the ideas of experienced faculty members for improvement of both rural and on-campus programs.
7. With this new concept in university training, personnel policies could encourage faculty members to accept rural assignments with assurance that their positions with respect to rank promotion, salary, position in their respective departments and fringe benefits are not to be jeopardized. Staff members on rural assignments should be viewed by administrators and colleagues as continuing members of their university administrative unit, not "on leave with a rural area assignment".

Project Director

Under the supervision of the Project Sponsor, the Project Director will be responsible for the overall organization, scope, pace and functioning of the project, and will provide overall supervision to the field staff. He will be responsible for the actual execution of the program in the field. He will be based in Atlanta, but will periodicly make visits to the field areas to assess the work of the project.

The Project Director will also be responsible for the establishment of a liaison between the project and the participating colleges. He will meet on a regular basis with the college coordinators so as to keep them full apprised of the activities of the project. Together they will further chart the course of the project and plans way and means by which the project can further assist in meeting the needs of rural Georgia. The Project Director will provide the colleges with regularly quaterly reports which will encompose the whole of the project pace. The Project Director will too, feed into the sponsor, information regarding the work of other service organizations working in the field; and will provide such organization with up to date information regarding the activity of the project so as to provide all concerned with an invaluable wealth of shared information and experiences.

Planning, Resource, and Training Director

Under the direction of the Project Director, the PRT will be responsible for the development of the planning program, programs providing the staff with current information concerning all resources materials and programs that may be useful to the project

and developing and implementing th e training program for the ~~project~~ students. In addition, the PRT Coordinator will assume the responsibility for the overall conduct and administration for the project during the absence of the Project Director.

The PRT shall be responsible for the development of both long and short range programs as the need would indicate: Manpower Training Programs, Consumer Education, Voter education, Medicaid, and Medicare Campaigns and other programs under Social Security.

The PRT will, through research and consultation, maintain full current information concerning all governmental and private programs that may be useful in implementing the project and will assist the project staff, under the direction of the Project Director, to make effective use of all such information. He will have particular administrative responsibilities for the supervision, education, and guidance of the participating students. The PRT will too, be available to actually write proposals, as well as conduct various training workshops for funded programs. He will also administer in-service training to both the field staff and the students. In addition to developing the scope and content of the training program, the PRT will set up and schedule regular training sessions; and will make arrangements for obtaining training consultants. He will ~~access field~~ visit field sites, consult with staff as often as needed in evaluating the effect of the training given.

JOB DESCRIPTION
FOR RESOURCE AND TRAINING COORDINATOR

The Resource and Training Coordinator will be responsible to the Project Director in the carrying out of all his tasks which include providing direction to all of the project activities, and helping to plan the scope and content of field staff's work. He will assist Field Representatives in planning programs to meet local needs in such areas as manpower development, consumer education, voter education, Medicaid and Medicare, day care, housing and farm programs.

He will, through research and consultation, maintain full current information concerning all government programs, with emphasis on non-OEO legislation, that may be useful in implementing the goals of the project; and will conduct formal and informal briefings to help the staff make effective use of such information.

He will conduct training sessions for both staff and trainees. He will visit the field sites as often as necessary to see that the project's work is progressing smoothly, and that no one lacks information that would improve the impact of their work.

Job Developer

General Statement of Duties - Under the general directions of the Director, he contacts business and industry to locate jobs and, more importantly, he does creative job development work.

Responsibilities and Duties - He contacts all business and industry in the area where the students are engaged and explains the program and it's objectives and secures all necessary pertinent data about various companies, including its policies, hiring qualifications and practices.

He makes an initial contact with one member of top management, asking for his full support and commitment to the program and for a designation of one individual to contact in future program-company relations.

He states clearly and precisely the type of cooperation he would like to have from the company, e.g., he suggests that they use the program as a primary future source for manpower needs, consider making accomodations in non-performance hiring requirements, where possible and to open jobs to the disadvantaged in those departments of his firm not presently employing them.

He submits all pertinent data concerning present and possible future job openings to the porgram supervisor and will work closely with the College Coordinator. He submits all reports and statistical records as directed to the Project Director.

He requests employers to sign a statement of support and affiliation with the program after they have evaluated both verbal and written representation of it.

He formulates a follow-up system to aid the new employees in the initial adjustment to their new job and progress thereafter.

Field Supervisor

The Field Supervisor will work in his assigned section of the state to carry out the program of the project. He will be based at the college nearest his working area. The Field Supervisor will go into the selected target areas and attempt to secure local sponsors for the project. Once done, he will then assign the students to their stations. He will meet with local community leaders and with them assess the needs of the area. The Field Supervisor will then assign a number of students to the area to begin working on some of the problems in the area. The Field Supervisor will turn in bi-weekly reports to the Director relating to the students activities in his area. The target area may be spread over a number of counties, so the Field Supervisor will be expected to set up bases of operation for the students in each area. He will be responsible for feeding into the students all of the information available about the area in which they will be assigned, so as to better equip them for their work. The field representative will schedule regular weekly meetings with the students to evaluate the work of the project. The Field Supervisor and the College Coordinator will be responsible for providing whatever information and materials necessary for the work of the students.

Secretary Bookkeeper

The Secretary Bookkeeper will be responsible for keeping records of all financial business of the project. She will conduct all correspondence concerning debts, acquisition of supplies, and daily expenditures. It will be her responsibility to keep records of all expense vouchers and see to it that they reach the Project Director.

She will work with the Resource and Training Director to see to it that the field staff have the essentials they need for their work in the field.

Also a part of her responsibilities will be to keep records of medical and fringe benefits of the staff. She will handle all W2 forms and see to it that each staff member receives the necessary income tax materials.

She will keep accurate records of all invoices and will consult the Project Director about new expenditures and repairs of office equipment.

The Secretary Bookkeeper will be directly responsible to the Project Director, but will work in conjunction with the Secretary Receptionist and Clerk Typist to see to it that there is no overlap in functions.

Secretary

Specifically, the Secretary is to perform the following duties, as well as those which shall, from time to time, be assigned to her by the Project Director.

1. Assume responsibility for the typing of all reports, correspondance, and other pertinent data for the Project Director, the Field Coordinator, the Resource and Training Director, and the Field Representatives.

2. Assume responsibility for the duplication of all necessary information and for the maintenance of office equipment.

3. Maintain a file of all correspondance, reports, expense sheets and other appropriate information.

4. Assume responsibility for the ordering of all necessary office supplies.

5. Take, transcribe and maintain written minutes of all staff meetings.

You will be directly responsible to the Project Director for the performance of the above mentioned duties.

Administrative Assistant

The Administrative Assistant will serve as assistant to the Director and will be responsible for all operations of the Project in absence of the Director. He will be responsible for the administration and conduct of all employees of the Project, and shall make reports to the Director as the Director desires.

He shall have the responsibility to hire and fire staff upon consultation with the Director.

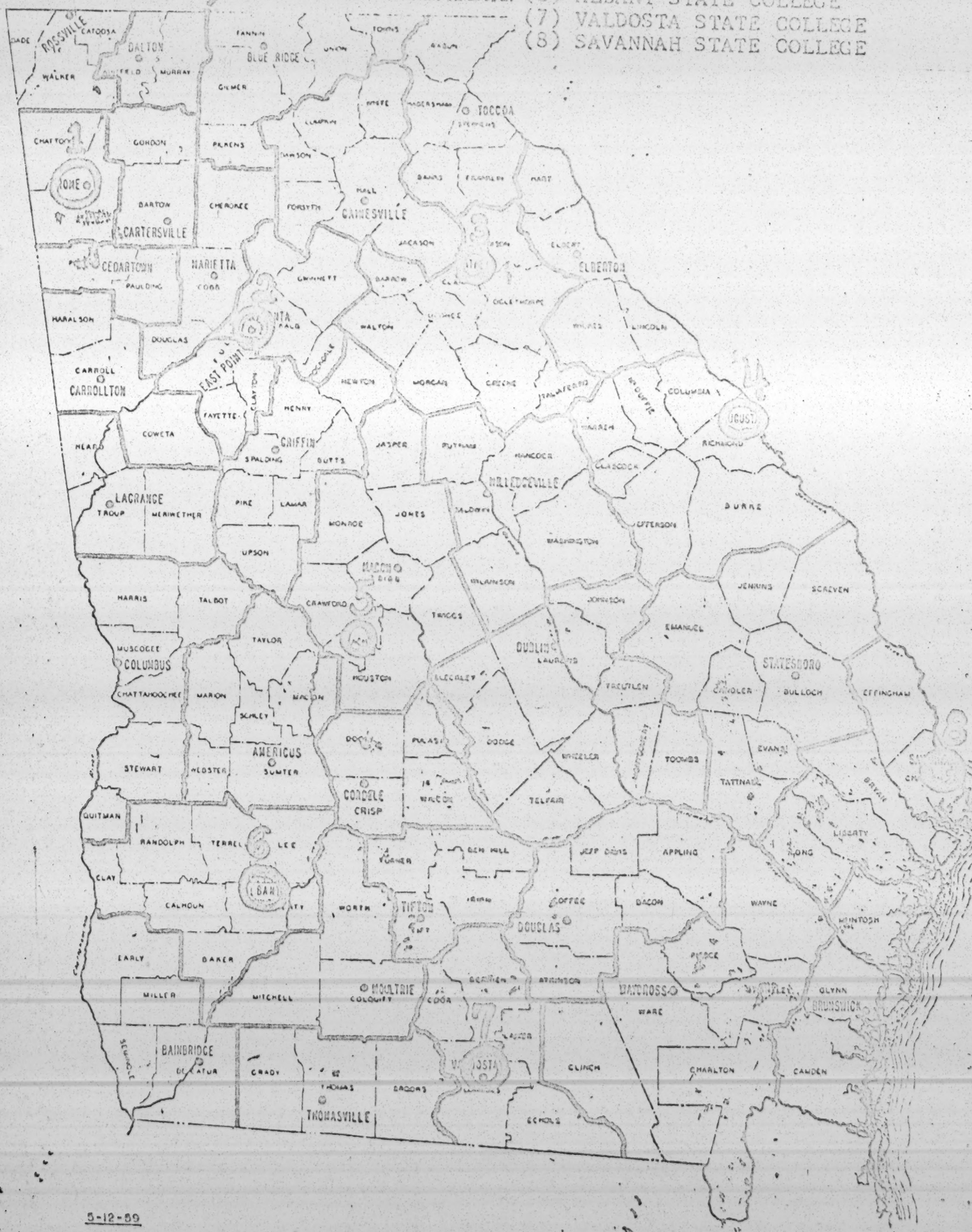
He shall develop personnel policies and over-see the adherence of those policies. He shall be one of the signatories on monies expended from Project funds, and shall represent the Director when the Director so desires.

He shall assist in writing of proposals with the Resource and Training Director and the Director.

Although the Administrative Assistant's duties shall not be limited to the central office, administration of personnel and fund expenditures of the central office shall be his primary responsibility. He will serve as liaison for the Director and coordinator for the Technical, Professional, and Clerical Staff.

COLLEGE LOCATIONS:

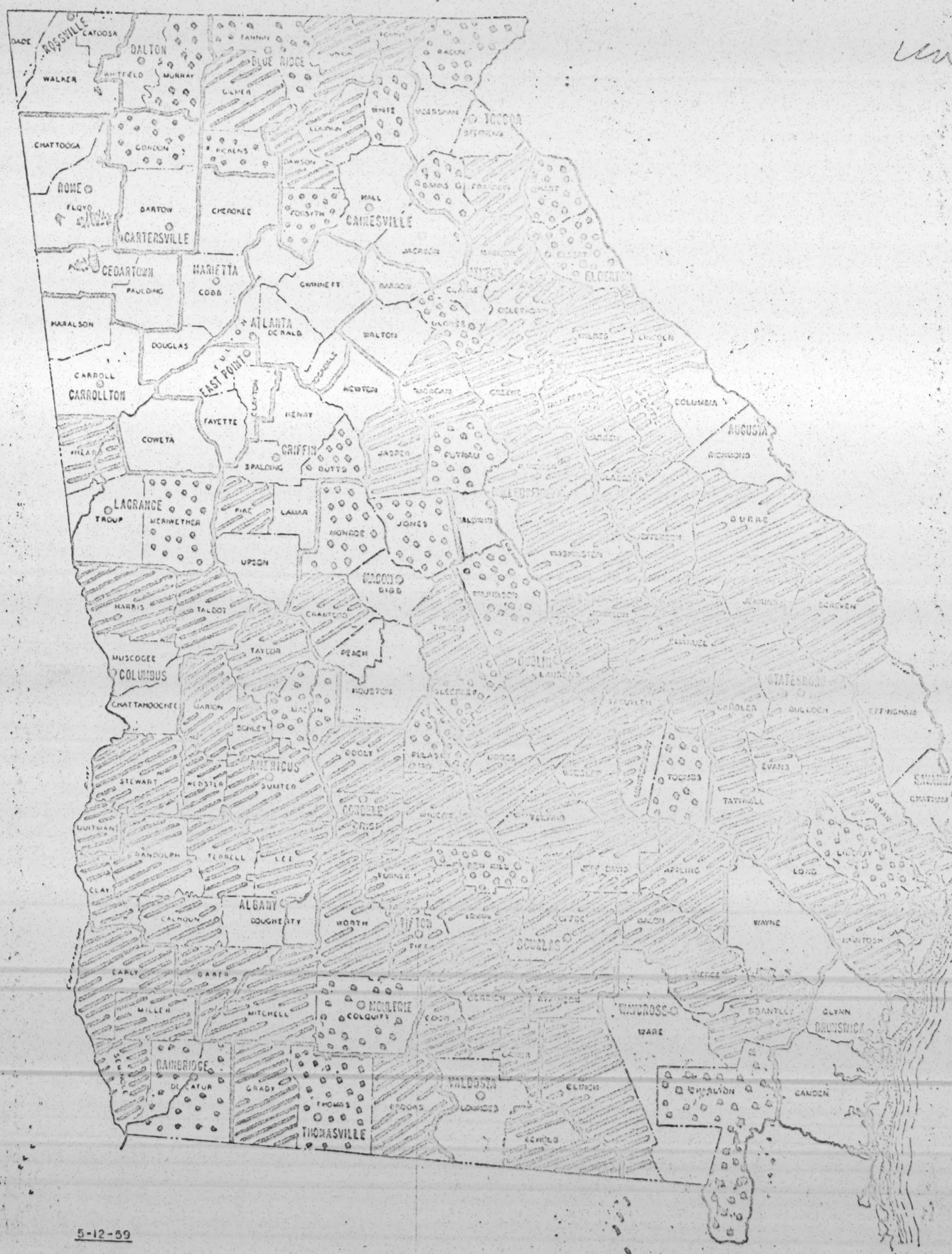
(1) ROME COLLEGE
(2) GEORGIA TECH & CLARK COLLEGE
(3) UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
(4) PAINE COLLEGE & MEDICAL COLLEGE OF GEORGIA
(5) FORT VALLY STATE COLLEGE
(6) ALBANY STATE COLLEGE
(7) VALDOSTA STATE COLLEGE
(8) SAVANNAH STATE COLLEGE



MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME

BELOW $3,000.

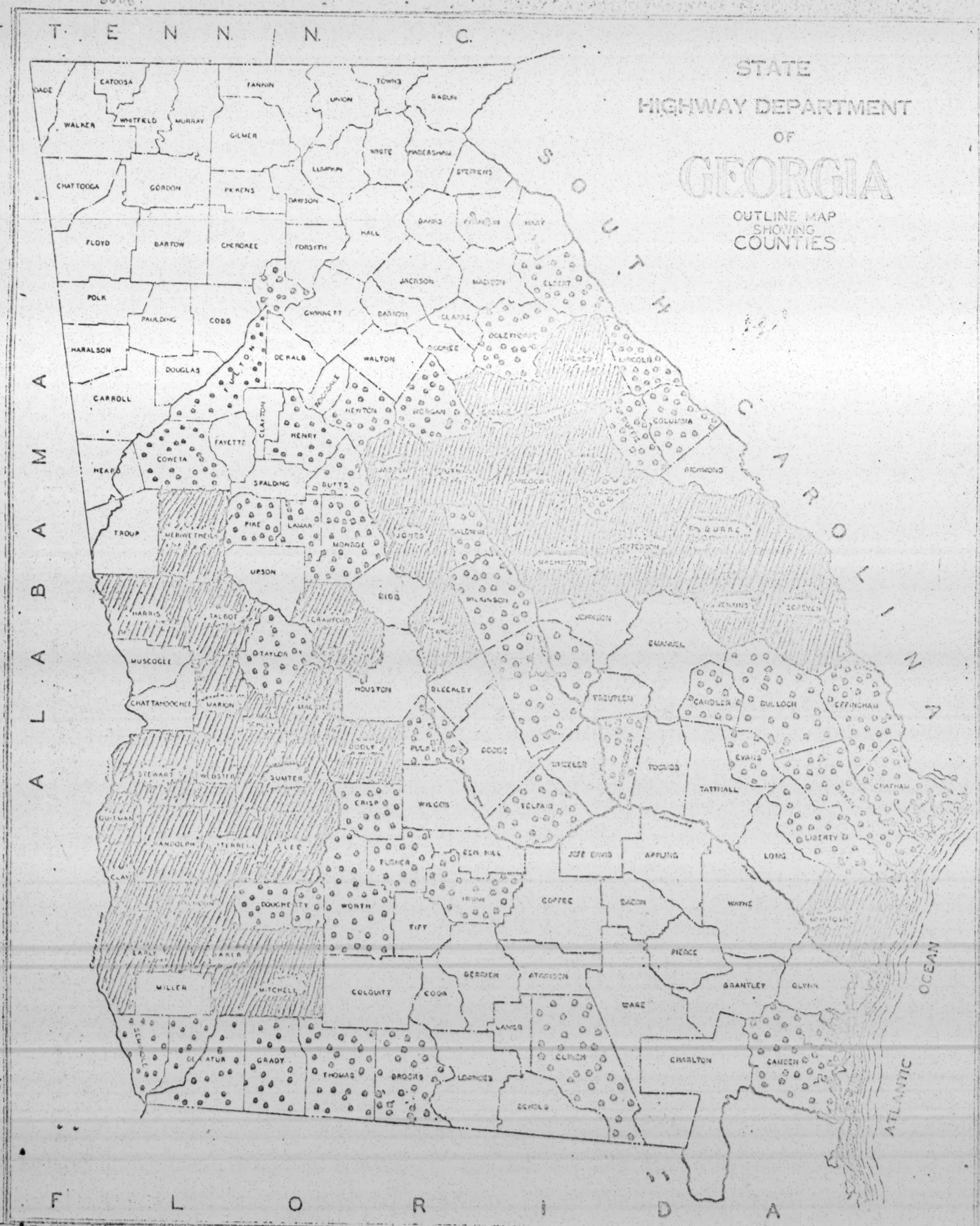
$3,000.. to $3,500.



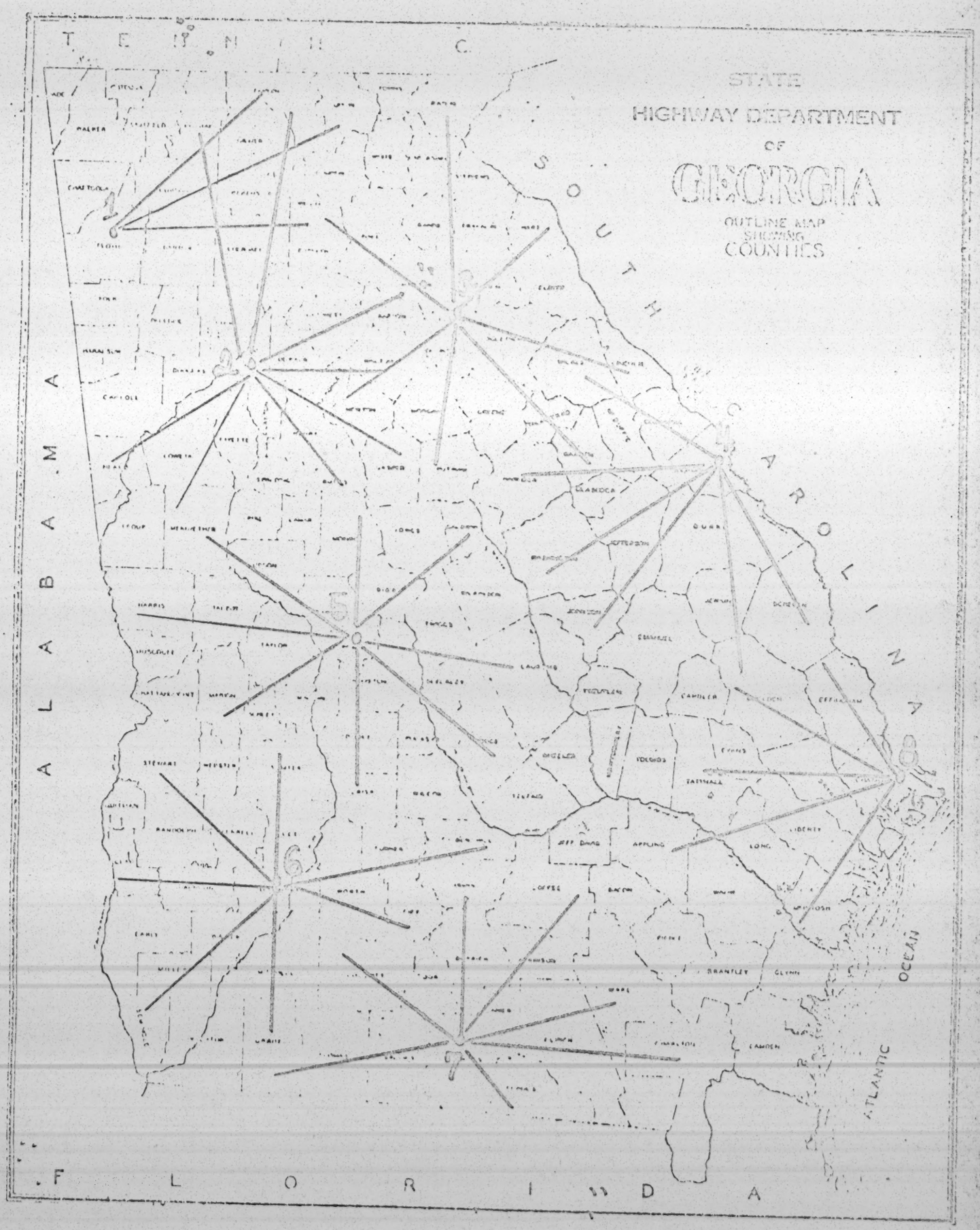
5-12-59

PERCENTAGE OF NON-WHITE POPULA
United States Bureau of Consus
1960

PERCENT OF TOTAL
50.0 - 83.4
30.0 - 49.9



GEOGRAPHICAL AREARS TO BE SERVICED BE THE PARTICIPATING COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITES



GEORGIA STUDENT RURAL PROJECT
Estimated Budget

PERSONNEL	Monthly Salaries	Grant	
1 Project Director	$15.00/mo.	$18,000.00	
1 Planning, Resource, & Training Director	1333/mo.	16,000.00	
1 Administrative Assistant	750/mo.	9,000.00	
1 Job Developer	1000/mo.	12,000.00	
10 Field Supervisors	833/mo.	100,000.00	
1 Secretary/Bookkeeper	650/mo.	7,800.00	
1 Secretary	550/mo.	6,600.00	
2 Clerk Typists	450/mo.	10,800.00	
			$180,200.00

10 College Coordinators
1/4 Time @ $434.00 per mo.
For 11 mos.

10 Secretaries
10 hrs. per mo. For 11 mos.

1,000 Student Participants

Fringe Benefits		
10% of the Total Salaries	$18,020.00	
Consultants		
CPA - 3 days @ $100/day (Set-up and final audit)	300.00	
Program Consultation - 20 days @ $75/day	1,500.00	
	Total	19,800.00
Staff Travel		
15 Staff Members @ 1500 miles per mo. average @ 10¢ per mile for 12 mos.	$27,000.00	
10 College Coordinators 400 miles per mo. average @ 4¢ per mile for 11 mos.	$1,440.00	

100 Student Participants @ 300 miles per mo. average @ 40 per mile for 10 mos.	10,800.00	
	Total	39,240.00

Rent

Central Office - $2,50 per sq. ft. per person for 18 persons for 12 mos.	$4,500.00	
College Office Space	(in-kind contribution)	

Office Equipment and Furniture

5 Filing Cabinets @ $61.00 each	$ 305.00	
8 Desks with Chairs @ $200.00 each	1,600.00	
2 Storage Cabinets @ $75,00 each	150.00	
4 Typewriters (12 months @ $600.00 each)	2,400.00	
25 Folding Chairs @ $3.00 each	75.00	
4 Typewriter Tables @ 20.00 each	80.00	
10 Tables @ $30.00 each	300.00	
1 Blackboard @ $20.00	20.00	
1 Adding Machine @ $150.00	150.00	
1 Mimeograph Machine @ $350.00	350.00	
1 Photo-Copying Machine Rental	1,200.00	$6,630.00

Office Supplies

1. Central Office Supplies

$75.00 per year per desk top per person (18) for 12 months	$1,350.00	
$25.00 per year for maintenance per person (18) for 12 months	450.00	$1,800.00

2. College Office Supplies (in-kind contribution)

Telephone, Postage, and Other Communication		
Telephone Installation @ $200.00	$ 200.00	
Telephone Services @ $300.00 for	3,600.00	
Postage and Other Communication @ $100.00 for 12 months	1,200.00	
		$5,000.00
Utilities and Maintenance		
Central Office @ $150.00 per mo. for 12 mos.	$1,800.00	
10 College Offices (in-kind contribution)		
Classroom Labs (in-kind contribution)		
		$303,990.00

Note: All the office space, office equipment and furniture, office supplies, telephone, postage, utilities, college coordinator's salary and secretary's salary will be supplied by the individual participating schools as an in-kind contribution. The colleges will also pay an additional 4¢ per mile for college coordinator's and student participant's travel as an in-kind contribution.

Concluding Remarks

There are three very important points that need to have been emphasized about this program. First, there would be a savings of ten thousand ($10,000.00) dollars per school by excuting this program through ten colleges and technical schools selected geographically throughout the state. Secondly, there could be better over-all coordination with each participating school. And thirdly, it would bring a greater interest without too much duplication and overlapping of geographical area. This would be pooling resources together with an overall coordination for a model program throughout the state of Georgia.

Ark Council H R

ideabook

School Officials

FOREWORD

Regardless of our personal views with reference to the pace of integration in the public schools, the school year of 1969 through 1971 saw more progress in the South toward complete physical integration than had happened in all the years since 1954. This sudden upsurge in the number of black and white pupils being brought together for the first time, in many instances, created a kind of situation that left local school boards, administrators, and teachers confused and frustrated.

From the many complaints and requests coming to the office of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, and from information gathered from federal court records, it appears that most problems which were encountered as a result of more physical integration in the public schools can be attributed to the inability of school officials to communicate with black students on the same basis they had with whites.

After a thorough study of all the information we have and from the many individual verbal and written comments we had from educators, parents, and students, we have tried to come up with some suggestions for school officials that we believe can be helpful with the continuing problems of developing a truly unified school system.

ELIJAH COLEMAN
Executive Director

WILLIAM HOLSHOUSER, JR.
Assistant Director

INTRODUCTION

All Kinds of People

Schools and school districts are made up of all kinds of people; young and old, student and teacher, parent and administrator, rich and poor, chicano and indian, black and white. But in Arkansas, for many reasons, school districts seem to contain more different kinds of people than they did only two or three years ago, and they all find themselves forced to live in a closer relationship than has been their custom.

It is no secret that, wherever you find people, you also find problems in human relations. No matter how smoothly an organization or business may be designed, no matter how capable each of its members may be as individuals, no matter how much they want to get along with each other, misunderstandings and frictions are a part of human nature. Disagreements about the best way of doing a job easily turn into rivalry that carries over into other matters. Perfectly natural differences in personality or value easily alienate people from each other. Then factions form, sides are chosen, accusations are hurled, and self-righteousness rather than cooperation becomes the spirit that dominates thought and action.

When this happens, a regretable and profitless situation results. Everyone involved in it feels forced to defend himself and his actions against the criticism of another person or faction, and to use whatever power he might have to protect himself and things that he feels are important from "the others". This reaction takes place on all sides, and every party feels perfectly justified in working for what he thinks must be done, even if it means thoroughly alienating someone else. Working together is forgotten, or dismissed as a good idea that the stubborness of "the others" makes impossible at this time.

Fortunately, most school districts do not carry this process to its tragic conclusion. Like any organization, they see that most people find ways to agree with each other. But the pressures have increased in recent years. When differences among the people who must work together become greater, the difficulty of their being able to cooperate also becomes greater, and may come to dominate much of the organization's attention for a whole. This can be frustrating, but in the long run, it is much better than letting hostility grow and divisions deepen.

We have said that there seems to be more different kinds of people with an interest of some kind in the way the public schools function, than there were a few years ago. Think about your school district, say, ten years ago. In Arkansas, the chances are that the schools were still racially segregated. In black schools and in most black communities, only a few people were willing to make much of an issue of it when they felt that they had a grievance. Black organizations were few, and in

general committed to inter-racial harmony and brotherhood. Although deep distrust of whites certainly existed, it was rarely expressed in their presence. Students gave vent to their hostility in passive ways, by dropping out of school, or sullenly refusing to heed the warning of their teachers that they would never succeed if they didn't work. Those less hostile accepted the warning and worked hard to make it into college.

Black teachers and administrators, too, lived in a separate world from their white counterparts and supervisors. In segregated schools, segregated teachers' associations, often with greatly inferior resources, they struggled to encourage their students, knowing that only a handful would achieve "success" in ways that we usually measure it; in a steady job, satisfying work, time, and money to spend on consumer products, a home and a family.

Fables told among whites now picture those workers in all-black schools as half-educated and semi-competent graduates of inferior colleges, and on the basis of this widespread belief many of them have been fired rather than permitted to teach white students. This picture contains some elements of truth, and many parents can tell of discouraging years spent, often in vain, trying to persuade the (white) superintendent of schools to replace a poorly-qualified (black) teacher. But this picture also leaves out much that should not be forgotten: professionsl competence developed under highly adverse conditions, deep and often sacrifical involvement with the lives of their students, and a sense of being united in a common struggle to achieve an education in spite of everything.

Among whites ten years ago, fewer differences also existed. Students conformed much more readily in matters of dress and conduct. Political differences, though intense, tended to be disagreements "within the system". Male students' hair was predictably shorter than that of the girls'. Drug problems were rare by present day standards. The big difference was between poor whites and middle class whites, but even when poor white students did poorly in school, were excluded from full participation in a school's activities (because the musical instruments cost too much, or they couldn't spare time from working after school) both the schools and the poor whites tended to accept this situation as unfortunate but inevitable, and probably the fault of the students and their parents rather than the school's.

Winds of Change

It is clear that this situation no longer exists, and that differences, both within racial and economic groups, and between such groups have greatly increased. Schools must now deal with large numbers of students who do not easily understand each other, with mutually suspicious groups within the community, the teaching staff, and often the school board itself.

Yet the influence of the past is strong. Many schools and systems long, so strongly, for those "good old days" that they try to act as if things were still the same. In these systems, students are more or less expected to conform to the teachers' and administrators' ideas of proper behavior, left over from ten years or more ago in a much less varied situation. Teachers and administrators, too, by their own training, as well as the orders of their supervisors, all too often find themselves feeling that they must demand "respect" and "discipline" in forms more appropriate to past years, rather than allowing new forms of respect and discipline to emerge as they fit the new situation.

It is our purpose, in this handbook, to explore ways in which respect and discipline can flourish in new forms, more fitting to today's varied situation. In it, we are not attempting to cover everything that we, and so many others, have said about human relations for so many years.

Desegregation and other winds of change have created a new challenge in Arkansas schools. Those who are able to respond to change will find the pleasure of learning that they can cope with today as well as yesterday; those who cannot change will find only increasing frustration, both within them and around them.

THE SCHOOLS AND THE COMMUNITY

The Scene: A gardener is trying to landscape a lawn. He sets to work planting flower beds here, and fruit trees there. He plans walls and walks. But he is not alone. Other workmen come in, one driving a bull dozer, the other a tractor pulling a plow, and they begin to tear up the lawn, cutting through walls, flowers, and all. The gardener throws down his spade and protests that he cannot work. But a policeman appears and summons the gardener before a judge who tells him that he will be imprisoned if he does not complete a satisfactory garden very soon. The judge will not do anything to stop the destruction by the other workmen since they are friends of his. The gardener is ordered to ignore them and stick to his landscaping.

This is much the same situation that the people who staff the public educational system of Arkansas find themselves in all too often. The communities in which they work are being torn apart both physically and psychologically. Physically, black and white areas are becoming more distinct, not less, in most Arkansas towns. Even cities such as Little Rock are much more segregated today than they were twenty years ago. Phychologically, our people are also becoming mentally segregated, or "polarized", as we say, between those who feel, in the deepest roots of their being, that they must work to bring about drastic changes in our society, and those who feel, just as deeply, that our society is threatened and all attempts to change it must be resisted as dangerous and untested. The "system", a complex web of private choices, and opportunities, and social manipulation that segregates housing patterns, cuts blacks off from whites, rewards one man with wealth and holds another's face in the mud of poverty, creates conditions in which the complications involved in running a school system are all but insolvable - and then tells the administrators that, nevertheless, they must run a school system. It often seems that the entire community is involved in creating problems (and it should never be forgotten that apathy and non-involvement create much worse problems than does activism) that the schools must solve.

We believe that schools must take the lead in making the full community aware of this situation, if only because it is the schools who suffer from it. If they are to survive, the most pressing educational task facing our public schools may well be the education of the adult community around them in ways of living and planning together. We suggest that such programs as the Emergency School Assistant Program should be used to establish the broadest possible dialogue about the schools within local communities, School systems should study ways of setting up human relations programs, with full-time staff, who are assigned, not only to work with internal frictions, but also to be community relations officers, keeping the school administrators in constant touch with the feeling of various parts of their community, and keeping these groups in touch with each other, at least with regard to the schools. (ACHR will gladly provide resources and models for such programs to any interested district.)

This will take some changing of attitudes. In many systems, the school board and the administrators have encouraged just the opposite approach: the fewer questions the better; non-professionals aren't qualified to run a school, and any suggestions from them will be resented; discourage attendance at school board meetings, and settle controversial matters in closed session; community groups who take an interest in the schools are suspected as potential troublemakers, or dismissed as naive, incapable, though possibly they mean well.

Rule 1: INVOLVE THE COMMUNITY. BLACKS, WHITES, PROFESSIONALS, WORKERS, OFFICIALS, AND BUSINESSMEN. DISCUSS PROBLEMS OF THE SCHOOLS, FREELY AND OPENLY. STUDY, IN THE SCHOOLS, THE WAY THIS DISCUSSION GOES ON, AS A PART OF THE STUDENTS' EDUCATION. LEAD THE COMMUNITY IN STUDYING THE SCHOOLS (AND ITSELF) AND THE SCHOOLS IN STUDYING THE COMMUNITY. ONLY SCHOOLS WHICH DO THIS DESERVE TO BE CALLED PUBLIC SCHOOLS, NO MATTER HOW THEY ARE FINANCED.

A corollary to this rule is that there can be no one excluded from such a dialogue. Many school administrators profess their eagerness to work with what they regard as "respondable" community groups, but have nothing to do with "militant blacks" or white "rednecks". The inevitable result is that the excluded groups become more isolated, more embittered, more convinced that only by fighting the schools can they accomplish what they want to accomplish. The administrators see in this a demonstration of their policy of disruption lies primarily with the administrator himself, who could have permited them to work in a positive way.

In one Arkansas district, an interracial committee has been established to help the superintendent decide what his policy recommendations should be, and to interpret that policy back to the community. In this case, the committee was made as varied as possible, specifically including both lower-income and militant blacks, and whites as well as those who are traditionally recognized as "responsible patrons". The superintendent reports that the advice of the group, with which he freely discusses all possible complications and situations, has been the fact that they have been ready and willing to explain that they do not feel it works unfairly against anyone. (Of course this will only work if such a group does help set policies, and if they really are fairly enforced in day-to-day practice.)

Of course, programs which involve people from the community served by a school are nothing new. It is often very helpful, from a human relations standpoint, as well as educationally, to invite businessmen, workers, scientists, policemen and firemen, government officials, professional persons, and others. Including black as well as white, poor as well as rich, radical as well as establishmentarian, can help create a sense of a wider community, as well as make students more aware of the many ways in which their lives are linked together with others.

Involving suitably qualified people from the community in part of the administrative decision-making, is another technique that has worked well in many cases. (In fact, this is so important that we feel a superintendent or principal should find ways to help parents or others, get qualified help in this way.) For example, two parents, one black and one white, might assist in interviewing potential teachers, to help the person doing the hiring evaluate their racial attitudes and sensitivity. Or a small group of parents resent ability-grouping, feeling that it is being used to re-segregate schools. (And many of them know of the facts in the Crossett area that it is of little help to the students.) Such parents might be involved in determining whether ability-grouping, ungraded primary classes, or some other method will best meet the needs of students who need special attention.

The Spirit of the School System: (1) The School Board

Rule 2: IT IS THE SPIRIT WITH WHICH A SCHOOL SYSTEM IS FILLED THAT IS REALLY IMPORTANT, MUCH MORE SO THAN THE POLICIES ON PRINTED PAGES. IF PEOPLE FEEL THAT THEY ARE INCLUDED, AND REALLY HAVE A PART AND A RESPONSIBILITY THERE, THEY WILL WORK TOGETHER. IF PEOPLE FEEL EXCLUDED, AS IF THE SYSTEM IS RUN BY AND FOR SOMEONE ELSE, THEY WILL FEEL THEY MUST WORK AGAINST OTHERS TO ACCOMPLISH THEIR PERSONAL GOALS.

This most important thing that can happen in a school system to improve all relationships within it, is for those who lead it to stand firmly for equal treatments for all, and maximum participation by all in the running of the schools. If this is done genuinely, frequently, publicly, in deed as well as words, it will infuse the system with a sense of unity, or participation in a joint adventure.

On the contrary, the most damaging attitude that can be taken with regard to human relations within a school system is one which treats some students, parents, or teachers better than others, or one which excludes these groups from participating in the planning of policy.

It is the School Board which must take the lead in such matters, and make wide public discussion and participation in school affairs, a part of their policy. The setting of policy is their role, and it is they, more than anyone else, who are responsible for keeping the public schools public. In fact, they may sometimes find little help from other persons in the system in carrying out this responsibility to keep "uncertified" and "nonprofessional" persons, that is, the parents of the children in school, and the members of the community the schools serve from "meddling" in school business. Teachers are often very hesitant to have their work too closely scrutinized,

for fear of being criticized. Students often feel isolated from teachers, administrators, board, and community, and feel that their ideas about the schools will not be taken seriously by anyone. Except for the exceptionally interested parents, then this leaves dialogue about the School Board as the group in the best position to bring other groups into real dialogue about the schools. We think it will quickly prove to be the best step they have ever taken, if they are willing to endure the frustration of really listening to the community, the students, the parents, and the temptation to cop out by using it as an opportunity to explain their position without being open to changing it.

This rule obviously applies both internally and externally. We have already urged involvement of the whole community, and it would be repetitious to do so again, except to say that the school board must take primary responsibility for this task, or at least for seeing that everyone within the system knows that this is the will of the Board.

Internally, the hardest part of the School Board's job is to overcome the defects inherent in an authoritarian system. This is not to say that authority itself should be done away with. Obviously, someone must set policy and make decisions, and the buck stops with the Board. But there is a bad side to authority, and all too many school districts are far too ready to overlook the bad side, when, with a little elementary human relations, they can keep authority and at the same time eliminate many of its harmful effects.

Let's look at an example. Say that in a district a superintendent has just laid down the policy that the metal Afro combs that students often carry are to be considered "dangerous weapons", and the police will be called if any student brings one to school. A black teacher disagrees, and expresses his feelings to the superintendent, or perhaps to the Board. This is a common situation, and so far not very complicated. The key is what happens next. Will the person in authority discuss the issues with the teacher? Will he or she accept the possibility that the policy might actually need reconsideration? Is there even a chance that the matter will be referred to a study group of some kind so that students, teachers, and parents of all races can discuss the question and advise the board. If so, your district has some skill in human relations.

But there is another possibility. Suppose that instead of any of these alternatives, the superintendent or board reacts by hiding behind their authority. Suppose the teacher gets the idea that it is insolvent or disrespectful for him to have (and express) an opinion different from that of the superior? Suppose the word "insubordination" is thrown at him? (This seems to be the most common word in conversations between black students and teachers and white superintendents and principals in several Arkansas districts that we know of.) Suppose the superior grows defensive and says that, after all, someone has to make the decision, and they can't have just everybody doing anything they want. Then, suddenly, the teacher, in the mind of the superintendents becomes some advocate of anarchy, and a very suspicious character, and neither of the two will ever again trust the other unless a lot of repair work is done by someone.

If this happens, as it frequently does, the bad side of authority is defeating your hopes of running a peaceful school system. An everyday disagreement has escalated into an incident that confirms and hardens the distrust lurking in the heart of every human being in your community. And the sad thing is that it is all so unnecessary. Authority can be used to provide leadership, or it can become something a frightened and weak man uses to hide behind.

Rule 3: EVERYONE EXERCISING AUTHORITY IN A SCHOOL SYSTEM SHOULD BE REQUIRED TO RECEIVE PERIODIC TRAINING IN INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS AND MANAGEMENT, ESPECIALLY AT THIS TIME IN INTER-RACIAL UNDERSTANDING. THIS APPLIES ESPECIALLY TO PRINCIPALS, SUPERINTENDENTS, AND BOARD MEMBERS, AS WELL AS TEACHERS.

A sensitivity to the particular hopes and fears of students of other races is important to teachers. The classroom is the front line, the place that most teaching and learning take place. It is also the place in which misunderstandings can cause the most difficulty, and understanding produce the best results. Many black students complain that when white students "act up", white teachers recognize this as a sign of a problem and refer the student to a counselor. But, they say, if a black student does the same thing, many white teachers are inclined to think first of "maintaining discipline" rather than the individual's problem of adjustment. In-service training that familiarizes the teacher with the cultural and behavioral differences in the attitude, dress, language, and background of students of other races will help ease such problems.

It is not only in the classroom that these problems are solved or complicated, however, An insensitive principal, administrator, or board member can cause more problems than any number of good teachers can solve. In-service training, through such programs as ATAC, focuses, to a large extent upon teachers; to a lesser extent upon principals; and even less upon the superintendent and the school board member and the parent or interested patron. (To further complicate the situation, certification standards tend to be high for teachers and much less rigid for anyone else in the system, indicating perhaps, that the need for in-service training might be greater among the non-teachers.)

We feel that ESAP and TITLE IV and similar programs offer a real opportunity to provide training in human interaction to counselors, principals, and assistants, district administrators, and board members preferably in connection with some patrons. Our project in fifteen Arkansas districts will provide a small plot of such a program, and will permit the Arkansas Council on Human Relations to work with other districts who might be interested in similar undertakings. The School Board, together with the Superintendent, must take the lead in initiating such programs.

Aside from the "preventive medicine" of seeing that a system is staffed by competent and sensitive personnel, a School Board plays an important role in the fair resolution of crises. Although the situation is changing rather quickly, many Arkansas boards are still all-white, even in districts in which black students and patrons are in a majority. This means there is a built-in one-sideness to the board's outlook, no matter how hard they try to be objective. They cannot help but be more aware of the feelings of their neighbors and associates and children, and give more weight to such things in their decisions. On the other hand, they will almost certainly be less aware of minority's feelings and situations. This leads to unfairness and bad judgment, even when the board members do not consciously intend it.

An example that comes to mind at once involves a district in eastern Arkansas. The black students in this district began meetings to protest a number of rather commonplace grievances (the name of the school, the school colors, etc.). They asked a black teacher for advice, and he gave it, but left the initiative with the students, and did not become a leader in any way. Later, the black students' protest was made public. This led to a series of counter-protest by whites, and to a walk-out, meetings with the board and the all-too-familiar cycle of conflicts. As it happened, it was not the white students who organized themselves to protest, but white teachers who urged them "not to let the blacks take your school away", and took the lead in planning protest acts for the white students. Then, when things got hot, the board passed a resolution stating that any teacher who acted as an agitator should be fired. The result was that only the black teacher was fired, and all the whites kept their jobs.

Why did this happen? Conversations with the white community in the town indicated that they assume, as a matter of course, that if black students protest, someone must be "stirring them up". On the other hand, they know white students, and explain their activities by saying that "kids just act that way". This means that they inevitably saw the black protest as disruptive and the white protest as a normal expression of feelings. The result is that the black community in this town now feels that the school system is incurably racist and they will be much more inclined to work against it than to attempt to cooperate in the future.

One thing that a board can do about such matters is to take advantage of opportunities to educate themselves in racial understanding, and to talk openly with the community, (and we repeat, they must be ready to learn and change, not merely to explain why they have already decided something or other). They can also take the lead in bringing blacks on to the board. (If there are fewer than seven members on the board, Arkansas law permits the board to appoint other members up to that number.) Or, white members who are not standing for re-election can support black candidates to fill their seats.

Beyond this, it goes without saying that the board must take care that facilities and teaching staff are equally divided among schools in the more and less affluent parts of town. It must be sensitive to the feelings of students when their school is eliminated through unification. In many districts, the building, colors, names, mascot, songs, and traditions of a white school have been kept, while the black school that was unified with it has been swallowed up without a trace. In some districts, even the trophies that the school had earned were not brought to the unified school. In other cases, schools named after black people (Carver, Dunbar, Washington, etc.) were renamed when white students began to attend them, but the formerly white schools were not renamed. This is being insensitive in the extreme, and is interpreted by blacks as evidence of ill-will, even when the superintendent and board may never have thought about it one way or the other. This sort of thing, too, can easily be eliminated by wider discussion about the schools within the districts, and by functioning and representative advisory committees.

Rule 4: STUDENT OPINION SHOULD BE SOLICITED AND TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, NOT ONLY BY THE INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL, BUT ALSO BY THE DISTRICT. A STUDENT ADVISORY COMMITTEE SHOULD MEET WITH THE BOARD AT ALL TIMES, AND WAYS OF CONSULTING STUDENTS ON MATTERS WHICH INVOLVE THEM SHOULD BE DEVELOPED.

The biggest communication gap in many school districts is not between black and whites, but between students and almost everyone else. Students are more directly influenced by the schools than any other single element in the community, yet often have less to say than anyone else about how they are run. The United States Office of Education is now requiring community groups receiving ESAP funds to work with students to have students on their advisory committee. We feel also that the time is only a few years away when school boards will also be required to have student advisory committees, if not official voting representatives. We also feel that this is a very good idea from a human relations standpoint. Districts which have consulted students on matters of policy such as hair and dress codes, rights of pregnant and married students, and the like, have found the students in general much more receptive to accepting the policy that resulted. Districts which have invited the students to help evaluate teachers and curriculum have found that the students tend to be fair and well-informed, and very grateful to find their opinion respected. We believe that it is impossible to train a student to be a participating citizen of the country unless he is permitted to share in the decision-making in his school system in a real way. (This does not mean "turning the school over to the students", as some administrators seem to conclude, but merely finding ways to let them share in the thinking and planning that influence their lives and futures so greatly.)

The Spirit of a School System: (2) The Superintendent

As the chief executive officer of a school district, the superintendent is the one person who can do the most to help or harm the quality of working relationships within the district. If he (or she) is firm in maintaining that the policy of the district is that all are equal, all will be treated fairly, and that attempts to understand each other will be the expected norm, then the district will avoid much unnecessary trouble. If, on the other hand, the superintendent takes the lead in firing and demoting black teachers, principals, and coaches; if he takes the lead in being afraid that blacks are likely to be violent and defy authority, then he is leading the entire district into hot water.

Rule 5: IF THE SUPERINTENDENT ACTS OUT THE FEARS OF HIS COMMUNITY HE AMPLIFIES THEM. IF HE TAKES THE LEAD IN SEEKING REAL UNDERSTANDING, (DESPITE HIS OWN FEARS), COMMUNITY UNDERSTANDING WILL GROW QUICKLY.

All of the things that have been said in the last section about the responsibility of the school board apply, as well, to the superintendent. He must see that he is sensitive to racial differences himself. He must see that his board is kept aware of conditions as they really are, and that his teachers and principals take advantage of every opportunity to increase their understanding of human relations. He must see that the involvement of parents and other patrons is not only accepted, but promoted and encouraged, and that all elements in the community join in.

The superintendent, further, must see that teachers are fairly hired, placed, given further training opportunities, and paid equally. He must be aware of the need to retain black symbols (names, mascots) and black authority-figures such as principals and coaches, especially in situations in which a goodly percentage of the white students are also involved. He must be aware of the potentially explosive situations created when either black or white students or teachers begin to feel that they are being put upon because of their race.

The superintendent is, also, in a key position to see that special programs are utilized, and produce beneficial results. One of the greatest sources of bitterness in Arkansas districts, over the past few years, has been the decision not to participate fully in Title I, ESAP, National School Lunch, or other such programs intended to help low-income students overcome their disadvantage. Almost as much damage has been done when these programs were used, but were used in such a way that they did not actually provide compensatory services, but only paid for the same services the other children got with regular funds.

If the required community advisory committee does not function, or does not include low-income and more "militant" blacks and whites an important opportunity for involving these elements in a positive way, has been lost and further suspicion created.

We feel that the Superintendent should take the lead in establishing a regular program of human relations within the system and between schools and the community. The foundation for such a program, of course, is a system which practices equality and sound educational programming.

But even if this is done to absolute perfection, there will still be the problems of day-to-day friction and misunderstanding, as well as honest disagreement among persons in the schools and patrons concerned, either about the schools as a whole, or merely about their own child. For all these reasons, a well planned human relations unit with full-time staff in larger districts, is becoming a necessity to a school district. The assumption that this is only necessary where critical divisions or hostilities exist, reflects ignorance of basic principles of management. Again, the superintendent- the top management of the district, should recognize this need and take steps to meet it.

Rule 6: EVERYONE WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR SELECTING TEXTBOOKS AND SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS, SHOULD TAKE THE UTMOST CARE TO SEE THAT THE RACIAL IMAGE PORTRAYED IN THEM IS BALANCED, RECOGNIZING THAT AMERICA IS A MULTI-RACIAL NATION, AND INCLUDES THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF MINORITIES, AS WELL AS THEIR EXCEPTIONAL "HEROES".

The ACHR has recently completed a study of textbooks and supplementary materials available to Arkansas public schools as of Spring, 1971 (including those 9-12 grade texts and materials in the library of the State Board of Education.) This study is available free from our office, upon request.

In the past few years some texts have begun to reflect America as the racially and culturally mixed society that it really is. In some cases, this has only meant adding a black or brown or red face to the pictures in the text. Some history or social studies texts have added boxed-in supplementary "minority history" of material to recent additions of older texts. Other publishers have re-written entire books to accomodate the multi-cultural point of view that educators are increasingly coming to recognize as most helpful to both majority and minority students.

Recent studies seem to indicate that however good it may sound to approach education with the orientation that "we're all just Americans and human beings", and remain officially "colorblind" in consent as in policy, this approach frequently backfires. If race is ignored as if it did not exist, this often implies not that race is irrelevant to a person's real worth, but that being a member of a racial minority is so terrible that the teacher is afraid to talk about it. This heightens insecurity, even though it is intended to reassure. We feel that it is desirable that a student to be able to think of himself as "a white American", and "a black American", "an Oriental American", without any hidden sense of inferiority or guilt being implicit in his thoughts. We feel that a multi-cultural society, which appreciates variety and diversity is a much more human society, as well as much kinder to minorities within it.

It follows from this that textbooks should reflect such a society. It is good, but not enough, to have minorities in pictures. It is good, but not enough, to have minorities included as heroes, and to recognize their contribution to our common culture. It is good, but not enough, to call to the attention of all students, the considerable measure of cruelty that has been a part of the dealings of majority Americans with minorities from Indians through Irish, Southern Europeans, Jews, Blacks, Chicano, and others. (The opportunities of America which have so often made up the whole content of history chapters dealing with immigration, especially, should not be ignored, of course - just made a part of a balanced picture.) Ideally, a text should reflect a multi-cultural society, and the past and present experience and viewpoint of our many minorities should be presented as honestly and objectively as possible.

This would be the ideal. Most texts are far short of this ideal, and many of them are ridiculously so. One World Geography text that we reviewed, for example, did not once mention Africa or any nation in it, as if it could be assumed that the history of Europe and the West was only part of the history of mankind that was worth any study, and other ages, people, and nations were only mentioned as they happened to impinge upon this history.

One of the most important ways in which a superintendent can exercise leadership within his district is by encouraging the selection of materials that will give a sense of worth equally to all of his students.

The Spirit of a School System: (3) The Principal

As the board and superintendent set the tone of a district, so the principal does for a school. His influence will determine whether good human relations practices are rewarded or punished among teachers, students, and other personnel under his supervision.

Rule 7: THE PRINCIPAL MUST ENCOURAGE EDUCATION BY BEING, ALWAYS, HIMSELF. HE MUST EXAMINE HIS OWN ATTITUDES AND THOSE OF HIS COMMUNITY, AND ENCOURAGE HIS STUDENTS AND TEACHERS TO FOLLOW HIS EXAMPLE. HE MUST WEED OUT THOSE WHO CANNOT ADJUST TO AN INTER-RACIAL SITUATION. HE MUST ENCOURAGE IMAGINATIVE TEACHING AND LEARNING METHODS, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARDS TO MULTI-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING.

A student can know solid geometry or Latin to perfection, and still not be able to use his knowledge in a way useful to himself and others. A student can be educated enough to get a good job, but be so lacking in self-confidence or so alienated for the community, that he is emotionally unable to hold the job. It has always been recognized that the schools have a responsibility to teach productive citizenship as well as raw content. The principal is the key man (or woman) in determining whether or not this is done in a school.

Today's students are increasingly idealistic. They want to find a sense of unity and purpose in their lives. They want to assure themselves that the way they live and make their living is beneficial to others, not exploitive or destructive, even in the long run. They are demanding this wholeness from their schools as uncompromisingly as they demand it from themselves. They no longer merely want to be trained to get a job. They want to be helped to choose their own style of life, and to shape their education around it, not only during school, but for the rest of their life. They have broken away from the idea that "education" is something you get in school then cease getting after you graduate or drop out. Rather, they think of school as training in how to get and continue getting, an education from many sources, including the adventure of living with other people in ways that do not oppress you or them.

This is a large order. But the Principal who continues to run his school as if students are still pretty much the way he was when he was in junior high, will be engulfed by complaints of irrelevance, by demanding for "student power" to change things themselves, by a rising drop-out rate, and increased apathy among those who attend. For more and more students, an exciting football team, or even a good record of getting graduates into college, is no longer enough to assure pride and respect of their school. They want real learning, and will remain restless until they find it.

What does this mean? It means that the principal, like the superintendent, must find a way, for himself, out of the blind alley of authoritarianism. He must find a sense of excitment in participating in an adventure in learning together with his staff and students. He must give them elbow-room to experiment with new methods, with getting out into the community, and getting the community into the classroom. He

must not feel compelled to enforce his ideas of accepting dress, hair length, or political ideology upon them. (Which is not to say that there should be no policy on hair and dress, but only that students, teachers, and parents should help to see it, and that there should be freedom for a large variety of styles within the policy.)

Most of all, it means that the principal should take the lead in human relations in his school. In as much as he had discretionary power, he should see that all textbooks and teaching materials are balanced in their treatment of race. (See above, under "The Superintendent")

Rule 8: THE PRINCIPAL SHOULD SEE THAT ALL STUDENTS ARE NOT PERMITTED, BUT ENCOURAGED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FULL RANGE OF EXTRACURRICULAR AND CO-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES. IN SOME CASES, THIS GOES FAR BEYOND ESTABLISHING A RULE THAT SAYS THAT ALL ORGANIZATIONS ARE OPEN TO ALL STUDENTS.

In one Little Rock school, students without private cars cannot get to or from evening activities, because the city buses stop running into some parts of town. They must either remain at school, often skipping supper, and then find a way home privately. This situation affects low-income black students, almost exclusively. The school has done nothing.

In some districts, low-income students cannot take part in band, pep-squad, and other activities, because they cannot afford instruments, uniforms, training camps, etc.

In some schools, low-income students who receive free or reduced-price lunches are (illegally) forced to work, to stand in a separate line, to have a different colored ticket, or to eat different foods.

Some schools have permitted private dances and social events at places which did not admit the black students, or at least did not encourage them to attend. Some have unofficially sponsored these dances by permitting teachers to act as chaperones, or announcements to be made at school. The cruelty of this practice should be evident to the most insensitive; the damage it causes to relationships is plainly to be seen in district after district.

Some schools have said "Let the best man win, black or white", with regard to student elections, homecoming royalty, etc., so long as whites were in the majority. Then, when a black majority threatened to dominate in the same way that whites had done in school, town, state, and national elections, suddenly they began to say "It isn't fair for one group not to have any representation". (We do not know a perfect answer to this problem, but feel in general, that some way of assuring representation for a racial minority, black or white, should be found.

A Student Legislature in which racial groups elect proportionate representatives has worked well in some places; reserving some offices for each group, on a rotating basis, from year to year, has worked well for others.)

Some schools have enforced discipline in a discriminatory manner. One high school, for example, has a rule against married students taking part in extra-curricular activities. (We think this is a bad rule.) But they enforce it against married students and forget it for others. In another school, students who have been suspended are not permitted to participate in sports or other extra-curricular activities, but only black students have been excluded from these things, and several white athletes and office holders have been suspended and continued to participate with nothing being said. This is asking for trouble, and the principal should prevent even one such occurrence, to say nothing of repeated violations of the written policy.

It goes without saying, that the principal should enforce all policies equally, yet treat each student as an individual, and that teachers should be encouraged to do the same. This simple rule is complicated, however, when distrust enters the situation. And it is the principal who usually sets the example for the rest of his staff, by either reflecting this distrust, or, if he is wise, by overcoming it.

One area in which this has been especially crucial, has been the matter of the principal's calling in police to maintain order. In some cases, principals have over-reacted to unsubstantiated rumors of impending trouble by calling the police even before checking out the truth of the rumor. The presence of police, then confirms the feeling in everyone's mind that a real crisis must be taking place, and what would otherwise have been a normal school day becomes the occasion of newspaper headlines, wilder rumors running through the community, and of parents growing afraid for the safety of their children. This is not to say that police should not be called when there is real danger that the staff cannot handle; obviously, they should. But the principal should, also, be aware that the police will excite many slumbering fears and emotions among the students and often make trouble more likely to occur. Black students, especially, feel that police are called in quickly when a white principal has to deal with even more-or-less normal school boy disturbances that involve blacks, and conclude from this, that the principal is too weak to deal with them as he would whites in the same situation.

The Principal can be of great help to his teachers by understanding the situation that they might have in dealing with unfamiliar situations, and helping them find a fair way to handle their own feelings. Many black teachers, for example, tend to be much more lenient with white students. Some of them are afraid to exercise authority over whites, especially if their parents happen to be influencial. Others are so deeply concerned that their black students succeed, that they are strict with them, but let whites get by with less effort. Many white teachers, on the other hand,

are less secure in their dealings with black students, and discipline whites as they always have, but let blacks get away with much more unruliness. And then there are the teachers of both races who show their prejudice more directly by favoring students of their own race. In all of these instances, the quality of education in the school suffers for some students, and ultimately for all. If the principal does not face such things directly, and encourage the teachers to talk with him in a non-threatening atmosphere about these problems, the teachers will be much more likely to try to cover up their feelings and actions themselves, and the damage will continue to be done. Facing them, on the other hand, often opens a way to removing them. It is the principal who is in the best position to take the lead here.

The Spirit of a School System: (3) The Teacher

After all the deliberations of the School Board and Superintendent, the instructions from the Principal, the wants of the parents, it all finally comes down to the classroom. This is where education happens, or where it short-circuits. And here the teacher is all-important. A beautiful building, the most modern equipment, the best textbooks, students who want to learn - it is primarily the teacher who determines whether all these work together to develop their full potential, or whether they fail to do so. And when conditions are less advantageous, it is primarily the teacher who must overcome such deficiencies as exist, or, if they cannot do this, add their own deficiencies to those already on hand.

All that has been said earlier about board members and administrators learning to recognize and handle their feelings about relating to other human beings applies also to teachers. If a teacher cannot relate as easily to a student of another race, or to a student whose hair length or style of dress she disapproves of, as to those students who are naturally attractive to her, her ability to teach all her students will suffer.

Once the teacher has learned to handle her (or his) own emotions, however, she can lead her students in a positive approach to the same understanding in their lives, at least within the classroom. As we discussed earlier in the section on textbooks, we believe that a student should be encouraged to think of himself or herself in a way that recognizes, rather than ignores, cultural differences. This is not only true of blacks, although that is most obvious in many Arkansas districts. American Indians, Chicanos, Oriental-Americans, Cubans and Puerto Ricans, and other ethnic minorities are also represented in the schools of our state. Low-income white students often suffer from much the same sort of bias against the way they dress, the way they speak English, the kind of music they listen to, and the way their parents live.

Rule 9: IF CULTURAL VALUES ARE NOT OPENLY DISCUSSED AND VARIETY CONSCIOUSLY RESPECTED, IT IS INEVITABLE THAT STUDENTS WHO DEVIATE FROM THE TEACHER'S (IMPLIED OR STATED) NORM, WILL CONCLUDE THAT THEIR DIFFERENCES ARE SOMETHING TO FEEL GUILTY ABOUT, OR, IF THEY OVERCOME THIS, SOMETHING THAT THE SCHOOL AUTHORITIES CONSIDER "BAD".

Findings at the San Francisco Multicultural Institute and other places that have studied ways to develop respect between ethnic groups whose values, speech patterns, and customs are often quite diverse, indicate that there is great value in helping students develop a positive ethnic identity as part of their formal education. (The alternative, as used to be said about sex education, is that "they pick it up on the street corner", often in very anti-social forms..) It is unspeakable for a student to be insulted because of his ethnic and cultural values, for example, the Arkansas schools in which black students have been told that "All niggers are inferior and we don't want any of you here", (sometimes in those precise words); it is almost as bad for well-meaning teachers or principals, black or white, to act as if he were white, for example, the teachers who lecture young black men about wearing "Afro" hair styles, telling them in a fatherly way that "It makes so many people mad that it just isn't worth it"; it is not much better to pretend that differences do not exist, and attempt to run a class on the basis of "We're all the same inside this classroom". This, as we have said, leads the students to conclude that being what they are is so bad that no one will talk about it in public. This is especially true and especially demoralizing for younger students in the primary grades.

The alternative is to find a way in which each student can come to appreciate his or her own uniqueness, and also the individuality of the other students. In some cases, where staff sensitivity and physical space permit, good results have been achieved by having students spend a part of each day or week in ethnic studies groups. For example, if there are several black students, they would be placed in one group, preferably with a black adult leader who might be a teacher, or a trained person recruited from the community for the purpose. Rural white students might constitute another group. Jewish students, Chicano or Indian students, Oriental-American students, or any other minority with enough numbers to form a group could be placed in the same way. These groups then study their own history, contributions to mankind, present conditions, distinctive style of dress, foods, family patterns, and the like. The groups should be encouraged to share their "own thing" with other groups: the Jewish group might invite the white Protestant group and prepare a display dealing with early white explorers or settlers in the locality.

This describes an ideal situation, such a mix of students would be rare in most Arkansas schools, with the possible exception of some localities, and some city schools. Each class within a school, of course, will represent a unique situation in this respect. Each class must be the person who adapts good multicultural education to her class in a way that fits her students. We feel that the benefits to her, to the students, to the school system, and the community, will be great if she does this, but, precisely <u>how</u> she does it will vary from one situation to the next.

It will occur to most teachers (and most school board members) at once, that this sort of positive attention to ethnic uniqueness can easily become controversial. Many whites will be insulted by the implication that the way that local white folks live is not the best of all possible ways of live, and should not be imposed (benevolently if possible, but by coercion or discipline if necessary) on everyone else in the community.

Many black parents want desperately for their children to be taught "to fit in", not realizing how degrading this can be to their self-confidence. Many black separatists will not want black students to study black culture in the context of a white-dominated school system, and will equate it with "brainwashing". Some militant advocates of the "youth culture" will no doubt maintain that their culture is also unique, and that students who regard themselves self-consciously as members of that culture should be given a group of their own in which no one over thirty (twenty-one? eighteen?) would be permitted. (And they might have a point there.)

We feel strongly that the benefits to all will more than outweigh the criticism that will almost certainly come from some directions. We see, in fact, no alternative that will not lead to poorer results and at least as much criticism, and feel it better to be criticized for doing well than for doing poorly.

Rule 10: THE TEACHER MUST LEARN TO GET BEYOND STEREOTYPES AND REACTIONS OF ATTRACTION OR DISLIKE, IN ORDER TO SEE STUDENTS AS INDIVIDUALS.

We have already discussed the difficulties that many teachers encounter in handling their own feelings about students whose race or style or like is different from their own. This is a natural reaction, and one that everyone has, to some extent. Any "Straight" adult or teenager probably felt an intense dose of "culture shock" when first they set eyes on a hippie. A person who considers himself a "freak" (and they use the word proudly) feels the same reaction of alienation and mistrust when he sees a male student or teacher in a crewcut. Many whites just feel uncomfortable and uneasy around blacks, and vice-versa.

The all-important point is that this is a natural reaction. It does not mean that the teacher is licked into a hostile attitude, or that she and "different students will never learn to communicate with each other. Many teachers, though consciously working to do so, have taught themselves to see beyond skin color or hair length, and to meet each student as a unique human being. All good teachers have done so, or more accurately, are constantly in the process of doing so.

It is only when the teacher sanctifies her instantaneous reactions that the situation, and her ability to handle it, begin to deteriorate. If she concludes, as many do, that the facts are that she doesn't like the way black students dress or wear their hair, its a problem that the black student, not she, should correct, then problems are brewing. If she, even unconsciously, seems to feel that her likes are good and the things that provoke her dislikes are bad, then she has locked herself

into unhealthy patterns. (This problem is not confined to white teachers, of course; this is just an example of something that any of us may tend to do. It is often harder for a white teacher, however, when she sees that all the people she has been taught to respect as community leaders dress and speak pretty much as she does, and are inclined to dislike and discriminate against those who are different.)

Although the teacher may not realize it, many of her ways of dress, and many of her customs, may be strange or even offensive to her students. Unless she learns to recognize her own feelings in this respect, she cannot begin to lead her students in coming to see her as a person worthy of their respect.

It is basic to good teaching, of course, to understand which student might need firm discipline, which might need friendly understanding, which might need counseling, and which might just need a little time to work things out for himself. This, too, is only possible if a teacher knows students as individuals. Many black students complain, for example, that teachers will refer white students to a counselor in situations in which they send blacks to the principal for discipline - not through malice so much as lack of sensitivity or concern.

The teacher should conscientiously take advantage of in-service training, summer school, membership in and contact with community groups of all sorts, and all other opportunities to develop this competence in herself.

Rule 11: TEACHERS SHOULD PARTICIPATE ALONG WITH ADMINISTRATORS AND STUDENTS IN THE DETERMINATION OF POLICY AND THE WORKING-OUT OF HUMAN RELATIONS WITHIN THE SCHOOL.

We have already advocated that students be included in the making of school policy with regard to such matters as hair and dress codes, fair ways of electing officers, etc., who represent all parts of the student body, setting standards for equal disciplinary treatment, and the like. We also feel that teachers should be included in such matters. Again, the point is not that the running of a school should be taken from administration and turned over to someone else, but that everyone should be encouraged to express their honest feelings about what should be done in many situations, even though they may not be able to win official approval for their opinion. It is important to point out here that it is not enough for a principal to say "My office is open to anyone who wants to talk to me about anything". Specific organizations and regular meetings should be set up for exchange of opinion. In some cases a special committee made up of administrators, teachers, and students has been a useful vehicle to advise about policy and decide desciplinary matters.

Additionally, teachers who serve as advisors to newspapers, pep squads, clubs, student councils, or other groups, whould take the lead in helping those groups become a positive force for good human relations. If a group is staying segregated, for instance, in spite of a policy that it is open to anyone, there is a good chance that some latent hostility is involved, perhaps by those in the group, against those who are not joining or perhaps the reverse. It is just as important that all students within these groups be treated equally. We have had complaints about coaches who, it was said, let the black players move the ball within the five yard line, and they put white in to score the touchdown. This seems to be a rather poor way to teach sportsmanship, to say nothing of human relations.

A final problem that should be mentioned is the difficulty often encountered by black teachers who participate in activities of the black community, especially activities that are concerned with reform within the schools or the community.

It often happens that these teachers, in the course of working for changes they feel should take place, find themselves opposing a principal or superintendent or school board member. This is the right of any citizen, of course; but the black often is exposed to the danger of losing his or her job as a result. They become known as a "trouble-maker", "disloyalty" to the school system is alledged, and soon the teacher's contract renewal becomes a matter of controversy. Clearly, this deprives the teacher of a basic right. White teachers who jump in on the other side and exhort the community to resist the request of black seldom have any questions asked of them, in our experience.

The Spirit of a School System: (5) The Students

A representative of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations recently visited both the Superintendent of Schools and one of the most "militant" leaders of the Black community in an Arkansas town, in the course of a single afternoon. Both of these men expressed the same concern about the black students of the town. The concern was that the students would find activism, demonstrating, and organizing for political power so much more interesting than school that they would neglect their school work, and thus be deprived of the maximum benefits of their time in school. They used different words, of course. The Superintendent said, "We have some agitators here who like nothing more than to keep the students stirred up all the time, and they've taught them to be hostile toward the schools. They come to school expecting to be discriminated against and no matter what we do, they won't believe that we can be fair, and this makes them treat the teachers disrespectfully, refuse to work and drop out much quicker than white students". The Black leaders said, "I hope the students won't lose confidence in the adults to make some progress with conditions in the schools. If the students develop a taste for being out on the streets, they'll waste the whole year in school. At least they won't learn what the schools are there to teach, and what they'll need to get into college. The Black community needs activists who are willing to get out in the streets, but they need doctors and lawyers even more, and we'll never get them if our brightest kids never go to school, or spend all of their time there planning what they'll do after school".

This reflects a polarized situation, one that can only be improved by a painfully slow process of growing respect on all sides. But this process cannot even begin until communications begin and until at least a few people within the black community and the administration are willing to admit that they are in a losing game and they'd like to find a way to improve. Like the alcholic, the divided school system often cannot be helped until it admits it needs help.

We believe that the student's obligation is to learn. In some cases his ideas of what this means will vary greatly from the teachers' or principals' ideas. In these cases, we feel his opinion should be heard, taken seriously, and, if it is an improvement over present conditions, adopted. In no case should his opinion be rebuffed on the basis of some blanket pretext like "What they really want, is to run the school", or, "Somebody has to be responsible for decisions around here and I think it's the principal's job" - comments we have often heard advanced as reasons for refusing to listen to students at all.

On the other hand, we think it is more unfortunate if the relationship between students and his school becomes entirely "politicized", as the jargon has it. When this happens, school becomes a battle-ground where contending forces struggle for power over each other. Relationships tend to be based on a jealous defense of legal rights rather than any sense of participation in a common venture.

Most school officials recognize this as a bad thing, when it is done by students, when any innocence stepping over the legal line leads immediately to court cases and charges and counter-charges. They less frequently recognize that it is equally destructive to relationships when it is done by school officials, when a principal, for example, becomes so jealous of the rights and perrogatives of his office, and so legalistic about the school's rules, that does nothing more than announce the rules, and is unwilling to attempt to explain them, far less discuss with students whether they might need some changing. If a school system stands so strictly on its rules that it cannot adapt them to individuals, or share with their students in the rule-making, then they should not be surprised if their students try to make them stand strictly by the Constitution of the United States when it comes to the right to circulate petitions, or wear long hair, or refues to pledge allegiance to the flag. After all, that attitude is what they've learned in school.

Rule 12: STUDENTS, RATHER THAN SEEKING "STUDENT POWER" FOR ITS OWN SAKE, SHOULD SET AN EXAMPLE FOR THE SYSTEM BY SEEKING THE POWER TO PARTICIPATE FULLY AND EQUALLY, GUARDING THAT PRIVILEGE FOR EVERYONE ELSE AS MUCH AS FOR THEMSELVES.

Unchecked student power, whether it is channeled through unofficial channels such as planned disruption or intimidation, or in the rare instances in which it finds official channels, is no more benevolent itself than superintendent power or principal power. In each case, the people are hunting for a way out that lets them rely on

rules rather than relationships, on necessity rather than choice, and the power they gain will soon be off set by an acceleration by "the other side". We support the abolition of sides, but only when it is done honestly, and everyone concerned is given a fair voice in the dialogue that determines the course of the schools.

Obviously, students are the most important part of a school. It exists for them, in as much as the provision of the good education has been defined as good for the whole community, and the schools commissioned to do this job. Despite their importance, however, students often have nothing to say about the school boards and principals have student advisory committees, representative of the racial and economic character of the community - and that their advice be respected.

We believe that students should be encouraged by faculty and administration to develop and express their opinions in every aspect of the school's life. Students newspapers (uncensored), student governments, student human relations counsels, student participation in policy-making, PTA, disciplinary decisions, evaluation of curriculum and teachers, and representation on faculty administration committees are important channels for such dialogue.

We believe that students should accord this same right to others. Student newspapers should be open to any teacher or administrator or PTA member to express an opinion, even one that students might not agree with. Teachers who advocate unpopular ideas should be permitted to advocate them (though not to require that their student accept them) without being harrassed as a result. The goal of activity in the school should be participation by all in a joint endeavor, not merely student power at the expense of someone else's rights.

Secondly, we have noticed that it is all to easy for a counselor to steer black students toward traditionally black jobs. This may be because vocational preference also often misleading because of built-in racial bias. On the other hand, it may be because the counselor himself may unconsciously assume that black students will not be motivated to become physicians, business administrators, or for that matter, airline pilots, or to seek other jobs that in our society have traditionally been occupied by whites.

With the coming of unification, many white counselors are working with black students for the first time, and many black students are being quided for the first time, by white counselors. In all black schools, despite all of their disadvantages, both the teachers and counselors were often intimately aware of the background, the attitudes and the aspirations of their students and were equally aware of the needs of the black community for well educated leadership in many positions. In their new school, black students frequently find themselves with the opportunity to work with counselors who

have received excellent training in guidance and psychology and have acquired much experience in vocational attitude quidance. But if the personal interest is lost, if the intense desire that this student do well and become a beneficial member of his community fulfilling his own potential in the process is missing, then the most important element has gone out of the counseling that student has received.

We feel that the primary responsibility for being sensitive to this situation and taking steps to correct it lies with the counselor himself. Unless they are exceptionally alert already, students frequently do not know what services or attitudes to expect from a guidance counselor, and frequently approach them with uncertainty or trepidation. This uncertainty is, of course, amplified if the student is black and the counselor is white, or for that matter, if the situation is reversed. In either case, it is the counselor who defines the counseling situation, and who therefore has primary responsibility for the role he plays in that situation.

Especially useful to counselors in this situation are the sort of workshop experiences which deals with the counselors' ability to draw out and advise the client about his needs, without giving way to the temptation to manipulate or dominate the situation. Such training is available in workshops of the type conducted by the National Training Laboratories and other qualified organizations who specialize in this kind of service.

The Spirit of a School System: (7) Parents

It often seems the role assigned to parents in a school system is confined to seeing that their children attend school, and beyond that only to supporting the decisions made by school officials. If parents attempt to do more than this, or to assert themselves at any policy-making level in the school system, it often happens that they are seen as "intruders". This frequently leads to parents being either resented or excluded at precisely the moment when their interest "or agitation" is at its highest level. What results can the administrator expect from rejecting the parents' interest or agitation at this point? If the parent is interested in becoming involved in the work or the policy of the school system in some specific, positive way, and is told that his role should be to leave all such decisions to professional educators and merely support their right to make them, the parent is far less likely actually to support that administrator in practice than if he felt himself to be involved in the planning itself. On the other hand, if the parent is agitated about something that has come up in the district or if he is disturbed about something that is involving his child, he is likely to feel that the situation is being covered up and therefore will not be corrected. This is especially true in Arkansas in 1971 if the parent is one race and the administrator another. Sound management procedure itself teaches that any person involved on any level in a system with tasks to be accomplished, will support the policy and decisions of that organization much more fully if he feels that he has a place, and that his honest opinion is wanted and will carry some weight in decision-making. As we have said before, this is not to say that the administrator should abdicate his responsibility and turn it over to any other person in the school

system or the community. The administrator who most adequately fulfills his responsibility, however, will be the one who is able to include students, parents, teachers, and, indeed, everyone concerned in "the spirit" of the school system.

Having said all this, we now want to go on and say that in general it is good when a parent can support his public school system and support the administrators and teachers in the performance of their cities. If parents are encouraged to play a responsible role in the school system, it will help the system function better and help them perform their role better if they, too, take care of the feelings and the motivation of others.

It is good for parents to understand and support their children, it is good for them to stand behind them if they are being treated unfairly at school. On the other hand, it is also good for the parent to attempt to find out if the conditions described by his child are actually those that exist, and also to hear "the other side of the story".

Most situations that arise within the school systems are complicated by a variety of feelings and fears and divergent motivations. All of us are inclined to simplify these complex situations, especially when we feel that we have no way to find out what is really going on. There are, of course, still many cases of blatant racial discrimination in Arkansas. Students are frequently dealt with in a certain way merely because they are black, or because they have long hair, or because in some way they have become known as "misfits" in the system, but there are many other cases in which the student or teacher or parent will feel certain that this is the sole cause of discipline or a poor grade, or the like, and in which the actual situation is much more complicated. The blacks seem to ascribe motives of malicious racism, to persons whose actions are motivated much more by insensitivity and ignorance of how to deal with the situation which they face, or how to handle their own fears aroused by that situation. Many whites react in precisely the same way in reverse.

In a system in which problems that arise are discussed openly and in a democratic matter, these problems seem to remain at a lower level of intensity than in systems in which all decisions are made as a prerogative of the position occupied by the person making the decision. If for example, a matter involving the discipline is handled by a committee of administrators, teachers, and students with whom both the student and his parents are free to meet and talk, both are likely to accept that decision; the parent is more likely to support it and to encourage the student to accept it as a fair decision under the circumstances. If such matters are decided by one person, even if he acts with complete propriety, it is difficult to avoid the appearance that autocratic and arbitrary decisions are made. And obviously, neither the student nor the parent will be nearly so likely to understand or to accept the fairness of a decision made in this manner. Perhaps a final word should be said at this point about the temptation toward separatism that exist both within the black and white community. We feel that

there is, in general, a basic difference in the forms of separatism that emerge within the two communities. As we have already stated in this booklet, we believe that there is real value in a program which permits a student, for a part of his school day or week, to familiarize himself with his own ethnic history in the company of those who share his history and culture, that is, of his own ethnic group. On the other hand, we feel that the value of this, as well as many other values, are lost if a school or system is entirely segregated, especially within the white communities separatist tendencies seem often to lead to such things as private "segregation academies". If this spirit triumphs, human relations will become for all practical purpose impossible, either in the school or community. Therefore, I would like to quote a paragraph from a policy paper prepared for the use of our staff recently, which speaks to the movement among white parents to withdraw their children from the public schools and by so doing to withdraw their support from the public schools system.

> "The A.C.H.R. supports that form of education which most benefits all citizens of a community, especially the members of lower-income and minority groups. We feel that at the present time, in most communities around the state, this form of education is the public school system. The public schools, supported by local, state, and federal funds are the only schools available to everyone, regardless to economic status, and thus having the potential to provide equal education for all citizens. Because of the money available to them, the public schools are more likely, than others, to provide the facilities and equipment which contribute toward a good education. They are more likely to be able to afford qualified teachers, counselors, and other personnel, to offer a complete curriculum and thus, through their accreditation and reputation, to maintain the respect of college and other institutions."

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The Arkansas Council on Human Relations would like to express its appreciation to the Emergency School Assistance Project and the Interboard Committee on Crisis (Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Ga.) for their financial assistance in printing this booklet.

We are especially appreciative to Dr. Theodore B. Elliott, Professor of Education at the AM&N College, Pine Bluff, Arkansas; Mr. Edwin L. Hawkins, Principal, Central High School, Little Rock, Arkansas; and Mr. Paul Ingram, Principal of Camden High School, Camden, Arkansas, for their suggestions for changes in certain parts of this booklet.

Too, while "Bill" Holshouser, ESAP Director and Associate Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations was the moving force behind the development of this booklet, credit is due Russell Hawkins who succeeded Bill as ESAP Director.

NOTE:

The thoughts and ideas expressed in this booklet are not necessarily those of the Emergency School Assistant Project or the Interboard Committee on Crisis (Presbyterian Church).

THE SOUTH AND HER CHILDREN:

School Desegregation 1970-1971

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Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

March, 1971

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INTRODUCTION

For a number of years the Southern Regional Council has issued periodic reports on school desegregation. These reports have, properly, analyzed federal governmental policy, court decisions, local administrative responses and the statistical results of those actions.

In the summer of 1970, as we planned this year's report, we sensed that the 1970-71 school year would be the most crucial one since 1954. More importantly, we agreed that now was the time to determine what was happening to education, to the children.

As a measure of our priorities, we assigned six staff members to the study. Each is identified in the report. The work was coordinated by our Research Department; the full report was edited by Robert E. Anderson, Jr. A number of other persons on the staff and outside the agency assisted with the research or read portions of the manuscript. We are grateful to them all for sharing with us the sense of the crucial importance of public education in the region at this time.

The report begins with a general appraisal of school desegregation in the region and concludes with a discussion by four black high school students who explain in concrete, specific terms what their first year of desegregated schooling has meant to them. In between are four community studies and an assessment of the continuing segregation academy movement. The four communities each reflect a different facet of the larger story. Three of the cities—Athens, Charlotte, and Mobile—were before the Supreme Court in October, 1970, and it seemed wise to report in detail on the crucial issues arising from their experience.

The report reveals, I believe, that those who say that segregation problems are solved direct attention away from the very real ones that remain, and support away from those trying to solve them. Those who, on the other hand, say all is lost have much the same effect, and encourage further retreat of the federal government and opinion leaders from the national commitment to equal education.

Emerging from this report is one highly significant point. Six sensitive and competent individuals went their own ways, essentially, to produce sections of the total. Some surveyed better situations, some the worst. Each independently concluded that the important and hopeful factor was that the students were there and involved in determining their own destiny.

This is, of course, an unfinished report. And, tragically, it probably cannot be finished for a number of years. Just as we have lost so much precious time and done so much human damage by stupidity, viciousness, and ignorance, so we seem destined to do more. Yet, we must educate our young. We must have faith in them. Perhaps, now, at least we have begun to do both.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

THE REGION IN PERSPECTIVE

By Paul M. Gaston

I: The Numbers Game

The 1970 school year has been widely celebrated as a watershed in the long struggle for the desegregation of southern schools: sixteen years after the Supreme Court declared segregation to be unconstitutional white and black children of the region seemed finally to be going to school together.

Early in the fall, HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson announced that all but 76 of the South's some 2,700 schools districts—97% of the total—were desegregated, and that 90.5% of the region's white and black students were attending schools in desegregated districts.[1] President Nixon boasted of the achievement, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, one of his most articulate counselors, fairly glowed with optimism. In a New York *Times* guest column, Moynihan reported that black children attending schools in desegregated districts had soared from 4.3% in 1967 and 6.1% in 1968 to 90% in 1970. It was with good reason, he believed, that the Southern Regional Council, in 1968, had issued a critical report entitled *Lawlessness and Disorder: Fourteen Years of Failure in Southern School Desegregation.*[2] Two years later it was a different world. When he took leave of federal service to return to Harvard, Moynihan appeared to be saying that no such report would ever be required again, for "that great symbol of racial segregation, the dual school system in the South, virtually intact two years ago, has quietly and finally been dismantled."[3]

To most southern veterans of the school desegregation struggle, the Administration appeared to be playing a deceptive game of numbers. To report desegregation progress in terms of *districts* said to be in compliance resulted in high figures but said nothing about the desegregation of *schools.* It obscured the fact that the pattern of segregation within so-called desegregated districts was widespread, and reinforced the fear that

[1] HEW News, October 22, 1970. This news release understated the number of public school students in the South by more than a million. (In this report, as in HEW figures, "South" means the eleven states of the old Confederacy.)

[2] New York *Times,* September 22, 1970. Moynihan pointedly endorsed SRC's 1968 report, which was critical of the enforcement policies of the Johnson Administration, but was silent about its 1969 report—*The Federal Retreat in School Desegregation*—which was critical of the Nixon Administration.

[3] New York *Times,* December 23, 1970.

the Administration's retreat from school desegregation, begun in 1969, was in 1970 going to be frozen into a policy that would condone extensive segregation as a permanent condition in the region.

Not until mid-January—months after the original data had made their impact—did HEW release figures concerning the actual extent of school desegregation. According to these preliminary estimates, which may not be accurate but are the only comprehensive ones available, 38.1% of southern black students are enrolled in schools with a predominantly white student body; 20.4% attend predominantly black schools ranging from 50% to 79.9% black; 23.1% attend desegregated schools in which the enrollment is 80% or more black; and 18.4% attend all-black schools.[4]

These figures do in fact reflect a significant increase in school desegregation. It would be fair to say that, for the first time, school desegregation in one degree or another is the rule rather than the exception for the children of the South. This is a far cry, however, from the final dismantling of the dual system; and the mere numbers which the Administration celebrates scarcely justify Secretary Richardson's boast that they "show clearly and dramatically that unprecedented progress has been made in school desegregation since 1968."[5] Senator Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, put the matter more accurately. "We have begun to tear down the outward manifestations of legal segregation," he wrote in December, "but we have not achieved real desegregation or quality education on the basis of a mutual respect."[6]

II: Federal Policy and National Commitment

The destruction of the "outward manifestations of legal segregation," while accelerated this year, has proceeded unevenly and largely within restrictive bounds set by the Administration. Most of the momentum for the move, moreover, came from the Supreme Court's *Alexander* decision (October, 1969)—a decision opposed by the Administration. In that case, the Court set aside its own "deliberate speed" doctrine, replacing it with a mandate to desegregate forthwith. The Administration, already deep in its policy of enforcement slowdown, was faced in 1970 with the task of finding a viable means of complying with the Court's decisions without abandoning its cautious and restricted approach.

In March the President announced his policy. On the one hand, he would have the government prosecute deliberate and official acts of segre-

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[4] HEW News, January 14, 1971. Comparative percentages of the extent of desegregation for 1970 (estimated) and 1968 are as follows:

	1970	*1968*
Blacks as a percentage of school population	27.2%	26.6%
Blacks in majority white schools	38.1	18.4
Blacks in schools 50%-79.9% black	20.4	2.8
Blacks in schools 80%-99.9% black	23.1	10.8
Blacks in all-black schools	18.4	68.0

[5] HEW News, January 14, 1971.

[6] Walter F. Mondale, "Think of These Children," *New Republic*, December 26, 1970, p. 15.

gation. On the other, while recognizing the legitimacy of busing as a means of implementing various assignment plans, he would support the neighborhood school as essential to public education and he would oppose the transportation of students beyond what he called normal geographic school zones to achieve the disestablishment of the dual system.

Officials of HEW and the Justice Department operated within this framework during the summer, exerting pressure on districts still not in compliance, and multidistrict suits were brought in Mississippi and Texas. Meanwhile, Charlotte, North Carolina, and Athens, Georgia, each in different ways, implemented plans that were at odds with the Nixon doctrine. In both places the old dual system was in fact disestablished: through a combination of zoning and pairing, and with the extensive use of free transportation, unitary systems were established in which there were no white schools, no black schools, just schools. Both plans were taken on appeal to the Supreme Court. In Mobile, a plan which was closer to the Nixon ideal—and one which retained segregated schools—was likewise appealed to the Court. All three cases were argued in late October and the Court's decision was expected to resolve at least some of the argument over the extent to which segregated schools are permissible in "unitary" districts.

While the Court studied the cases before it, the Administration continued its attempt to persuade the American public not only that desegregation was operating smoothly and largely without violence, but that the major objectives of the *Brown* decision were on the verge of being realized in the South. Whether white Americans would agree that what Mr. Moynihan once called "benign neglect" should now be prescribed for the racial and school problems of the South, they appeared increasingly receptive to the government's arguments. Obsessed with inflation, unemployment, pollution of the air and water, drug abuse, a baffling and irreverent youth culture—not to mention crime in the streets, revolt on the campus, pornography at the movies, and the war in Vietnam—most white Americans in 1970 seemed eager to believe that school desegregation in the South was one thing that could be written off their list of concerns.

According to a Harris poll conducted at the end of the year, Americans did not consider school desegregation to be among the "top problems" with which Congress should be concerned—despite the fact that the Mondale Committee had by then compiled an impressive amount of evidence underscoring the need for Congressional action. Education ranked eighth in the list of priorities (behind student unrest) and racial problems fell in tenth place.[7] The President reflected this national complacency when he ignored desegregation in his assessment of the state of the union.

Shifting national concerns have combined with other developments to blunt the drive for genuine integration. For one thing, the long-standing alliance between civil rights forces and the federal government, weakened in the last years of the Johnson Administration and shattered in the first year of the Nixon Administration, has shown no signs of coming to life

[7] Harris Survey, Washington *Post*, January 4, 1971.

again. As one veteran civil rights leader remarked at a strategy meeting in the fall, "you used to be able to telephone Washington; at least somebody would listen sympathetically. Now, there's nobody to talk to." Within the government, to make matters worse, officials charged with civil rights enforcement resigned to protest the lack of leadership and commitment from the President, and many of their replacements lack both the experience and the will to pursue desegregation effectively.[8]

Added to the diminished influence of civil rights leaders and the resignation of their friends from HEW and the Justice Department is the crystallization of another development that threatens to give intellectual and moral respectability to the dissipation of the desegregation effort. For sometime now—especially since racial problems have rent the North as well as the South—white Northern liberals, once sympathetic to school desegregation, have begun to have second thoughts. In student radical circles, where the crusade for integration was once a passionate concern, the issue has been shelved along with other *passé* delusions of the liberal establishment. Reinforcing the will to retreat of both groups, many outspoken blacks (primarily Northern) now add to their devastating critique of white-dominated desegregation the cry for black control of community schools as the only realistic alternative to the white man's sham pretensions to equal treatment. Continued failure in the South could scarcely help but strengthen the hand of those whose doubt and disillusionment is already high.

III: The "Unitary" System

It was in this atmosphere of administrative caution and national uncertainty that the new era of the unitary school system spread across the South in 1970. In *Green v. New Kent County, Virginia* (1968), the Supreme Court defined a unitary school system as one "without a 'white' school and a 'Negro' school, but just schools." It is this kind of system that allegedly exists in 97% of the southern school districts.

Granted the vagueness of the definition of a unitary system, one could hardly imagine an interpretation that would accommodate the kinds of situations that abound in the region. Not only do segregated schools exist on a wide scale within many "unitary" districts, but even within desegregated schools methods both ingenious and disingenuous have been used to separate blacks from whites and to place both psychological and physical burdens on black students. Classroom segregation, for example, was discovered in 273 of 467 districts monitored in September for one major study of compliance in the region.[9] The separation was sometimes arranged without apology or justification, but more frquently as the con-

[8] In an attempt to deny the significance of the resignations, then Assistant Attorney General William Ruckelhaus told an audience at Mount Holyoke College that the resignations of nineteen civil rights division lawyers between January and June could be regarded as "normal attrition." Washington *Post*, October 21, 1970.

[9] American Friends Service Committee; Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches; Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; and Washington Research Project, *The Status of School Desegregation in the South, 1970*, p. 31.

sequence of a greatly expanded "ability tracking" system, a method of assignment that has been widely perverted to perpetuate segregation.

The purpose of the *Brown* decision was to prohibit the unconstitutional practice of school segregation and to eliminate the kinds of discrimination that did irreparable harm to Negro students. Under the unitary system presently in operation, desegregation has all to frequently substituted new forms to perpetuate old injustices.

For example, unitary systems have frequently been created by closing down (or downgrading) formerly all-black schools and shifting the black students to the "white" schools. In the process, the blacks are the ones who take the longest bus rides, and when they get to school they find that "unitary" means preservation of the white school, with its traditions and symbols (and often its old school officers), and obliteration of the distinctive features of the black school. Discrimination in school activities further impresses on blacks the attitude that they are pawns in a white man's game.

Compounding the hurt, black students find that the authority figures who once gave them pride and a sense of security—generally their principals, but also many of their teachers and coaches—have been dismissed or demoted, and they face in their new schools a white authority structure rendered even more insidious by the proliferation of "assistant" principals who once were persons of commanding authority. As one black group put it, "Many students merely find themselves in a new world with no Black anchors to hang onto, as they try to adjust. They are faced with new standards, new teachers, new rules, new curriculums."[10] In those cases in which whites are transferred to formerly all-black schools, fumigation teams have sometimes preceded them, acting out an ancient white prejudice, now referred to cynically as "deniggerizing" the old school. These indignities, and others that will be discussed subsequently, proceed from a combination of mindlessness, sometimes well-intentioned, and deeply embedded racism, often only vaguely sensed.

If the federal government anticipated praise for facilitating this kind of "unitary system," and if it felt that its "unprecedented progress" would prevent the appearance of harsh judgments of its performance, it must have been sorely disappointed, for this has been a banner year for critical evaluations.

In a searing report published in December, the Washington Research Project and five associated groups concluded that, overall, "the progress of desegregation is in imminent danger of failure if new and stronger policies are not implemented at the federal level."[11] The Washington *Post* called the report "cheerless" and observed that "one can hardly escape astonishment at the meannesses and cruelties revealed by the study."[12] The Administration's Emergency School Assistance Program, hastily devised to underwrite programs aimed at making desegregation effective,

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[10]The Educational Resources Center, *Racism and the Desegregating Process: A Mississippi Study* (December, 1970), p. 21.
[11]*Status of School Desegregation,* p. 1.
[12]Washington *Post,* December 26, 1970.

was faulted by the same group. HEW was accused, among other things, of "acquiescence in fraud perpetrated by local school officials."[13]

Two additional studies—one by the National Education Association and one by the Race Relations Information Center—revealed in detail the shocking plight of black teachers and principals. The NEA, focusing on Mississippi and Louisiana, reported "massive displacement of black educators" and quoted with approval the judgment of Rims Barber of the Delta Ministry that

> Black teachers are being emasculated and stripped of their standing before their own communities. Teachers with years of experience are being assigned as teacher aides or assistants to white teachers. New job categories are being created; black Mississippians will explain to you that "Co-principal is short for colored principal."[14]

The RRIC special report surveyed the entire region, concluding that "the apparent effect of desegregation on black teachers across the South this year has been more negative than positive." Rather than helping to expand the professional opportunities of black teachers, school desegregation is contracting them. Hundreds of black teachers "have been demoted, dismissed outright, denied new contracts or pressured into resigning, and the teachers hired to replace them include fewer and fewer blacks."[15]

IV: Resistance and Oppression

Writing last summer, Paul Rilling, the former southeastern regional civil rights director of HEW, said that "in the last analysis, the results in 1970-71 will depend on the posture of the federal government." Like his superior, Leon Panetta, Mr. Rilling had resigned to protest the weakening of the federal will to enforce desegregation. Further progress was dependent on the federal government, Rilling declared, because "sweeping changes will not come voluntarily in the South in 1970, any more than in other years."[16]

There have been (as will be seen later in this report) many remarkable changes, some instituted voluntarily. Of more than symbolic significance, for example, one thinks of Yolanda King, whose father once struggled to explain to her why he could not take her to Fun Town in Atlanta, now president of the junior class at the predominantly white Henry Grady High School; or, of Virginia Holton, whose father, the Governor of Virginia, could have sent her elsewhere, attending overwhelmingly black John F. Kennedy High School, and becoming a cheerleader.

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[13] *The Emergency School Assistance Program: An Evaluation*, p. 61. According to another critic, "the $75 million in emergency school funds . . . was intended to be used and was used mostly as a straight payoff for their minimal compliance with the law. President Nixon's personal order was to 'get that money out there' and it was gotten 'out there,' as often as not in flagrant disregard of the nominal requirement that school districts receiving it abandon or correct any and all forms of racial discrimination in the schools." John Osborne, "Call it Desegregation," *New Republic*, January 30, 1971, p. 5.

[14] National Education Association, *Report of Task Force III—School Desegregation: Louisiana and Mississippi* (November, 1970), p. 5.

[15] Robert W. Hooker, *Displacement of Black Teachers in the Eleven Southern States* (Nashville: Race Relations Information Center, December, 1970), p. 1.

[16] *South Today*, July-August, 1970, p. 6.

But the unfortunate truth is that, given ample opportunity by federal enforcement policies, too many southern school leaders not only failed to institute "sweeping changes" but showed instead that they were still able both to frustrate the intent of federal law and damage the welfare of the children in their charge.

The frustration of court orders and HEW-approved plans was widespread. Governor Holton tried to set a good example by sending his daughter to a predominantly black school, but other leaders were defiant. George Wallace advised Mobilians to defy the law by placing their children in schools of their choice; Lester Maddox told Georgians to exercise "freedom-of-choice," whatever the courts might have ordered; and John Bell Williams, Governor of Mississippi, both counseled resistance and dramatized his personal opposition to desegregation by putting his children in private school.

The examples set by these and other unreconstructed leaders were taken to heart by thousands of private citizens and hundreds of public officials; and they found numerous ways of preventing enforcement of the law. In Mobile, for example, more than a thousand children turned up at schools to which they were not assigned. William B. Crane, chairman of the Board of School Commissioners, gave them moral encouragement by describing the court-ordered plan as "asinine." It was made by federal officials, he remarked, "and they can enforce it."[17]

Elsewhere, in less well-publicized incidents, white parents adopted all sorts of strategies to keep their children out of the newly desegregated schools. In some districts parents falsified their addresses to get their children preferred assignments. For example, a Florida school board put nine agents to work to track down parents said by the superintendent to be "lying and cheating to circumvent the court order."[18] In other areas, such as Hartsville, South Carolina, and Birmingham, Alabama, school officials appeared to raise no objection to illegal transfers. U. W. Clemon, a Legal Defense Fund attorney in Birmingham, claimed that "10,000 white students in Jefferson County alone are openly attending classes in schools where they were not assigned in violation of the court's desegregation order."[19]

Added to these evasions of the law and the insidious forms of classroom segregation discussed earlier, the 1970-71 school year has been characterized by a disturbing increase of numerous forms of in-school discrimination. Almost no form of discrimination that one can imagine has been left untried. The most common have been the exclusion of black students from school organizations, the selection of all-white homecoming courts, and the use of symbols and songs ("Rebel" and "Dixie") reminiscent of a racist tradition.

Tensions produced by in-school discrimination have caused most of the confrontations and violence accompanying the expansion of desegrega-

[17]New York *Times*, September 10, 1970; Washington *Post*, September 10, 1970.
[18]Miami *Herald*, September 18, 1970.
[19]New York *Times*, September 14, 1970; Los Angeles *Times*, October 8, 1970.

tion. The "Dixie" issue, which has wracked schools in all parts of the region, is an instructive example.

At Butler High School, in Huntsville, Alabama, black students (who numbered 302 of the total enrollment of 2,581) objected to the playing of "Dixie" at football games, the use of "Rebels" as the team name, and the display of the Confederate battle flag as the school flag. At a pre-game pep rally in the fall, black students walked out when "Dixie" was played and the Confederate flag waved; some returned later and tore down the flag. In the days that followed, black students—joined by high school and college students from the area—staged a march, 113 black Butler High students were suspended, students engaged police in a fight, mace was used to suppress the protestors, eight black students were arrested, and at one point a planeload of riot equipment was flown in from Chicago to be available to the police.

During the controversy the school superintendent agreed to consider the banning of "Dixie" as well as the display of the Confederate flag. White parents resented the move, insisted that no consideration be given the request of the black students, and in the midst of one mass meeting they all joined in a chorus of "Dixie." When the next football game was played few black student spectators showed up, and several black team members stayed away. The band held back until the fourth quarter when it responded to shouts of "we want Dixie," playing the tune while Confederate banners waved.[20]

"Victory celebrations" of this sort say much about the problems of racial adjustment in the desegregated schools, and failure to see them for what they are accounts for much of the anguish that schools, and their students, have experienced. In South Carolina, for example, the Columbia superintendent noted that the band leaders themselves had decided not to use Dixie. "Of course, to me," he said in an interview, "Dixie is a very beautiful tune. . . . But there is other beautiful music that can be substituted for it. We feel that inconsequential things like that should be avoided if there is any danger of causing conflict."[21]

The belief that quarrels over such issues as "Dixie" are essentially "inconsequential" is apparently held by many white schoolmen, not to mention those farther removed from the scene. Dr. Cyril B. Busbee, State Superintendent of Education in South Carolina, illustrated this attitude in a recent speech before the state's high school principals. Dwelling largely on disciplinary complications brought about by the change to a unitary system, he said that a "school with inadequate discipline cannot conduct a productive program," and then deplored "unwarranted and unnecessary bickering over issues that were essentially trivial . . . such matters as school colors and mascots."[22]

In what used to be ordinary times, when student bodies were more-or-less homogeneous, agitation over such matters as school songs and colors

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[20]Birmingham *News,* October 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 1970.
[21]Columbia (S. C.), *The State,* August 30, 1970.
[22]Columbia (S. C.) *The State,* January 9, 1971.

no doubt could be regarded as "inconsequential" and "trivial." The point, of course, is that these are not ordinary times and student bodies are not homogeneous. To most black students, the strains of "Dixie" are laden with contempt for their dignity. Whites who insist on retaining the song are seen as insensitive and naive, at best; implacable enemies, at worst.

V: Violence and Intimidation

Much of the violence that has taken place this fall stems from the wounds to black sensitivity inflicted by schoolmen either unable or unwilling to come to terms with the racism in their institutions. Consider, for example, the case of Earle, Arkansas.

Earle is a small farming community of 3,000, some twenty miles from Memphis, in the Mississippi Delta. Approximately 60% of the population is black. The mayor, alderman, police chief, and school board members are all white. Earle's schools were desegregated at the beginning of the fall term. According to a special report prepared by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations:

> The mascot of the black school was dropped in favor of the mascot symbol of the white school. The principals of the formerly all black schools became assistant principals of the elementary school and the combined junior-senior high school. The black basketball coach became an assistant coach, although he was the senior coach in the district, and was deprived of his duties of teaching science. White cheerleaders had already been chosen by the students at Earle High, and no effort was made to add any blacks to their number.

Over the summer black leaders who anticipated many of these conditions asked for changes. When school opened, their worst fears were confirmed. In the elementary school:

> No white children were in a class in which they were in a minority; testimony indicated that in the whole system, with the exception of a remedial reading class, no black teachers taught any white children; all of the new teachers hired since last May have been white; rolls were called on a segregated basis—whites first, then blacks; classes were largely segregated except for some elective courses.

According to the report, School Superintendent Sam Bratten explained in Federal Court that ability testing accounted for classroom segregation, but then admitted "that exceptions were made to assign white students to all-white classes whether or not their ability scores justified it." He then explained that "in his judgment and that of the School Board, 'the parents would prefer the present arrangement.' A further question revealed that he was referring to white parents."

The black students in Earle protested against these conditions. Some three hundred walked out of class and began a march to the superintendent's office, where they intended to register their complaints in person. They never reached the office. They were told to disperse by the county sheriff; they obeyed his order. That night some thirty of the marchers, some as young as thirteen, were arrested for violating an anti-picketing ordinance passed during the summer. Arrested on a Monday night, they

were taken to the county jail, twenty miles distant in Marion, where they were held until Thursday when they were tried and convicted.

The abuse of the black students of Earle, and the swift crushing of their protest, exacerbated more general community racial tensions and sparked an adult march that resulted in beatings and more arrests. Federal court hearings led to an order for slight modifications of in-school discrimination practices, but many of the black students never returned to school. According to a count in November, some 390 of them were attending the newly organized "Soul Institute," an all-black "private academy," reported to be "beset by lack of funds, teachers, and materials."[23]

The confrontation at Earle is part of a story that has chapters in all parts of the South. A few examples can only suggest the kinds of abuse, violence, and intimidation that have been visited upon black students—the price they have paid for the "unitary" school districts in too many parts of the region.

—Black students in Coffeeville, Mississippi, began a boycott of their school when term opened. Nearly 1,100 students stayed out protesting a court-approved plan of segregation-by-sex. Student picketers were arrested, but District Judge William Keady subsequently ordered that the segregation-by-sex plan he had earlier approved be abandoned at the end of the semester. "It is now clear," he wrote, that "there is a strong unmistakable feeling in the black community in Coffeeville that this court put a stamp on a plan which calls for racial discrimination."[24]

—In East Tallahatchie, Mississippi, 125 black students were arrested on charges of trespassing and disturbing the peace. Protesting against the elimination of some school activities, a busing system that placed a greater burden on them than on white students, and against other actions of the school board, they were incarcerated in the maximum security camp at Parchman penitentiary because the county jail could not accommodate them.[25]

—In Bogalusa, Louisiana, 600 students released pent-up racial tension in a two-hour fight after a football game. School was subsequently closed while blacks picketed with signs reading "Integration on the Outside, Segregation on the Inside." [26]

—In Jacksonville, Florida, forty black students picketed in protest against being transferred from an accredited all-black school, which was closed, to the unaccredited Robert E. Lee High School. Some objected to attending a school named after a "white racist." The superintendent informed them that their former school was being closed under court order.[27]

—A demonstration of black students at South Iredell High School, in

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[23]Arkansas Council on Human Relations, *Earle Report*, November 24, 1970.

[24]Jackson *Daily News*, September 30, October 11, 1970. Several hundred black students remained out of school throughout the first semester.

[25]Greenville (Miss.) *Delta Democrat-Times*, October 21, 22, 1970; Jackson *Daily News*, October 22, 1970.

[26]New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, September 15, 18, 1970; New York *Times*, September 15, 1970.

[27]Miami *Herald*, September 9, 1970.

North Carolina, protesting the absence of black students from the 15-girl homecoming court, led to 120 suspensions ("School Suspends Rebellious Blacks"), 22 arrests, and cancellation of the homecoming festivities.[28] In the neighboring county, at South Rowan High School, the decision of school authorities to ban "Dixie" as the fight song for the "Rebels" led to a walkout and protest by white students, supported by their parents. No whites were arrested and the ban on "Dixie" was lifted, at least for the time being.[29]

The repression and violence that have spread with school desegregation this year—of which these few examples are barely suggestive—are symptomatic of a malaise of frightening potential. As one SRC school desegregation field worker observed in late February, "the handwriting is on the wall." Student patience with administrative blundering and rigidity is wearing increasingly thin, and there has been no diminution of racial confrontations. Indeed, each week brings news of situations that should stand as warnings of the dangers that lie ahead.

At this critical juncture, responsible authorities must be awakened to the need for imaginative and constructive leadership. Unless there is a swift and substantial redirection of school policies, the frustrations and bitterness that have been building up throughout the year will almost surely erupt in the spring. Elections for next year's class officers, tensions caused by school proms, a more crowded social schedule, the warm weather, and the realization that a year is passing without fundamental problems being resolved—all of these are likely to result in protests and a round of repressive measures unmatched by what has happened already.

VI: Change and Hope

Studies of school desegregation have recorded and lamented the meanness and intransigence of the South and have faulted federal policy ever since the *Brown* decision, almost seventeen years ago. Events in the present year require continuation of that unhappy tradition; and the growing national feeling that the battle is no longer of much importance adds to its urgency. On the other hand, the changes that have taken place in the schools—some of them quite extraordinary—must be acknowledged, and the issues and challenges that lie ahead defined.

At one level, the kind of change that the South is witnessing can be measured by the grudging adjustment of whites who now accept desegregation as an inevitable fact of life. In Perry County, Mississippi, for example, a white construction worker was waiting nervously for his daughter at the end of her first day in the newly desegregated school. "If anything happens to my girl," he remarked, "if she's insulted by a nigra, I'll come over here and knock hell out of Adcox." Mr. Adcox, the principal, was pleased by the news: "That's great; that's progress," he observed. "Last year, the same man said he would shoot me if we desegregated the

[28]Raleigh *News & Observer,* September 29, 30, 1970; Charlotte *Observer,* September 29, 30; October 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 1970.

[29]Raleigh *News and Observer,* September 24, 25, 26; October 23, 1970; Charlotte *Observer,* September 24, 25, 26, 28, 29; October 1, 7, 1970.

school."[30]

Acceptance of the inevitable is variously manifested. It may appear in the pomposity of the bitter newspaper editor who scores HEW bureaucrats and rails at the extending tentacles of what he calls the "federal octopus," but takes a kind of perverse pride in boasting that the "success with which schools are being desegregated . . . is due to the determination of most Southerners, black and white, to comply with the law—regardless of how distasteful or unwise they might regard it."[31] Sometimes it is reflected in the way youngsters influence their parents, as in the case of the white high school student who told his parents he preferred the formerly all-black Booker T. Washington High School to the segregated academy they wanted him to attend. "We don't have any bad feelings about it," the mother confessed. "We're all resigned to it now."[32] And in other instances it will be revealed by the decision of a small town mayor, such as Lamar Munroe of Quincy, Florida, to spurn the white flight movement and send his daughter to the newly desegregated junior high school where blacks outnumber whites four-to-one.[33]

In some communities the ominous transfer of whites to the segregation academies has either slowed down or been reversed. In Port Allen, Louisiana, for example, a boycott begun last year cut white enrollment from 2,300 to 400. In September the number was up to 1,100, and the private schools in the area had dropped from seven to two. Similar results have been reported for nearby Evangeline and St. Landry parishes.[34]

In Indianola, Mississippi, desegregation in January 1970 emptied the public schools of their 991 white students. In September, some 200 of them returned, responding to the urgings of many white community leaders as well as to the financial pinch of private education. Pleading for support of those who would join the 2,500 blacks, a young coed from the town wrote that for the returning whites "going to public school here in Indianola requires a particular kind of bravery: the courage to live a life contrary to the established life style of their peer group."[35]

It is true that the segregation academy movement has expanded this year, with enrollment in private segregated schools up from 400,000 last spring to somewhere between 450,000 and 500,000 this year. Slightly more than 5% of the region's white students attend private segregated schools. Apart from the pernicious anti-democratic spirit encouraged by it, the movement is dangerous primarily because it threatens to create virtually all-black public school systems—poorly supported by public funds—in isolated and easily forgotten areas. Prince Edward County, Virginia, where the academy movement began, has never recovered from the white flight, and the danger lies in the multiplication, entrenchment, and acceptance of more Prince Edwards.

On the other hand, instances of white return to the public schools, such

[30]Washington *Post*, August 25, 1970.
[31]Columbia (S. C.) *The State*, August 29, 1970.
[32]Columbia (S. C.) *The State*, September 1, 1970.
[33]Atlanta *Journal and Constitution*, October 18, 1970.
[34]Washington *Post*, December 26, 1970.
[35]Greenville (Miss.) *Delta Democrat-Times*, September 6, 1970.

as those cited above, add force to the argument that the movement will not be a pervasive one, even in majority black areas. Perhaps more important, these examples fit into the larger pattern of the growing acceptance of desegregation as the norm for southern education generally. According to a recent Harris poll, Southerners are almost evenly divided on the question of whether the Supreme Court's *Alexander* decision, requiring desegregation without further delay, should be approved.[36]

At still another level, the change in the South can be seen in the slow and uneven remaking of southern power structures, and in the increased importance of the black vote and of black elected officials, including school board members. Seen in regional perspective, black influence on school boards is slight, but there already are examples of the differences that representation can make. In Wabbaseka, Arkansas, for example, black students launched a school boycott in the fall, protesting—among other things—the downgrading and dismissal of black personnel. Negotiations were at a standstill. The shift in power on the school board from white to black in December made it possible to deal directly with the issues.[37]

Grudging acceptance by the white majority and increasing black political power have helped to stiffen the will and enlarge the influence of hundreds of citizens groups working, with varying degrees of understanding, to make desegregation the agent of positive change. In Durham, North Carolina, a civic group called Women In Action To Prevent Violence And Its Causes worked feverishly through the summer to prepare the community to accept a new desegregation plan. After the first three weeks of school, the Legal Defense Fund attorney who had guided the suit against the city praised the successful implementation of the plan.[38] Civic groups like the one in Durham have been a part of school desegregation history since the days of "massive resistance" in the late 'fifties. In 1970, however, they appeared to have greater opportunities than ever before.

Likewise, the potential for good will that has always existed in the South has had a greater freedom to become a reality: as the fact of desegregation becomes more firmly established, the fetters that bound otherwise friendly and decent people have been loosened. Far too few have been emancipated from their fears and suspicions, but there are those who have responded positively and who stand as examples of what must happen in the region. More black and white parents than ever before—in PTA meetings, at athletic events, and in other school and community activities—exchange views frankly, come to know each other as people rather than as stereotypes, and forge a bond out of their common concern for the welfare and education of their children.

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[36]According to the poll, 42% approve; 43% disapprove; and 15% are unsure. Washington *Post*, December 29, 1970. According to a Gallup poll taken last spring, only one white parent in six offered objection to sending his child to a school in which Negroes are enrolled; six out of ten objected in 1963. On the other hand, 69% objected to sending their children to schools where Negroes are in the majority, a decline from 86% who objected in 1963. New York *Times*, May 3, 1970.

[37]Little Rock *Arkansas Gazette*, December 17, 1970.

[38]Raleigh *News & Observer*, September 20, 1970.

VII: The Students and the Future

In some ways the most important development in school desegregation this year is the significant role students are assuming, and for that reason widespread awareness of the contributions they are capable of making in the future is badly needed. Until very recently, school desegregation was largely a matter for adults—adults who fought court battles, waged political contests, and quarreled over school assignment plans. For the most part, students responded, working out their own private adjustments to new situations. Now, however, there is a difference. Not only are most students in desegregated schools—a fact which in itself alters the situation—but the very newness of the experience permits them to bring a freshness to their situations that sets them apart from adults. This change has occurred, moreover, at a time when youth all over the country are increasingly aware of themselves as a force in their own right, capable of making their own decisions. The fortuitous coincidence of these two developments may yet turn out to be the most hopeful aspect of future school desegregation history.

To give encouragement and provide resources for constructive student activities, the Southern Regional Council's School Desegregation Project, launched early in the fall, began to work with college students in the region, promoting discussions between them and high school students. Pilot projects in Mississippi and Georgia along with numerous conferences of high school students have convincingly demonstrated the sharp awareness of young people, and have underscored their sense that adults have too frequently failed to understand the real meaning and the real challenge of desegregation.

It is, of course, a commonplace to say that the younger generation may solve the problems that have defeated their elders; and younger generations have a long history of turning out to be quite as blind and bigoted as their predecessors. Mindful of this caveat, though, it is nonetheless difficult to suppress optimism over some of the insights youth are bringing to the desegregation issue and to delay any longer stressing the urgent need for significant programs to support their efforts. It hardly needs to be added that imaginative and socially conscious students are in the minority, any more than it is necessary to labor the point that instances of true integration are too few. The point, of course, is that one learns from examples of wisdom and humanity (perhaps more than from recitations of mindlessness and maliciousness); and that in such examples one can see the way the future must and may be shaped.

When classes began last fall at John F. Kennedy High School in Richmond, Virginia, the enrollment was 90% black. Gregory Thomas, heading a welcoming committee of black students, turned to one of the nervous new white students. "We want to make you feel at home here," he said. "This is your school, too."[39] At another school in Richmond a youngster remarked that "the majority of whites that attend seem to accept the fact

[39]New York *Times*, September 1, 1970.

that the integrated system will educate us in more than one way."[40]

Both of these students were part of a pattern understood by a black principal in Charlotte who told an SRC reporter that "children are coming up in a brand new world." In Beaufort, South Carolina, an SRC reporter concluded that "despite the struggles, bitterness and concern of an older generation, integration has produced a new breed of student who is fighting for a flexible and innovative school system. . . ." A white high school student in Columbia, South Carolina, in a report for the School Desegregation Project, writes that black and white parents alike filled their children with apprehension during the summer before desegregation. "These attitudes of the older generation created a negative situation before the students even met," he observes, but even so he discovered that 54% of the white students and 64% of the black students in his school favored the change to complete desegregation.

In his recent study of the crisis in American education, Charles Silberman writes that schools fail to serve the real needs of students "less because of maliciousness than because of mindlessness." Like Procrustes, "stretching his guests or cutting off their limbs to make them fit the standard-sized bed his inn provided," he writes, "educators and scholars, frequently with the best of intentions, have operated on the assumption that children should be cut out or stretched or otherwise 'adjusted' to fit the schools, rather than adjusting the schools to fit the children. And most of us have tended to accept this without question."[41]

More than anything else, students today appear to be challenging the Procrustean habit of mind that determines the character of their schools. Black students who demonstrate against "Dixie" refuse to be squeezed into the bed of rebel patriotism; white students who upbraid their parents for imposing on them the racial shibboleths of another generation have outgrown the confining dimensions of the bed of white supremacy. Black and white students alike, in increasing numbers, are seeing the wisdom in the remark of a black student who told an SRC reporter in Athens that "Things won't get better until blacks and whites get to know each other as friends. That's what it takes."

Short of open and warm interracial friendship—which for most students is still something for the future—the region needs imaginative programs that will promote greater communication and mutual respect. It also desperately needs to remove the sources of tension that produce violence and repression. These objectives can only be realized by rejecting the rigidity of the Procrustean mold; by recognizing that new situations demand new solutions. Among several examples, the story of Southern Nash Senior High School, in Stanhope, North Carolina, can serve as an instructive case study.

In the midst of what many once called "Klan Country," Southern Nash was desegregated in 1969 with a white-black ratio of 60-40. Most of the

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[40]Richmond *News Leader*, September 1, 1970.

[41]Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 81.

students came from poor families, and few were without racial prejudices of one sort or another. With poor leadership, a nasty situation could easily have developed. It didn't. The principal appointed two teachers—one black, one white—to serve as co-sponsors of the Student Cooperative Association, the student council. Sensitive and imaginative men, they saw immediately the need to scrap the old system. "Total integration had given Southern Nash a completely new situation," one of them has written, "so we felt the need to devise a wholly new student council." Although they later confessed to several anxious moments, the faculty sponsors put most of the responsibility of creating, and then running, the new student government on the students themselves.

At the outset the students saw that the principle of "majority rule"—however admirable it might be in theory—would work disaster in the early stages of desegregation. They got unanimous support for the principle of equality of representation and succeeded in creating a system that earned the pride and support of the students. Crises over such issues as the election of homecoming courts, the choice of cheerleaders, and the election of student delegates to a state conference were resolved smoothly, with final votes on critical questions of principle often unanimous.

In time the test came for majority voting. The occasion was the election of five delegates to a state conference. The choice was to be made by the student assembly. Louis Low, the white faculty co-sponsor, describes what happened:

> The assembly, which consisted of 23 whites and 17 blacks, did not want to establish any racial quotas for choosing its five delegates to the convention. I wondered if the whites would finally vote down the blacks!
>
> Looking over to Pulley [Herbert Pulley, the black co-sponsor of the student association], I saw that he shared my concern. Pulley . . . suggested to me that we remain silent and let the assembly proceed. The bridge must inevitably be crossed when the students would vote without any racial quotas and choose simply on the basis of merit.
>
> We crossed our fingers while the assembly voted. The ballots were counted—three whites and two blacks were elected. Pulley and I breathed a sigh of relief.

Looking back on the experiences of the first year, Low confessed that "we did not achieve perfect racial harmony. . . . But, on the other hand, we did attain an acceptance of integration and a willingness to work together for common interests." Most of the credit, he felt, was due the students.

The foundations laid in that first year were built on in the 1970-71 session. The appraisal half way through the year was an encouraging one: "We still have a long way to go at Southern Nash, but I think we have clearly demonstrated that in the proper environment with proper spirit, integration—'Southern style'—will certainly work."[42]

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[42]Louis Gregory Low, "Integration 'Southern Style,'" Raleigh *News & Observer*, January 3, 1971.

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA:

"A LITTLE CHILD SHALL LEAD THEM"

By Pat Watters

I: See the bus.

Charlotte, North Carolina, allowed itself in 1970 to become a symbol and perhaps a scapegoat in the national hysteria over "busing" as a means of achieving school desegregation. With a federal court order for immediate, extensive cross-city busing extant in Charlotte, the President of the United States himself lambasted busing to achieve "racial balance." Robert Finch, then-Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, specifically denounced the Charlotte court order and one in Los Angeles, calling them "totally unrealistic." The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education had fought busing through the courts, and had acceded to the court order reluctantly. State and local politicians heaped abuse on busing; spurious actions were taken in the legislature and state courts to block busing; 68 members of the Congress, not all from the South, involved themselves as "friends of the court" against busing; the United States Department of Justice questioned the Charlotte busing order in friend-of-the-court briefs that defended the "familiar and traditional" concept of neighborhood schools; thousands of white Charlotte citizens attended rallies, wrote letters and signed petitions against "forced busing"; some picketed the home of the author of the court order, District Judge James B. McMillan; others telephoned him anonymously threatening to kill him.

There seemed little doubt that the furor and hysteria over busing contributed to—if not directly caused—the emotional climate which produced in February, 1971, the burning of the offices of the law firm which had pushed the school and other desegregation cases. Authorities said the fire was deliberately set (it was early morning, on February 4) at the former residence housing the law firm—a block from Charlotte's main business district. Julius Chambers, head of the law firm, said he assumed the fire was in reaction to "unpopular cases" of the law firm, integration cases. Fire in a similar pattern was set at his father's garage and service station in nearby Mt. Gilead, N. C., in August, 1970, when the busing furor was at a peak, and after it was rebuilt, set again in January, 1971. Here, as through the tragic history of southern racial struggle, was expression of the ultimate savagery and lawlessness that underlies the most subtle and sophisticated racism, the political exploitation of the race issue by prestigious leaders and average citizens' susceptibility to such manipulation.

The emotional climate created by adults had to be taken into account also in assessing a series of disorders that broke out among the young people in Charlotte high schools and junior high schools in late February. Evident, too, was the effect on such southern young people of having spent most of their school years in racial isolation or, at best, tokenly desegregated situations.

Resentment by black students at one high school over disciplinary action taken in an interracial incident spread tension to most schools, even elementary ones, and resulted in interracial fighting or confrontations at five other high schools and four junior high schools. Even there a minority of students was involved in actual fighting; seventy was cited as the highest number in any school.

Many students of both races tried to restore order, reduce tensions. Parents of both races quickly volunteered to patrol halls and otherwise calm things down. The students met together in the schools and some churches to discuss what had happened and what might be done.

Then spontaneously, first at one high school, subsequently at three others, the students engaged in what were called "love-in rallies"—simply coming together on their own to talk together, sing, cheer, and express mutual respect and friendship.

Whites tended to blame black students for the trouble. Blacks saw this as but one more indication of what was wrong in the first place, a failure to look at the real causes of grievance. The school administration responded to some of the specific grievances of black students. But what was wrong went deeper, involving attitudes and environmental tone.

Obviously the example of violence had long been set in the interracial context by whites in Charlotte. Those who deplored the violence of students needed to examine how such things as clamor against the court order encourages violence, and how failure to really implement the order jeopardizes the young of both races. They might not only become involved in more violence, but might feel themselves justified in what in the end can only be a ruinous process.

At the root of most of the problems in the schools was a schizophrenia of educational authority: a school board whose majority had opposed the court order, and a school administration which is regarded as having genuinely tried to implement it. This split had been evident from the beginning of the furor of white adults against busing.

Rallies, petitions, and, for a time, talk of a boycott against busing were coordinated by a "Concerned Parents Association" (CPA) which sprang up under the leadership of middle-class whites not previously prominent in civic affairs or politics. Its work was remarkably well-organized; in the spring, three of its standard-bearers were elected to six-year terms on the school board, giving it a six-to-three conservative majority. One of those elected reportedly had not voted since 1952. Leaders and members contended they were not against integration, were not racists—were merely against an inordinate amount of . . . busing.

All of the hullaballoo, continuing from February 5, 1970, when the

court order was issued, until schools were opened in September, with the court order intact, and sporadically since then, was essentially over a part of the order which called for the busing of elementary school children in and out of the black section of Charlotte. (Unlike most southern cities where black people are segregated in scattered sections, Charlotte has segregated virtually all of its black citizens in one section, northwest of downtown—in what amounts to a small-city ghetto.) Integration of the more centralized high schools and junior high schools inside the city and all schools in the county was to be achieved largely through zoning, with some busing involved. It was the "pairing" of 34 elementary schools (27 others were to be desegregated by zoning) to integrate 15,301 white children with 7,077 black ones (22,378 pupils out of a total school enrollment of more than 82,000) that so upset so many people.

See the grown-up. Why is he so upset? Doesn't he look silly?

Before the busing court order, according to briefs in the case, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg system already bused 23,600 pupils on trips whose average was one hour and fourteen minutes one-way. In an interim report filed in the district court in November, 1970, the school board said 43,597 pupils were being bused, and cited *round-trip* time for four schools of more than one hour, the longest round-trip being two hours. The brief of Negro plaintiffs in the case, filed in the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, pointed out that 54.9 per cent of North Carolina school children were riding buses daily in the 1969-1970 school year (highest amount of busing in any state). It cited previous cases in the state where school systems defended busing of Negro students to maintain segregation, one involving an 80-mile round-trip each day from Burnsville to Asheville, and another where some Negro students were bused 25 miles to a boarding school outside the county where they were required to remain all week, busing home on the weekends.

In this context, the local and national sentimentalizing of "neighborhood schools" settles into proper perspective—at best, a clutching to privilege not shared by all and not, as the Negroes' brief pointed out, a venerable tradition at all but rather a recent institution of the big cities, and, at worst, a code-phrase for maintaining the status quo of segregation.

The total of busing in Charlotte under the criticized court order was less than the state average. That which was most criticized, of elementary school children, involved ten pairs or groupings of the 34 elementary schools—with 10,303 white children going as ever to their neighborhood schools in grades one through four and 4,876 black children busing across town to join them—and 2,201 black children going to their neighborhood schools in grades five and six, with 4,998 white children busing in from the suburbs to join them. The plan for this and other regrouping of Charlotte school children beyond the program promulgated by the school board (and ruled inadequate by Judge McMillan) was drawn up by Dr. John A. Finger, Jr., of Rhode Island College. The effect, but not the purpose, of all the court-ordered desegregation in Charlotte was to obtain roughly an 80-20 ratio of white and black pupils in each school. The

main purpose was to dismantle permanently Charlotte's segregated school system and to replace it with a desegregated system in accordance with Supreme Court rulings demanding unitary systems without black schools or white schools, just schools. Since rearrangements were necessary, a ratio analogous to the ratio of white and black population was possible—but integration as required by the Supreme Court rather than "racial balance" was the purpose of the plan and the court order.

Yet white Charlotte protested what leaders had led them to believe was an unnecessary disruption of "neighborhood schools" for the sake of achieving a "racial balance" beyond the compulsion of the law—all of it to be accomplished by the awful imposition on their children of "busing."

What of these children? They seemed, in Charlotte's generally excellent schoolhouses, remote, not really the subjects of such talk, remote even from the solemn statistics of the court case, and not somehow of the same nation as American adults and their chief official, so set against busing. At one of the fifth and sixth grade schools in the ghetto, a number of the white children talked of their daily bus rides to and fro. The complaints were of having to get up earlier, of inadequate heating, of breakdowns sometimes, of noise and of rowdiness sometimes.

"The only thing wrong is that long bus ride," said one boy. "But I'm getting used to it."

"The heater's in front," said another. "I'm in the back. We need some better buses."

"I don't like the bus," said a boy. "I get headaches and all. But I like this school. So I don't mind riding the bus."

A girl said, "The bus is pretty good. Two boys had a fight. One boy's head knocked the window out. But it's pretty good. You sit with whom you want." Another girl said some boys would tie a girl's hair to the seat rail without her knowing it.

A boy: "If you talk too loud, the bus driver puts you with a girl." Another: "We had assigned seats yesterday. The girls didn't like it—they like to sit with their boy friends." A girl: "Our bus driver is a matchmaker and a singer." Another: "The bus is one of the best parts of school. We can talk about things. We keep it down to a steady roar."

A boy: "The bus rides are fun. You get to meet people in other grades."

A Negro boy of the same school said: "We have to stay in school until after the buses leave. We didn't like it at first. But then we understood it was so that we wouldn't get hit by one of the buses leaving."

Was William Poe, chairman of the school board, talking about these children when he said in an interview that Charlotte was "enduring patiently" all the "inconvenience" of desegregation, hoping that the Supreme Court would get rid of "the worst features"? He said the worst was the long-distance busing of elementary school children. He said his own three children were on three different schedules; they couldn't have breakfast together. (One of three CPA school board members reportedly placed his two children in a private school.) Mr. Poe also said of the busing: "People are not going to put up with it permanently. It's not understandable

to them. It's expensive, time consuming . . . It interferes with family life and church programs."

A long-time observer of Charlotte race relations said of such talk: "It wasn't the busing that was bothering most of them. They just didn't want to send their little white children into black schools, black neighborhoods."

Perhaps Mr. Poe was speaking of the children of the first four grades who boarded the big orange bus for their afternoon trip home to the ghetto from a high-income white suburban school, place of modern architecture, happy, pastel-painted halls and classrooms. They clamored on—noisy, full of energy at the end of the school day, a fine confusion in the finding of seats, changing of seats, getting settled. The driver got aboard, a matron of the neighborhood, who said she undertook the job because her own two children were being bused and she felt people should do all they could to make it all right for the children. The motor started and the bus began to pull away, and the children waved out the window to white friends starting their walk home. There was talk, laughter—much laughter, some shouting, some getting up even while the bus was moving to swap seats. (Money is not available for monitors; the driver said she has not yet mastered the skill of watching the children and the road at the same time.) A studious looking boy dropped his fine cardboard clock with movable hands on the floor. Another boy got up to pick it up and return it to him before anyone could step on it.

A white girl who rides the bus got off, stopped in front of the bus until an approaching car stopped for her, then walked safely to her yard. She turned, grinning, and waved goodbye. (The driver said the black children at first always made room near the door for the few whites who ride the bus. But soon this politeness disappeared, and frequently jostling over seats occurred. She told also of how at first one of the Negro boys always escorted the girl who got off first across the street because she had some difficulty seeing with her bifocals. Once he kept her from moving in front of a car. Her mother called to thank him for saving her life. The girl has since, said the driver, become "women's lib" and gets herself independently across the street.)

The talking, occasional shouting, the laughter keeps up—a din. A boy has a trick box—cardboard optical illusion toy. Boys and girls in relays come back to see him work it, patiently doing it over and over. A boy and girl have a mock fight—somehow gentle. Laurie who is in the third grade and Terry Ann who is in the second sit side-by-side, quiet and ladylike. Laurie has a pony tail, Terry Ann a tight braid and two pony tails. Terry Ann says she didn't ride the bus last year. She liked the school she went to last year better than the one she goes to now. Why? "Because you could stop and buy ice cream on the way home."

At the first stop, five children get off—and as people in the rear yell for the driver to wait, another comes bustling up the aisle to get off, too. At the second stop, the driver sternly admonishes everyone for all the noise—and two boys for fighting as the bus was moving.

Terry Ann points to her church out the window, and tells about how such a big crowd came Sunday night. A boy points to his dog who is kept in a neighbor's yard because it has a fence. Terry Ann tells about her two cats—Kitty and Blue Eyes. The bus is quickly unloading at intervals, stops on nearly every corner. The driver, it turns out, has extended the official stops to accommodate special situations, so that this child won't have to walk so far, that one won't have to cross a street. She knows each of the 58 children of her bus by name, takes care that none gets left behind, worries in a motherly way over their problems. She is not of that small band of southern whites who have involved themselves in race relations. She speaks of her passengers as "Negras."

Terry Ann and Laurie get off at the last stop. Now it is quiet on the bus. The trip—among the longest of the elementary school ones—has taken thirty-five minutes.

II: Some further notes on busing.

The Charlotte school system is not using enough buses for the amount of pupil transportation it has been doing. Consequently, the same bus is used to carry black pupils to their paired schools and white ones to theirs. One school starts at 7:30 (the previously all-white one) and the other at 8:30, with staggered closing hours of 2:30 and 3:30. (Schools were open only an hour and a half for one day the first week.) Black children, who do the most of the busing, have to catch buses the earliest. Tacitly, the arrangement reflects official fear that white parents would not have stood for an arrangement the other way around or fairly balanced, that they might have carried out rather than talked about a boycott. In 1969-70, the system used 278 buses. In 1970-71, it used 500. Some are old ones obtained from the state. Not all are in good repair. The county commission controls appropriations for such equipment. Partly in anticipation of a final order from the Supreme Court regarding the busing, the commission has been doling out the extra money a month at a time. In January, the school board voted against using available federal funds to afford not merely the inadequate transportation currently in use, but an adequate supply of buses and personnel. Much of the criticism of busing has centered on the exorbitant extra cost. Judge McMillan pointed out in court orders and an interview that additional cost for transporting children adequately to implement desegregation would be less than one per cent of the multi-million dollar school budget.

Miss Bernice McMurray, principal of Rama Road Elementary School, one of the paired formerly all-white schools in a high-income white suburb, said the biggest problem has been transportation and the money to pay for it. "You never know if they're going to be on time." When a driver calls in sick, the principal must find a substitute. If this, or the not infrequent breakdowns, causes a delay "two busloads of children wait in the cold." Worried parents have to be reassured, phone call after phone call, when the buses are late in the afternoon. "If we didn't have so much trouble getting the children here and back, this would be one of the best

experiences ever for all the children," she said.

Dr. William Self, superintendent of schools, was in charge of the hurriedly-organized transportation system whose handicapped accommodation of the court order has been an impressive achievement. Generally respected by integrationists and segregationists alike for competence and integrity, Dr. Self was asked in an interview whether he thought the desegregation could be kept going. "I don't know," he said slowly, shaking his head. "The most important question is whether a large amount of money will be committed that has not been committed so far." Most of this would be for transportation, he said.

III: The legal question.

In 1965, Charlotte and Mecklenburg County combined their school systems and adopted what amounted to a zoning and freedom-of-choice method of desegregation—which was given federal court approval. In September, 1968, Negro parents asked the federal district court to compel the school board to eliminate all discrimination in the school system as the Supreme Court had ruled that year school boards had an obligation to do. After extensive hearings, Judge McMillan ruled on April 9, 1969, that schools were unconstitutionally segregrated, that freedom-of-choice had not worked, that the black population of Charlotte was concentrated in one area because of discriminatory laws and government action rather than natural causes, that the school board had located and controlled the size and population of schools so as to maintain segregation, and that transportation by bus was a legitimate tool for desegregating schools. He ordered the school board to draw up plans to eliminate segregation of pupils and faculty.

A plan submitted by the school board in June was ruled inadequate in every respect. Another, calling for transportation of 4,245 black children, submitted in July, was accepted "only with great reluctance" by Judge McMillan as a temporary one-year arrangement, with the reservation that one-way busing would not thereafter be acceptable. He ordered that a new plan be submitted by November for 1970-71. In the meantime, the court found that only 1,315 instead of 4,245 children were bused in the fall of 1969. When the board filed a new plan altering attendance lines of only a few schools, Judge McMillan rejected it out of hand. He had previously held that the Supreme Court decision in *Alexander v. Holmes County* precluded further delay, and now, noting the board's acknowledged refusal to produce a plan which would comply with Supreme Court decisions, he appointed Dr. Finger to prepare a plan.

In February, 1970, the board presented its fourth plan, and Judge McMillan accepted parts of it for junior and senior high schools, adding parts of the Finger plan where required for full integration, and ordered implementation of the Finger plan for elementary schools. (Here, finally, after so many opportunities for the board to find anything better that would be in compliance, was the notorious busing plan.)

Judge McMillan, again citing the Supreme Court dictum to desegregate

now, litigate later, ordered the plan for elementary schools implemented by April, and the one for junior and senior high schools by May. The school board appealed and asked delay until September. Judge McMillan, however, ordered a delay until September himself after the Supreme Court indicated a new inclination to tolerate that. The delay came on the day after President Nixon's policy statement on schools which denounced busing.

Gov. Bob Scott (Democrat) had urged President Nixon to have the Justice Department intervene against Judge McMillan's order, and many Charlotte whites sent a form telegram to the President: "Faced with forced busing. Request intervention as per campaign promise." The Justice Department did so intervene, with Jerris Leonard, assistant attorney general in charge of civil rights, writing in a friend-of-the-court memorandum to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals that "courts might carefully consider whether, for the purpose of achieving a precise, system-wide racial balance, a plan would require a school board involved to make unreasonable increments in transportation expenditures, the number of students bused, distances traveled and the like." And: "Thus we think that the question facing this court is whether, in view of the District Court's supplemental findings, the circumstances of the case and the alternatives reasonably available, the court below (McMillan) invoked a remedy so extreme as to constitute an abuse of discretion." (It was the second time the Nixon Justice Department had sided against equal school opportunity; the first was when it sought delay of 30 Mississippi cases in August, 1969, at which point the Supreme Court issued its order to desegregate at once.) Abuse of discretion is a reason for overruling a district judge in such a case—but the harshness of tone in the Leonard memorandum almost makes one believe it was written out of pique.

(A friend-of-the-court brief to the Supreme Court by Solicitor General Erwin S. Griswold was more balanced. Though it seemed to argue for desegregation and against busing even though the latter might be the only way to achieve the former, it did grant a district judge his leeway in such a ruling as McMillan's—in this instance so long as he did not base the ruling on a belief the Constitution required a racial balance.)

The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in May upheld the plan for junior and senior high schools and, in effect, rejected that for elementary ones—ordering a new plan based on HEW assistance. It declared itself favorably impressed with the Justice Department brief, and stated that not every school in a unitary system must be integrated, and urged a standard of "reasonableness" for attaining integration. The Supreme Court in June reinstated Judge McMillan's order for elementary schools but remanded the case to his court for further proceedings pending its own hearings in the Charlotte and other cases in October. Judge McMillan, when neither the board of education, the plaintiffs, nor he liked the plans developed by HEW for elementary schools, ordered the original Finger plan back in force for them—and so it was when schools opened in September.

The Charlotte case, through this history and in arguments when the Supreme Court held its historic October hearings, raised important questions which the court in its discretion could or could not have considered: (1) the whole question of busing and neighborhood schools—whether limitations are to be put on busing even if it is the only way to achieve a unitary school system; (2) whether desegregation of all all-black schools is indeed a necessary criterion for establishing a unitary system; (3) whether previous rulings requiring desegregation of all all-black schools in small-town systems apply to complex urban situations.

Beyond this, regardless of the Supreme Court's eventual ruling, the Charlotte case is one of several which seem to raise an ultimate question about school integration in America's democracy. A strong part of the original case was the evidence presented and ruling by Judge McMillan that government action was responsible for the location of black people in one isolated part of Charlotte. Involved in this were city zoning regulations, city planning, urban renewal, public housing locations, street and public highway locations—in effect, actions by all levels of government, state, local and national, as well as private discrimination. Judge McMillan ruled: "There is so much state action [state as defined as subject to the Fourteenth Amendment] embedded in and shaping these events that the resulting segregation is not innocent or 'de facto' and the resulting schools are not unitary or desegregated." If this might be said of Charlotte, North Carolina, of what city in the United States might it not? Were such evidence considered nationally, President Nixon's disingenious vow to fight "de jure" segregation might turn out to mean the opposite of what he seemed to intend. The Supreme Court might limit its ruling to the particulars of the Charlotte case and the discretion of Judge McMillan's particular rulings and actions. But if the original Supreme Court outlawing of school discrimination is ever to be followed to its logical end, if all of white America is ever to face its essential hypocrisy in the matter, America will have to deal with the broad question raised by Charlotte and its mini-ghetto and the government action that created it.

IV: Judge McMillan.

He was generally considered as one of the establishment lawyers before his appointment to the federal bench in 1968. He speaks freely and honestly in his rulings of his own emotional bias against busing before he faced the facts of Charlotte's deliberate segregation of schools, and the consequences. (How it came about and what it did to children were the two things that most struck him in the long process of hearings in the case, he said in one press interview.) The evidence of consequences was presented in terms of relative scores of black children and white on standard achievement tests. Sixth graders in all-black schools scored at about fourth grade level; children in integrated and all-white schools scored considerably higher.

"I lived here 24 years without knowing what was going on," he said in an interview. "I really didn't know."

He is 54, the son of a North Carolina farm family (he was bused 26 miles a day to his segregated high school), a graduate of the University of North Carolina and Harvard Law School, a Navy veteran, past president of the state bar association, a Democrat, a past leader in court reform. He has sandy hair, fair skin, a farmer's plain face with a stubborn mouth. His voice, enunciation is dry, ironic. He has carried a pistol for self-protection at heights of emotional reaction to his rulings. A colleague, representative of the level of sophistication from which professional criticism of him has come, said local lawyers thought he was just one of them—but then found out after he got on the bench that all along he "belonged to the American Civil Liberties Union and other left-wing activities like that." In a press interview when asked about his friendships with conservative colleagues, Judge McMillan said: "Just because I drink with a man is no sign I think like him."

Dick Phillips, dean of the University of North Carolina Law School, "defended" him (with a southern dry humor equal to his own) against some of the charges that have been made since the ruling:

> It's not fair to call him a liberal and not fair to say he picked it up at Harvard. He's enlightened in the sense of the most progressive people in the state. His character and ideas had been determined long before he went to Harvard. He came up during the Depression and was raised by a good mother. He went to church and he went to Chapel Hill.

Asked in an interview how it came to be he, of all the South's district court judges, who finally confronted face-on the compelling question of busing, he spoke of a penchant for consistency, an inability to retreat from the simple logic of the law of the case. In his final "busing order" for the 1970-71 school year, issued on August 3, 1970, he addressed himself to the idea of "reasonableness" (without mentioning its having been raised by the Circuit Court) and summed up more eloquently his grasp of the meaning of law for the South and America:

> Reasonable remedies should always be sought. Practical rather than burdensome methods are properly required. On facts reported above, the methods required by this order are reasonable. However, if a constitutional right is being denied, this court believes that it is the constitutional right that should prevail against the cry of unreasonableness . . . If, as this court and the Circuit Court have held, the rights of children are being denied, the cost and inconvenience of restoring those rights is no reason under the Constitution for continuing to deny them.

V: A further legal note.

The Charlotte case was prepared and fought by the legal firm of Chambers, Stein, Ferguson and Lanning, one of the growing number of integrated law firms in southern cities with a special interest in racial and social justice. The issues confronted, the alertness to relevant recent Supreme Court rulings, the ability to fit the law to the whole context

of Charlotte's racial and social problems (a current suit seeks affirmative government action for open housing) by such law firms is part of a new chapter in the long southern history of struggle through the courts for racial justice—in which the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., as in Charlotte, continues to be a source of strength.

VI: Notes, political and otherwise.

Spokesmen who claimed the Concerned Parents Association was not essentially racist or segregationist were probably by their lights telling the truth—even though the organization likely did have the support of hard-line segregationists and such people as have practiced sporadic terrorism, telephone threats, home bombings, over the years of Charlotte's racial struggles. By all accounts, many of the "better" whites voted for the CPA candidates for the school board. Whether many now regret this or have come to a degree of acceptance of busing after seeing it work is a matter of conjecture; some think so, others not. Most observers agree the organization will remain effective in politics where integration is an issue, but will not otherwise amount to a cohesive force. But local and state politics suffered erosion from the furor over busing. Two-way re-enforcement was evident: the people influenced the leaders who in turn further inflamed the people. Governor Scott for a time seemed to take a hands-off position on busing, but as public sentiment grew hotter in Charlotte, he became an avid anti-busing spokesman. This is familiar enough in southern racial demagogic politics; what made it different this time in Charlotte and other parts of the South was that the highest official in the country seemed to be involved in the process.

The effect of Nixon southern-strategy politics on Charlotte was part of a general pattern: Just as the campaign-promised weakening of HEW seemed to offer surcease from compliance with school integration law, the courts became more demanding than HEW had ever been. The administration, caught in a dilemma, ended up pleasing no one. Its rhetoric displeased integrationists; its inability to stop overnight the direction of the courts displeased those against busing and/or integration. The brand of politicians directing the frustrated strategy must have been sorely tempted to try to put more than ordinary pressure on the judiciary.

Mr. Poe told why people like himself were so upset by the demands of the judiciary and why they were so disappointed over the administration's inability to do anything about the demands. In the telling, there is insight into how so much of the white populace of Charlotte, surely no worse than most white Southerners in racial attitudes, indeed reputed in the past to be a little better, could become so vociferous in what essentially amounted to a law-resistant position. Mr. Poe said he journeyed to Washington twice to see Mr. Leonard and once to see Mr. Griswold, and each time all he wanted to tell them was that Charlotte was not some rural, recalcitrant, racist place, but had tried all along to obey the integration law. It therefore deserved more time to work out its problems.

Perry Morgan, editor of the Charlotte *News,* whose anti-busing stand

has been so strong that he has emerged as a sort of central figure in the situation, said much the same thing as Mr. Poe in an interview. He said if the court really wanted integration it would have given a city like Charlotte with a good past record of compliance time to evolve a long-range building program to put schools where they could be integrated without so much busing.

Meanwhile, Charlotte was waiting for the Supreme Court to rule on its case. The waiting has been a crucial part of what has happened so far. Many of the children, especially in the upper grades, have not identified themselves with the school they attend, have not become involved in activities or even studies deeply, feeling the arrangement to be temporary. Some observers said most white parents have accepted the busing so far only because they believe the Supreme Court will throw it out. Dire predictions are made on both sides of what might happen when the court rules. Blacks, in some views, would be disillusioned with the nation by an adverse ruling to the point of severe alienation, if not violence. Some whites, including Mr. Poe and Mr. Morgan, predict massive withdrawal of white support of public schools should the ruling uphold busing. Mr. Morgan spoke of a resulting "integration of the impoverished."

Both the boycott effort at the beginning of the year and an attempt to stir separatist sentiment in the black community failed. No more than 2,000 white children were withdrawn to segregationist private schools. One observer cited as the reason for this, North Carolina's tradition of plain people dependent on and believing in public education. The state has no aristocracy of graduates of select private schools, as some southern ones do. This meant, in his view, that whites would rant and rail if the present plan were upheld, but eventually would accept it. There are at least a few small hints so far in Charlotte that they might even come to like it.

It is easy, of course, to point out how many years since 1954 Charlotte has had to do whatever was necessary to comply with the law. But the truth is that in the faulty manner in which school (and other) integration law has been enforced, in the essential hypocrisy of America's past approach to the obligations of this law, including the hypocrisy of blinding itself to the "de jure" nature of most "de facto" segregation, Charlotte has been technically in compliance. The plaint of men like Mr. Poe and Mr. Morgan was basically the familiar one of Southerners over a decade of gradualism: I've been for all that's gone before, but now they've gone too far. In this context, the CPA claim that it is not segregationist and the less sophisticated versions of Mr. Poe's position vocalized by the CPA school board members are easier to understand and somehow less sinister.

The people caught in the anti-bus hysteria, many of them, seem in this view more mistaken than racist. Better local and state leadership might have at least given them a more accurate, realistic view of their position *vis-a-vis* the law. (The city's other paper, The Charlotte *Observer,* has generally supported the court order, but less vigorously after reported loss of circulation over the stand.) National leadership has since 1954 been more deeply at fault. Something is indeed wrong with a nation which could

allow leaders in a place like Charlotte to convince themselves or kid themselves into thinking that, even as they continued the process of building a ghetto and a system of segregated schools, they were in compliance with law against segregation.

The setting fire to the Chambers firm's law offices might be expected to shock some white Charlotte leaders and people into seeing what at base all along they have stood for. But such terrorism in the past obviously did not provide immunity against the busing hysteria. In the spring of 1965, Mr. Chambers' automobile was dynamited in New Bern, N. C., while he was attending a civil rights rally. Three Ku Klux Klansmen were arrested, and given suspended sentences. On November 22, 1965 (the second anniversary of the assassination of President John Kennedy), bombs were exploded in the predawn hours at the homes of four black Charlotte leaders—Mr. Chambers, City Councilman Fred Alexander, his brother, Kelly Alexander, state president of the NAACP, and Dr. Reginald Hawkins, dentist and militant civil rights leader. Damage was considerable at all four homes; fortunately none of the occupants, including sleeping women and children, was injured. The case has never been solved.

On the surface, Charlotte does not seem the kind of place of raw racist hatred that would engender such terrorism. Whites in the past prided themselves on their peaceful acquiesence in token desegregation, made it a subject of Chamber of Commerce boosterism. Thoughtful black people, viewing the past and the recent furor over busing, say simply that racism is just more subtle, more sophisticated. The terrorism shows that the meaning of racism, raw or subtle, is the same, just as the effect—as on children in the previously segregated Charlotte schools—is the same.

VII: See the schools.

It is in the light of so much of Charlotte's adult response to school desegregation, and the failure of so much adult leadership, from the President on down, that the disturbances among the young people in the schools in February must be judged. It was possible shortly before they occurred to assess major problems within the schools and conclude that desegregation was succeeding, despite adults. Their occurrence suggests the importance of paying immediate attention to the problems within the schools and the deeper need to understand what these problems mean to the young people involved. In interviews with school officials, teachers, parents and young people, the following emerged as main problems during the six months leading up to the February disturbances:

Discriminatory attitudes, actions on the part of some officials and teachers, some children (this a minority balanced by another minority making every effort to help integration work); internal segregation in the schools, the very most of this resulting from grouping of children within classes on the basis of performance levels; some indications of suspensions and expulsions too heavily among blacks giving rise to the suspicion among some blacks that it is to cut down the amount of integration; roughhousing, interracial fighting (how much of it normal, how much racial is proble-

matical); disruptions from bomb threats, busing delays and monitoring by parents, mostly white ones of the black-area schools; narcotics (again, with no ascertainable racial significance). One high school teacher said discouragedly that sometimes a day could be counted good or bad on the basis of whether there was a bomb threat, or whether police had come in looking for a student about some offense outside the school. The latter problem would seem an interracial class concern and a problem of the whole community made visible to the whole community by desegregation. A more serious concern was the same teacher's feeling that parents opposed to busing were watching every move of teachers, in effect repressing their freedom of expression and choice of materials.

Grievances articulated by black students during and after the disturbances reflect the same problems—calls for black administrative officials and counselers in schools where there are none, for more active human relations committees in the schools to foster communication between the races and between students and school officials. There had been resentment among black students that Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday was not properly observed. Students of both races who are bused resented club activities and the like being held after school because it is difficult for them to attend. Students who had changed schools felt a sense of loss of school traditions, spirit; this particularly affected black high schoolers because all high schools had become predominantly white.

Another issue, evident in January, suggests how the struggle to achieve desegregation has brought to light attitudes long abiding in public education which tend to attach more importance to things than to children, and which ignore the legitimate wishes of the children. This issue had nothing to do with race; indeed, a black student at one of the high schools where no trouble occurred said white and black students were united in a stand about it. The issue was lunch time—complaint of a lack of enough time to get through cafeteria lines and eat leisurely. In some instances, this had led to jostling for places in line.

Other issues suggested a deeper layer of problems. Black students felt that expulsions and police actions (some 15 or 20 cases) went too heavily against blacks in the aftermath of the disturbances. Julius Chambers said an investigation was underway to determine whether this should be raised in federal court. He was critical of a four-hour school board meeting, televised locally, at which principals told what had happened at each school. He said it seemed to be trying and convicting black students. One principal used the pronunciation, "Negra." A white, senstive to race relations, could view the same meeting and consider the performance of the prinicipals generally constructive. In this way, the struggle for integration continued as an educational process for black and white Southerners, showing them, among other things, wide gulfs in perception as a part of the legacy of segregation.

The most hopeful instance of such education were the rallies that occurred at the high schools. Dr. Laird Lewis, principal of Myers Park High School, described his own feelings watching two thousand young

people joining hands in a circle, singing, some of them crying. "It was like the old-time religion. There were white and black, rich and poor, expressing mutual respect and love for one another." He said there was at least for the time less self-segregation in the cafeteria and student lounge, and less fear and distrust among students.

Dr. Self suggested at the four-hour school board meeting that additional staff be hired to comprise teams, one white and one black, of human-relations workers in each high school. Their job would be to build on student communication already established to develop future programs. (During previous months, the school administration had employed such things as a rumor-control center and closed-television instructions in human relations for principals and teachers.) Negro Alderman Fred Alexander had earlier proposed a new procedure for police in handling school disturbances. He said a white and black team of officers should make an initial investigation and be empowered to decide whether more officers were needed. (The intrusion of many police and many parents on the disturbance scenes had been as disruptive as the fighting, some observers said.)

Principal Lewis and Alderman Alexander both, in differing ways, directed themselves to the problems underlying the specific causes of student discontent. Dr. Lewis spoke of a general atmosphere of frustration and tension. "You can't change everything with just a quick move," he said, expressing confidence, though, that desegregation would work. He spoke of frustrations for both races, of adult distrust, unrest.

Mr. Alexander addressed himself to the split in the attitude of the school board majority and the school administration. Somebody, he said, had to tell the school board people were not going to put up with what it was doing. He said the attitude of the school board was against desegregation, against the federal court intervention, and on the side of "anybody else against desegregation." Thus principals and teachers not wanting to cooperate with desegregation did not feel they had to follow administration procedures. And those trying to make desegregation work are "scared of the school board," he said.

Beyond busing hysteria and schoolhouse fist-fights, the impressive thing about Charlotte is that things have worked as well as they have against so many impediments. Given anything like the support and the resources they deserve, the young people and those operating the schools do seem capable of moving beyond the mere physical placing of bodies in a unitary school system. The problems, both on the surface and at deeper levels, are not insurmountable. Given half a chance, Charlotte could achieve real integration, and that would mean real education.

VIII: See the children.

In ultimate terms of real education, the important thing to have seen in Charlotte was the resilience of the young people. The "love-in" rallies that followed the disturbances in February were a magnificent display of the will of a majority of them to work things out for themselves, to

escape past patterns of destructiveness, to deal creatively with a situation made unnecessarily difficult by those past patterns. It was this in the Charlotte young people (and their counterparts across the South) that dedicated educators could encourage, and build upon. Surely parents saw the beauty of spirit flickering there; surely they would be proud of their children, and encourage the good in them.

The rallies were a dramatic, spontaneous expression of something that had been there all along, that adults, parents, teachers, school officials alike, needed to listen to and learn from. A black student at one of the high schools where a rally occurred, Calvin Miller, described how it felt afterward. "Things are a whole lot better. People are talking to each other now, mixing in together – everyone is really cooperating now, really talking to each other."

Here, student-created, was the basis for building within the schools customs and programs that would remove the barriers of racial concern from the main purpose of education. And here was the basis for the cooperative reconstruction of education—to listen to the students, consider their interests, utilize their creativity. Charlotte had the opportunity in its desegregated schools to accomplish such real reconstruction of education, so badly needed across the South and the nation. There were as many impediments, as many signs of failure present as ones of hope—but everywhere, given a chance, the potential of the young was evident.

In the white suburban school, a second grade is having a play period out in the pretty lobby. Happy music is coming from a record player, and different groups are doing different things, some jumping rope, some dancing, some playing catch, some using an indoor bowling set. The black teacher moves easily among the black and white youngsters, seeming to enjoy all their noise and exuberance. At the end, she organizes them for a group game. Part of the class forms a circle; each in the other part stands behind the child he wants as a partner. Race is obviously transcended. Some partnerships are black and white, some white and white, some black and black.

It is not so in an eighth grade algebra class. The students drift in before class, seat themselves randomly. Most whites are on one side of the room; the whites who are on the other are separated by a row of chairs from the five black students in the class.

At the Oak Lawn Elementary School, one of the fifth and sixth grade schools in the ghetto, it is felt that the teacher has a responsibility to guide children away from such grouping which grows as much out of cultural experience, familiarity, as race. This school is considered one of the most successful in taking advantage of the new educational opportunities in Charlotte. The philosophy of the black principal, Mrs. Gwendolyn D. Cunningham, pervades classrooms and hallways, is reflected in the openness of black and white faces of the children. The philosophy seems to be one of loving children and encouraging the best in them. She moves about the school, energetic, enthusiastic, calling out to children, seemingly knowing

each by name, stopping to talk with any who wants to. A white boy approaches her, says he has decided not to seek a transfer to another teacher after all. He had complained the teacher picked on him. Mrs. Cunningham had suggested to him that he would take his real problem with him. What was that? Himself. He had thought it over and agreed, he said, and would try to work out that problem without changing teachers. Was the teacher black? Mrs. Cunningham chuckled—no, no.

Child after child said he liked the school because children were considered important and were allowed to work out their own problems. A white teacher, transferred into this new situation after being in the same white school for thirty years, said: "They're just children. Only two parents were at our Christmas party. I wish they could have all been there. They would have seen for themselves how well the children are getting along."

A black teacher, experienced more than most in integrated education, told of a thing that happened in one of her classes. A black pupil, large for his age, tending to be a bully, had showed from the beginning hostility to white children. She had talked with him, with his mother about it. His mother felt much the same way. But finally all three agreed that given the situation, the thing to do was to try to get along in it. When the boy was absent one day, white and black children came to the teacher about him. In the spirit of the school, it is not considered tattling to talk about another child's problem. The problem they came with was that the boy had been taking pencils and the like from everybody. They showed in his desk a plastic bag stuffed full of such contraband—a fantastic amount. She confronted him the next morning, gently, sympathetically. He finally admitted all were not his. What should he do? Give them back, he said. How would he do it? He would handle it. As is the custom in the class, if a child has something to say, the teacher announces it—and she did for him that morning. He got up and manfully, with no excuses, said he had things that weren't his. He said that pupils should come up in groups to claim what was theirs. The teacher said it was all done with dignity, that no child giggled or nudged another, and that not a few had tears in their eyes, as did she. When it was over, she asked how many understood now what an act of courage was. All said they did, that the boy had performed one. Did he feel better, she asked. He said he did. In a class discussion some time later, he said the reason he liked that school was because if you made a mistake, you could correct it, that people instead of hitting you for it, helped you correct it.

Many of the children there come from homes where opposition to busing was most strenuous. Slowly, some of these parents have come to share what most of the white children feel—that it is a better school. One father who had at the beginning of the year told his child's teacher he resented the situation bitterly finally came to a PTA meeting. He told the teacher he had been convinced by his child that he had been wrong. His reason might prevail in Charlotte, in schools becoming real schools across the South, might eventually in all of America: "It is," he said, "like in the Bible. A little child shall lead them."

MOBILE, ALABAMA:

THE ESSENCE OF SURVIVAL

By Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

In the spring when the azaleas and dogwoods bloom and you drive along Government Street beneath Spanish moss clinging from ancient oaks, it probably is harder for the visitor to think of Mobile, Alabama, in terms other than the cliche its Chamber of Commerce likes to paint—a burgeoning, industrial port city of the new South, mindful of the best in its past, but making progress on all fronts, including race relations. But in January this year, the wind from the Gulf driving a cold, steady rain, the smell of the city's paper mills rancid in the air, outer charms were under cover, realities easier to read. Focus on the question of public school desegregation in this the 17th year since the Brown decision, the eighth since the first Negro high school students began to attend classes with whites in Mobile's prestigious Murphy High School and what you find, sometimes stated boldly, sometimes implicitly, sometimes hidden in expressions of good intentions is an air of deep misgiving that Mobile is capable of dealing with the education crisis to which white leadership has brought the city.

In a small, neatly-furnished low-rent apartment in the city's black ghetto, a mother of five put into a single sentence the impression most thoughtful blacks have of the city's school desegregation policies: "They are trying to make us mad enough to pull our children out of the white schools." It was a statement reminiscent of the words of 17 year-old Tyrone Thomas who last year told the Southern Regional Council how his white principal called him "nigger", how the frustrations of in-school discrimination were leading many black youths toward separatist-oriented thinking, really against their deeper instincts, their sense of the need for integrated education.[1]

In another part of town, on the second floor of a weather-worn office building, a middle-aged black man leaned forward away from the cold at the window. "Desegregation, civil rights were things you didn't talk about to the white power structure in this town," he said. "Men like me. We are educated. We have lived all our lives here and we know how the Negro high school kids feel. We have seen and lived through things a lot worse than they have. The only difference in us and them is that we are older and educated. But we know what's in their hearts."

But whites do not know—or if they do are too frightened to get involved, too indifferent or too hostile to blacks to care what they think, or, knowing, feel that the enormity of the situation is beyond their capacities to af-

[1] *Voices From the South,* by Betsy Fancher, Southern Regional Council, August, 1970.

fect change. Downtown in the newly-renovated offices of the Mobile County Department of Education, Dr. Harold Collins, superintendent of schools since September, 1970, seemed an exception as he outlined his plans for education in 1971 and his hopes for Mobile. He spoke of increased library services and in-service training for black and white teachers in the coming summer. "I'm very optimistic," he said.

There was no optimism, however, in the words of black civil rights leader David Jacobs who heads the American Friends Service Committee's Mobile Education Project. Jacobs is an unreasonable militant in the eyes of most Mobile whites. In person he is a gentle, tough-minded native of the city with far greater rapport among the average black parent than whites care to admit.

"It will take some kind of tragedy, like a hurricane, maybe, for people here to wake up, to grow, to understand."

Jacobs' strategy now is to work with black parents and students, assisting them in grass roots organizing to improve education. His pessimism with Mobile's white leadership is not self-induced, a conditioned black response that automatically equates all white actions with duplicity. It is a pessimism, rather, that is born of long and sad experience, from seeing meaningful integration time and again delayed, blocked, and from close involvement in desegregation efforts.

The Background of Delay

The Mobile school desegregation case is long and complex, having gone before the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals thirteen times since 1963. To trace the entire thread of the lengthy litigation would make a formidable tome. What was at issue between the plantiffs and the school board, however, prior to 1968, can be reduced essentially to the fact that the freedom-of-choice court-order plan under which the Mobile district operated between 1963 and 1968 had produced only minimal desegregation. As late as 1967, for example, only 638 Negroes attended schools with whites. Since March, 1968, however, when the Fifth Circuit ordered the city to adopt a plan of assigning students by zone rather than freedom-of-choice, the issue of neighborhood schools has emerged as a shibboleth for white parents opposed to various zoning arrangements drawn by a pouting, reluctant school board and a more aggressive team of HEW Title IV education experts brought into the case in 1968 on orders from the Fifth Circuit to District Judge Daniel Thomas.

In 1968 only a few weeks before schools were scheduled to open under a zoning plan that would have put 2,400 Negro students into previously white schools and 1,200 white students into formerly Negro schools, Judge Thomas, after an extensive hearing, determined that the zoning plan would pose too great administrative problems and granted the school board another year under freedom-of-choice. A militant white reaction against the plan had brought into being an organization known as STAND (Stand Together and Never Divide) which professed to oppose the plan solely because it violated the neighborhood school concept—but the vir-

ulence of its pronouncements, and the conservative background of its leaders, brought many blacks in Mobile to believe that the organization was, in truth, simply a more sophisticated version of the White Citizens Council, rallying now for freedom-of-choice as it had in the past rallied for pure segregation.

The district court's ruling in favor of free choice was appealed by the Negro plantiffs and in June, 1969, the judgment was overturned by the Fifth Circuit which noted that the District Court had failed to follow its zoning mandate of 1968. The appeals court directed that a new plan be devised and ordered the District Court to request the U. S. Office of Education to collaborate with the Mobile Board of School Commissioners in preparation of such a plan. Local school officials and the HEW team clashed over the federal agency's proposals which called for cross-town busing of 2,000 Negro students, and in district court Judge Thomas rejected the plan, again allowing for limited freedom-of-choice. Negro plantiffs in late August, 1969, again appealed to the Fifth Circuit. Further litigation, further appeals had by the fall of 1970 set this stage: a zoning plan under which the system was to operate called for some 10,000 students to attend schools which were not in their immediate neighborhoods; six all-white schools with enrollments of 7,000 students and six all-black schools with enrollments of 5,000 still existed. Theoretically some 60,000 students were to be in desegregated schools.

The Non-Bused and the Non-Conforming

Events since schools opened last fall, however, have convinced black parents that the school board has craftily, in full awareness of what it was about, set out to make integration unbearable. The case for such a conspiracy theory is persuasive. William Crane, chairman of the school board, has described the court order under which Mobile schools are operating as "asinine." At best the Board's approach, according to most knowledgeable civil rights observers in the city, has been one of washing its hands of any responsibility to see the court's mandate implemented. A source who fears repercussions if he is identified said that he had heard a high education official in the city declare that Mobile was going "to prove to the federal bureaucrats that integration won't work."

Although many students under the zoning plan now attend schools as much as two and a half miles from their homes, many have no means to do so other than walking. The school board says it will bus only those students who were eligible to be bused last year. The system presently owns 252 buses and claims that to give bus transportation to every child who needs it this school year it would have to add 100 more buses at an estimated cost of $1,000,000. That much money, school officials say, is not available. Critics note, however, that $2,000,000 *was* available for renovating the present education building the past year. They also point out that under federal Emergency School Fund regulations it would have been possible to have gotten some money for school buses, a fact that they suspect was deliberately ignored by school administrators.

Some of the difficulties of black teachers in the current school year were described in hearings before the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission last October and also in unauthorized interviews with an SRC representative in January, 1971. (Unauthorized because teachers and principals in the Mobile County school system are forbidden these days to discuss school problems with outsiders, without permission.) Under the court order, faculty composition in each school had to be on the ratio of 60 per cent white; 40 per cent Negro, roughly paralleling the population proportions of Mobile County. This meant that large numbers of teachers of both races had to be transferred. Before school opened black principals who were to remain principals in the new school year (most in predominantly black schools) were told that they could retain 20% of their key faculty members under the new desegregation plan. As it turned out none were able to retain nearly so many and there is suspicion within the black community that the real reason the principals were asked to name their key personnel was "to finger the best people" so they could be transferred to predominantly white schools. Whether the charge is true or not, most of the county's more experienced teachers, white and black, now teach in predominantly white schools, a fact attested to by numerous teachers in testimony before the civil rights advisory committee. Moreover, the teachers said, they had almost no advance notice that they were to be transferred. Testimony was also given telling of the transfer and demotion of black principals and coaches. Numerous fights involving black and white youths have occurred in Mobile schools this year with the most frequent solution being the disciplining and even arrest of black students and subsequent suspension.

By far the most controversial decision of school authorities involves so-called "non-conforming students". These are white students who, under the court's zoning plan, were assigned to schools with more blacks than whites and which, for the most part, were located in black residential areas. These students have simply refused to go to the schools they were assigned and instead attend classes in schools with predominantly white enrollments.[2] Estimates of the number of such students vary. At the beginning of the school term when white parents accompanied their children to school—insisting on the right of freedom-of-choice (which Gov. George Wallace publicly assured them was theirs)[3]—the official number, according to Dr. Collins, was as high as 1,000, but he puts it around 15

[2]A memorandum on the subject from school board attorneys to school officials although advising them to discourage non-conformers and pointing out that the students could not be issued textbooks, allowed to participate in school activities, take tests or receive grades, also stated that the students "cannot knowingly be officially enrolled or registered at the improper school." The modifying word "knowingly" has been the key to the problem of enforcement. Civil rights leaders say school officials have been at pains not to be "knowingly" aware of illegal transfers.

[3]Speaking to a Labor Day crowd of 4,000 people in suburban Pritchard, Wallace said: "I recommend that you good people exercise your freedom-of-choice when you send your children to school Wednesday." New York *Times*, September 8, 1970. "If I were you on school day, I'd exercise my freedom-of-choice," Wallace said . . . The roar of the crowd turned to laughter when he added, "In the peaceful way you always do things." Charlotte *Observer*, September 9, 1970.

today. Black leaders think the number legally is vastly higher because they have discovered that many students now are falsifying their addresses, a few parents even transferring guardianships to grandparents or friends who live in zones where predominantly white schools are located. Dr. Collins' response to this charge is that he has no resources to check on the addresses of all the county's 70,000 students. "We are in the business of education," he says. Under a district court decision of last year non-conformers are not supposed to receive grades or be allowed to participate in school activities, a fact which Dr. Collins believes has discouraged non-conformers. Blacks protest that no disciplinary action was ever taken against any of the non-conformers, just as the state education department announced it would refuse to prosecute parents who kept their children out of school altogether at the beginning of the school year, in violation of the state's compulsory school attendance law. Official figures for enrollments prior to school opening last year do not coincide with unofficial figures given to SRC from a few selected high schools. Murphy High School, for instance, which was the scene of a widely publicized student fight in September was supposed to have had 1456 black students and 1114 white students. The figure today is roughly 400 whites and 1800 blacks. At Toulminville High School there were supposed to have been 247 whites, 401 blacks. There were 18 whites enrolled in January, 1971. Such figures are not comprehensive, of course, but the arithmetic from these two schools alone show nearly 1,000 white students not attending schools to which they were assigned at the beginning of the year. Figures from other schools doubtless would add to the number. What is happening to such students? Many are now apparently officially enrolled at predominantly white Davidson High School which was *supposed* to have had 2350 whites to 70 blacks. These figures meant that at the beginning of the year the school was 477 over capacity. In October, 1970, its enrollment was 980 over capacity. Dr. Collins' estimate of only 15 non-conformers now may technically be correct, but there are obviously many hundreds of other white students who have managed to become legally enrolled in schools of their choice. Dr. Collins did not say so, but it is generally accepted by Mobile blacks that the reasons the transfers have been accepted is to placate white parents.

"Education is Problem-Solving"

Altogether Mobile County's school enrollment is 4,000 less than it was last year. Some are drop-outs, some are students who are attending public schools in other counties, living with relatives or friends, some have defected to private schools. A total of three new private academies, are known to have been chartered during the past year. The First Independent Methodist Church was instrumental in their founding. Three years ago the church began its own private academy in the church building itself housing children from kindergarten through the tenth grade. It has approximately 200 students. Wesleyan Academy located in Citronelle, Alabama, 45 miles from Mobile city limits was begun in 1970 with an

estimated enrollment of 300, handling grades one through eleven. The school provides busing for students at the rate of $1.00 per day. Another new private school—Chickasaw Academy—accommodates grades seven through 12. Officials estimate that the school has at least 25 students per class. None of the new academies is integrated.

Dr. Collins seems dedicated to the principle of public education. He does not believe private schools have a chance to educate more than a small fraction of students anywhere. He sees himself as an administrator with many problems, (most of which, as a matter of fact, he inherited) all of which he thinks can be solved with time and patience. "Education is problem solving," he says. This is the theme of some 100 speeches he has made before PTA and civic groups since taking over the administrative reins of Mobile County's public schools last year.[4] Though viewed without enthusiasm among more activist black leaders, he is regarded by some blacks as a sincere man trying to act fairly. He says that he wants to get on with the job of education, starting with people "where they are." He spoke with some pride of the fact that all of the city's schools now have full-time libraries, staffed full-time, but he spoke with great disappointment about the apparent fate of Mobile's application for funds under the federal government's Emergency School Aid program which to date has received no final action. In December, HEW officials wrote Dr. Collins that the proposal was being held up pending further information on such matters as student transfers and teacher discrimination. Dr. Collins called the application a "very fine proposal" which would be used for new instructional materials, the employment of 150 teacher aides, 80 per cent of whom would be assigned to the schools experiencing the most integration. The aides would have been used for "clerical and routine management duties, thereby releasing teachers for more student contact." In addition, it was proposed that they be used in liaison roles to parents and to the community at large. The proposal also called for orientation training for the aides and the teachers to which the aides would be assigned. Dr. Collins expressed resentment that the proposal was opposed by "highly militant groups" in Mobile which he felt were responsible for the funds being delayed. A spokesman for the American Friends Service Committee who has opposed the federal grant said the chief reason it has done so is because Mobile has not been in compliance with the court order on such obvious matters as student transfers. HEW, at this point, seems to agree.

There was at least one other proposal in the application which caused some concern among civil rights advocates—a request for funds to change plumbing facilities. Dr. Collins explained this on the ground that under the new zoning plan there would be younger, smaller students attending schools formerly attended by older, larger students and vice

[4]Dr. Collins' predecessor, Dr. Cranford Burns, who resigned prior to the opening of schools in 1970, was a source of discontent among civil rights leaders who saw him as an obstructionist in earlier desegregation efforts. His resignation, however, was unrelated to civil rights controversy.

versa. Implicit in the proposal, however, was an old white southern phobia about bathroom facilities that had been used by Negroes, and whether intended or not the proposal was taken by some as a racial slur. Such a response illustrates a major difficulty of administering public education in Mobile. In the present climate proposals that might elsewhere be interpreted as educationally sound become sinister and suspect. To fire an incompetent black teacher solely on the basis of his incompetence would be difficult for Mobile school administrators to justify, precisely because other black teachers, not incompetent, have been discriminated against solely on the basis of race. To discipline a black youth bent on violence for the sake of violence might become a *cause celebre* because other black youths whose only crime is the color of their skin have been presumed guilty until proven innocent and treated accordingly. In brief, Mobile's raw racism has come home to haunt whatever attempts it might now want to make toward quality education for all and for simple justice. Sadly, the evidence indicates that the city does not want to make many such attempts.

Mobile's Credibility Gap

Throughout the year there have been frequent fights between white and black youths resulting in student suspensions and dismissals, mostly of blacks. Dr. Collins said he hoped to deal with the education of such students through a proposal that, subject to school board approval, would open a school that is now closed for use by students "with disciplinary problems." No diploma would be awarded and the students would be "encouraged to seek employment of their own liking," according to the memorandum outlining the program—which he willingly shared with an SRC representative in January. The program called for no more than 150 students to be in the school at one time, in classes of 15 each. Such a proposal, has obvious discriminatory potential. For who is to define students with "special disciplinary problems"? The mother of one black student likely to be so identified recently told of her son's experiences with the education department's disciplinary committee. Following an altercation between whites and blacks in one school, her son had been identified by a white girl as being involved. He denied it. The next day the mother kept the youth at home, but while she was away buying groceries, the police came and took her son away to jail. She could not raise bond. He stayed in jail two weeks. When his hearing came he was easily acquitted in an appearance before a county judge, when the witness said he was *not* involved. But he had to appear before the school board's disciplinary committee, which after questioning the youth at some length, concluded that he could not be re-admitted to school in the current term. His mother asked them why and they said it was because his grades were so low that he was not likely to graduate.

At Murphy High School it also seemed likely that numbers of black youths might be identified as having problems sufficient to warrant their being transferred to the disciplinary school. In a conversation with the white principal it was evident that the violence at the school last September

which resulted in a threatened walk-out by white teachers and which brought city police patrolmen into the school for a period of two weeks will not be soon forgotten.

"It was caused by Negro kids coming in and trying to take over. They were insolent and are still insolent to the teachers," the principal stated.

He seemed a worried man, still, taking little joy in his work. Walking along a dimly-lighted corridor he discovered that an electric switch was out of repair. "They've torn it up," he said. There was no exchange of words between him and a group of black students standing near the entrance to the school's machine shops. The students stood quiet, sullen. "We don't have many promising shop students," he remarked later.

But all seemed orderly now, it was pointed out. It was lunch-time. Students stood outside. There were no fights. "No," he said, "not right now." One could not help but feel a certain sympathy for the man, untrained as he apparently was in dealing with blacks at any educational level, a career teacher, middle-aged, a former physical education instructor, handling such a job as he had in such a school as Murphy, in such a city as Mobile. And one could feel the same sympathy for the students for the same reasons.

The whole scene at Murphy put into perspective a major problem of integration that is not Mobile's alone. Under the court order, Mobile students, black and white, have been uprooted from schools and environments, familiar places, familiar teachers, friends. This in itself is traumatic to young people for whom group identity is all important. Under the most ideal circumstances such changes would produce tensions and frustrations and thus the credibility of school administrators would seem absolutely essential to any reasonable approach to relieving the situation. Such credibility is lacking in Mobile because of actions in the past and in the present school year to avoid school desegregation at any cost. It is also lacking because of the students' experience in a white-dominated society where blacks historically have been systematically discriminated against. It is this awareness, this past knowledge combined with the uprootings from old environments, the harsh realities of the new and the current of separatist thinking from some black leaders that have brought large numbers of Mobile Negro students to feel they would be better off in all-black schools. "How can you have integration," a black student asked a Southern Regional Council representative, "when the white man is on the top of the pole? He controls everything, he's the head of everything, and he owns the power structure and we're at the bottom of the pole. We aren't equal in the white man's eyesight."

A militant black organization in Mobile called STEP (Steps Toward Educational Progress) feels that black students would not only be better off in all-black schools but also in all-black school districts controlled by an all-black school board. In the present school crisis STEP and another black civil rights organization NOW (Neighborhood Organized Workers) have emerged as vocal spokesmen for Negro aspirations in the city. NOW, an affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, organized

in 1965, has been active in a number of other civil rights issues, including protest demonstrations against the city's employment practices during the Junior Miss Pageant of 1969. STEP, of more recent vintage, has gained attention largely because of its proposal regarding separate school districts. Some controversy surrounds the origins of the group which was founded by Roy Innis, director of CORE. Innis reportedly conferred with federal officials prior to launching the organization in Mobile. The organization's decentralization proposal, articulated in a public speech last summer, drew the approval of white segregationists in Mobile and has appealed to many black students who feel that the proposal, whether practical or not, does speak to the real problem of education and integration of Mobile blacks, spotlighting as it does the present lack of power blacks have to affect decisions of the school board.

Yet integration has not been without educational benefits for black students though they have come indirectly and in ways that Mobile could not look to with pride. At schools formerly attended solely by Negroes but now having sizable white enrollments, the new school year brought better textbooks and new classroom equipment.

"A truck pulled up to my school one day," a black principal who now heads a school with a large percentage of whites recently said, "with aids and equipment I didn't even know were coming."

Observers of schools with low white enrollments say that no such windfall has come to the still-predominantly black schools. Improvement of facilities at a school with increased white enrollment was reported in one case soon after the election of a white PTA president. Beneficial to Negro students or not, incidents such as these increase black resentments, illustrating as they do the school board's apparent indifference to the education of black students.

The Stifling of White Leadership

The root causes of Mobile's education problems lie in the weakness of the city's white leadership. White moderates are mostly underground and have been so for many years. Prior to the initial desegregation of Mobile schools in 1963 an all-white organization known as ABLE (Alabamians Back Local Education), made up largely of middle-class housewives, came into being for the purpose of continued uninterrupted free public schools. By the nature of its goal the organization inevitably served as a counter force to Citizens Council agitation against the impending school integration and for this reason came under heavy criticism from many right-wing elements in the city, including the American Legion. Gov. George Wallace publicly denounced the group as having "total integration" as its design. Local state representatives called on the state legislature to investigate the group. Although the investigation never materialized and such criticism had little immediate effect on ABLE, white moderate leadership in the city was dampened by the extreme reaction to what was really a modest effort on the part of a few whites simply to keep the schools functioning and open. Many observers believe that the experience of ABLE is still

felt among whites of good will who might now be in position to influence school board decisions, but fear repercussions.

With the exception of a statement by the Chamber of Commerce asking for good will in a time of crisis last year, and supporting public education business leadership in Mobile has not taken a visible role in recent developments. Yet one white leader who asked not to be identified by name or occupation talked of his behind-the-scenes efforts to involve powerful black and white leaders in trying to solve some of the problems between black and white students. He spoke of confidential telephone calls and gingerly-stated overtures—a strategy recalling that of cautious white moderates in other localities a decade or more ago. Mobile whites aren't ready for more, he said, and gravely warned that to reveal more details of his efforts would be to jeopardize all attempts at meaningful biracial cooperation in the city. What he seemed not to realize was that a large and growing segment of Mobile blacks are no longer interested in biracial cooperative efforts that have to be so clandestinely arranged. When this was pointed out to him, he shook his head. "It just can't be too late for such efforts," he said, "It just can't be."

There is some precedent in the city for businessmen's reluctance at being too openly identified with efforts at racial cooperation. A former Mobile businessman, for instance, recalls that after a *Wall Street Journal* article appeared several years ago telling of the city's attempts to bring about an accommodation with civil rights complaints, business leaders who were identified, and some who weren't, were hounded by segregationist groups to the extent that an economic boycott on the business of one such leader resulted in severe financial losses. "They were scared after that," he said, "too scared to do anything at all."

Contributing to the dearth of white leadership has been the consistently negative posture on civil rights matters followed by the city's two daily newspapers. Neither paper could bring themselves editorially to condemn the Birmingham church bombing of 1963. In 1964 they carried a series of stories on the then-pending civil rights bill which most observers think was designed to increase local opposition to the bill. The Citizens Council, in fact, distributed copies of the articles not only in Alabama but throughout the country. During the mid-1960s the papers carried a daily column by a John Birch Society lecturer and sometimes cited the extreme right-wing publication *Human Events* as if it were an objective, reliable news magazine. Comments from two editorials prior to the opening of schools in September, 1970, illustrate the papers' position today.

> —When Earl Warren vacated the chief justiceship, he left the Supreme Court with its work cut out for it in dealing with the confusion and contradiction produced for public education during his tenure.
>
> —When the 1970-71 school year begins, parents throughout the Mobile County school system should protect the communitywide tradition of having a citizenship fully and steadfastly mindful of the value of law and order.

Aside from the papers' editorial position, civil rights advocates say the papers emphasize and blow out of proportion all racial incidents in newly integrated schools in order to inflame white reaction as much as possible.

In other stories and editorials the newspapers have blamed low morale of teachers and students on the numerous federal court rulings which are made to seem high-handed and capricious. There is little editorial criticism, however, of Judge Daniel Thomas who, by any accounting, is most responsible for the delays in bringing about an end to dual schools in Mobile. To demonstrating white students in the fall of 1970 he was a figure worthy of hanging in effigy for his ruling—made only after earlier decisions in favor of freedom-of-choice had been overturned—taking them out of their neighborhood schools. To almost everyone else, however, it is obvious that he has yielded to pressure from white segregationists. His own sympathies, as a matter of fact, are no judicial secret. He has publicly stated before an unprecedented gathering of indignant white parents in his court last summer that he disagrees with desegregation laws. "For nine years," he said, "I have fought this thing and tried to slow it down." Such an admission made in a time of strife and turmoil by the arbiter of justice in a city increasingly polarized would seem to have served no purpose other than to absolve Judge Thomas from the ill-will of white Mobilians.

The Essence of Survival

The United States Supreme Court now has the Mobile case under consideration. Its ruling, hopefully, will clarify any remaining doubts as to the legal demands of school desegregation in that city. But it might not. The high court could return the case to Judge Thomas for futher hearings on the evidence, on matters of fact. The whole process of litigation could thus be stretched out for many more months. In the meanwhile, Mobile waits. Desegregation has come and no one is really satisfied with it. The violent encounters between black and white students—the most recent occurring on February 12, 1971, at Vigor High School in Pritchard—have greatly raised the anxieties of parents of both races.[5] In such incidents there is a dilemma for all committed to the principle of integrated education. And it may well be that in the handling of these matters the success or failure of integration depends. Solid efforts by white and black parents working together in some kind of human relations context would seem to be essential. Emotions stirred by Governor Wallace, the local news media and actions of the school board and the presiding judge, however, have so widened the gap of racial understanding in Mobile that efforts at racial reconciliation today seem almost Quixotic.

But despite the fights and the traumas, the negative expressions of white and black students toward the experience of integration, most Mobile

[5]The incident at Vigor High began as a fight between two teen-age girls, one black and one white. It quickly escalated. One hundred policemen were called to the scene. Mace was sprayed on students. Eleven blacks and five whites were arrested. A black girl was charged with assault and battery; the others with disorderly conduct. Classes were suspended indefinitely at the school.

students are not juvenile delinquents bent on trouble. They are young people in the formative stages of their lives; their present attitudes are not inflexible. The experience of integrated education has been harder for them by the willful acts of adults who never wanted integration to work in the first place. If there is hope for the future in Mobile it is that the students will somehow, still, make it work. It seems a slender hope for all it is, finally, is the simplest essence of survival after all else has been shattered through the years of delay, manipulation of people, of injustice and cowardice. In brief, it is the ability to adapt, to accept reality, to grow. It is a certainty, too, that the students can not do any worse at building a community than their parents. Given encouragement, given support, they may do far better.

BEAUFORT, SOUTH CAROLINA:

THE NEW BREED and the OLD

By Betsy Fancher

When Austa French, a member of that band of bright, liberated yankee school marms, Harvard graduates and Unitarian preachers who made up the Port Royal Experiment, arrived in Beaufort, S. C., in 1862, she wrote that, "there steals over you the feeling that you are passing under a great cloud of accumulated wrongs, in which you seem mysteriously implicated, the vague feeling that you yourself have done something awful, somewhere in the dim past. . . Slavery is written upon the shore, the trees, the sky, the air. . . The enormous black hawks, with their screams, seem to be its very spirit. No wonder they caw, caw, over this land—mean vultures, waiting for blood."

The "Gideonites", as they called themselves, had come to minister to the Port Royal slaves, abandoned by their masters after the Confederate Fort Walker was overrun in a massive Federal amphibious invasion. Their mission, according to the New York National Freedman's Relief Association, was to teach the Negroes (then labeled "contrabands") "civilization and Christianity . . . order, industry, economy and self-reliance; and to elevate them in the scale of humanity by inspiring them with self respect."

The Port Royal slaves were the first in the South to be freed, the first to be educated, and they produced one of the first legitimate war heroes, Robert Smalls, who captured a Confederate gun-boat after the firing on Fort Sumter, delivered many of the Port Royal slaves to federally-held Beaufort, rallied the Sea Island blacks to join the Union troops and went on to become a National Guard general and a politician who forged enlightened legislation in fields ranging from economics to education.

The End of Freedom-of-Choice

The specter of slavery still haunts Beaufort and the barrier islands. The education of blacks, launched with such high hopes by Yankee school marms like Laura Towne, whose little hay loft school has grown into the Penn Community Center, is still a burning issue. In the spring of 1970 a

federal hearing examiner, acting on HEW complaints that freedom-of-choice had not resulted in substantial school desegregation, recommended that federal funds to Beaufort County be withheld. The school board, waiving its right of appeal, agreed to HEW recommendations for the school year 1970-71 which called for a 50-50 black-to-white faculty ratio and a geographic zoning plan for students.[1] But in January, 1971, an HEW investigative team reported that the district was not in compliance on faculty integration percentages, pointing out that blacks represented 79 per cent of the faculty at St. Helena Junior High; 70 per cent at St. Helena Elementary; 73 per cent at Michael E. Riley and 29 per cent at formerly all-white Beaufort Junior High. As a result of HEW's recommendation, Beaufort presently is in danger of losing between one and two million dollars in federal school aid. The chances, however, of funds actually being terminated are remote for HEW has seldom used this method of enforcement in the past year and a half.

Both blacks and whites, interviewed by the Southern Regional Council last summer, were apprehensive about what might happen when schools opened in the fall. Some were predicting an outbreak of violence or at least a school boycott by blacks, angered at the reduction of Robert Smalls High to the status of a junior high school, and the demotion of black principal Jacob Richardson. Black parents were also embittered at the renovation of the school to accommodate white students which they felt was proof positive of the school board's previous indifference to the education of blacks. Moreover, the school board introduced double sessions at previously all-white Beaufort High to accommodate the sudden influx of blacks many of whom had to be bused as much as fifty miles from the outlying islands past their old schools, schools whose songs, trophies, cheers and traditions were a part of their heritage. Other sources of discontent among blacks included earlier defeats of bond issues designed to finance a new high school at Beaufort and delays in submitting another such issue to the voters during the present school year. Many white parents, meanwhile, apparently have made other school arrangements for their children. White enrollment in Beaufort's public schools declined from 4,490 in 1969-70 to 4,210 in 1970-71. (Whites who have enrolled their children in segregated Beaufort Academy seem to belie the fear of busing heard from other quarters this year. Many of their children are transported as much as 100 miles a day to the unaccredited private academy some of whose faculty members do not meet South Carolina's teaching requirements.)

The Pat Conroy Incident

One single event in the current school year illustrates much about both the quality of education blacks have received in the past and the educa-

[1]Beaufort presented a thorny problem. The charming historic town with its columned mansions, patterned gardens and Revolutionary arsenal is ringed by a half dozen islands, ranging from all-black Daufuskie to all-white Fripp Island. The school board's plan required extensive busing and combined children with backgrounds as diverse as the Gullah communities on St. Helena's Island to children who had come of age on Hilton Head Island, a planned community which boasts the largest concentration of "Who's Who" listees in the country.

tional atmosphere in which Beaufort teachers and students must function today. This was the firing of Pat Conroy, a popular white teacher at Daufuskie's tiny two-room elementary school, who was discharged for alleged insubordination. Twenty-five year old Conroy started his second year on Daufuskie in September. The school board, overlooking the miracle his innovative teaching methods had worked in raising the grade levels of his black students, criticized his transportation costs to the island. The little boat he navigated, often through hazardous waters, was expensive to maintain, they said. On September 21, Conroy took a week's leave from the classroom to serve as a consultant to the Desegregation Center at the University of South Carolina turning over his lesson plans to a VISTA worker he had enlisted as a substitute teacher. He was fired on his return and the Beaufort County school board turned a deaf ear to the labored and eloquent petition by the mothers of Daufuskie, pleading for Conroy to be reinstated. He was, they said, the only good teacher their children had ever had. After Conroy's unsuccessful suit to be reinstated, Beaufort blacks were convinced that school officials, headed by Superintendent Walter Trammell, had no regard for the quality of education their children were receiving. Second-rate facilities and a second-rate education, long accepted in mute despair, suddenly became a heated issue to them.

In firing Conroy Dr. Trammell explained to the news media that as a young teacher he was an idealist and innovator much like the Daufuskie teacher.

Dr. Trammell took the school superintendent's post at Beaufort in 1968 after an impressive 30 years in public education. He gave up a promising career in the textile industry to go into public schools "to dedicate my life to helping the children of South Carolina."

Discussing education he disarms the interviewer with a shrewd, appraising glance over half-glasses and the inarguable logic of his doctrine of a "democratic education," a doctrine which some staffers will tell you is belied by "his iron fist." "The reason I took action with Mr. Conroy was that he was not in the school room teaching. It was that he ignored school policies, deliberately disregarded the written procedures."

The written procedures he spoke of he developed as an undergraduate student at Columbia and still keeps carefully bound in a manila envelope on his desk.

George Trask, the lawyer who represented Conroy in his unsuccessful suit to be rehired, says, "This is definitely the case of creative individual who has run afoul of the system and the system is not flexible enough to accommodate him."

"You Learn a Lot on the Bus"

A visitor to Robert Smalls Junior High School will find black and white students mingling on the playground, engaged in talk, tossing a ball, laughing together. Black students Brenda and Cynthia Holmes, Jo Ann Grinkley, Deborah Jones and Stanley Hayes, eager, open and confident, talk freely about integration. Their white colleagues? "Nice kids, most of them." Busing? "We ride with the white kids and talk a lot and some

of the buses have radios and we listen to music. It's fun. You learn a lot on the bus." Incidents of violence? Sure, a few scuffles after football games, but these are old school rivalries. And the school itself—the temporary buildings and the reeking dump heap beside the play ground? "It does smell bad on damp days," grants one student, "but they're covering it over with sand and things are getting better." The conversation is cut short by two assistant principals who explain firmly and with obvious anxiety the tedious process terminating at the desk of school superintendent Walter Trammell by which visitors are allowed to speak to students in Beaufort's schools.

The impact of black students on formerly all-white Beaufort High can best be documented in the mimeographed pages of the *Daily Planet,* an unofficial newspaper published by a dedicated group of black and white students. The initial issue, published Wednesday, October 28, contained an interview with Sumner Pingree, chairman of the Republican party in Beaufort County; a plan for reorganization of student government which would put the "do-nothing" student council under an activist steering committee; and an interview with Pat Conroy. "Education seems like a type of prison for kids," Conroy says. "And until this changes, I think teachers have the right and duty to criticize the administration or even themselves." A black student editorializes on Conroy's dismissal and the "calcified backbone of our present school system." Quotes from Spiro T. Agnew are countered by quotes from Senator Edmund S. Muskie, one of the *Planet's* heroes.

The *Planet* has grown steadily bigger, better, braver and more controversial indicating a creative ferment of ideas and opinion at the school which one black student described last summer as "scarcely human." The Christmas issue featured a thoughtful study of high school women. "Compulsory attendance," charges the author, means that students are subjected to the system's way of training people in capitalism—a system based on competition, status consciousness, conformity and unquestioning obedience to authority. For women students there is added oppression—"not only are they unequal because they are students, but they soon learn to know their unequal place as women, both academically and socially." The poetry is uneven, but often moving—"Tears of a thousand orphans; Victims of Vietnam. . . . Despair of a mother, without food, shelter or hope . . . young people in rebellion, marijuana, hash, dope." There is an inside view of ROTC, a diatribe against alcohol, some remarkably literate book and music reviews, an article in defense of dissent, another condemning legalized abortion and a half dozen letters from readers, hotly protesting prejudice against both black and white. "The black man is not begging, sister; he is demanding his rights," says one, and another, "We're not going to bend over backwards for blacks just because their skin is black. I feel like they're just like anybody else, NOT SOMETHING SPECIAL." Among the memorable quotes, there is one from Tricia Nixon: "It is amazing what (Agnew) has done to help the (news)

media—helping it to reform itself. You can't underestimate the power of fear."

The reader notices in the later editions of the paper little concern for integration as an issue. The problems that are still being hotly debated by Beaufort High parents—busing, double sessions, racial balance, HEW guidelines and the possibility of violence are seldom discussed in the *Planet*.

A Frozen System

There have been incidents, most of them unreported. A black student at Beaufort Junior High was arrested for using obscene language; a student at St. Helena's was arrested for carrying a concealed weapon and exonerated after he explained he'd just returned from a hunting trip. And there was a near riot after a rock festival at Robert Smalls which now has 1,200 students, 650 white, 550 Negro. But the most urgent concern of students, black and white, is quality education, also an intense preoccupation of their parents. At the heart of the matter is the definition of what education actually is. A *Planet* contributor, M. R. Kelly, puts it this way: "All the while, the elders are not realizing that if they would bend their sturdy old oak mentality in some sort of movement towards helping instead of hindering youth's progress, they would not be remembered badly. It all has to do with goals and objectivity. The youth wants to formulate change as their work. The elders wish a frozen system."

It is the inflexibility of this system which Beaufort youngsters are questioning with growing intensity. Meanwhile their parents are wrestling with other problems. Beaufort Academy (a private school) is expanding; a new and reportedly more farsighted and liberal head master has been hired and teacher requirements have been made more stringent. An off-duty policeman has been hired to stand guard over the Academy bus which is parked on one of Beaufort's picturesque streets, a bitter symbol of racism to Beaufort blacks. Mrs. Agnes Sherman, one of two Negro members of the school board, points out that the children are bused 50 to 100 miles to the school from resorts like Sea Pines and Fripp Island. "The Academy exists on a tight budget—it simply can not offer quality education," she says.

A recent meeting with Mrs. Sherman; John Gadsden, Director of Penn Community Center; Andrew Mariesett, field representative of the American Friends Service Committee; and lawyer Charles Washington revealed a growing disillusionment with integration. Under HEW it is administered "white style," they complained. "The ultimate decision is always made by the whites." They are skeptical of the proposed bond issue which would finance the new area schools, noting that there was already talk of a cut-back, of floating a smaller bond issue.

Washington says, not without bitterness: "The process of getting a unitary school system has destroyed black pride and identification. Our children are being forced to identify with white concepts." He cited the dress codes at Beaufort High as "just another weapon to control behavior."

John Gadsden claims that although schools are integrated, they still have white dominated administration. An example: Beaufort High, whose assistant principals are black and whose reigning principal is white.

Washington feels that integration is jeopardizing the sense of black identity established in the past ten years. "Black students have a gut feeling about this. The whites don't realize that most of Beaufort's history is black history." He feels that the whites, ranging from the freedom-of-choice advocates to the HEW administrators, have "gone about integration in the most cruel way. They've created a potential powder keg. As black identity and pride grows, violence could erupt in Beaufort schools. The system is too static. Inevitably it will crack and fall to pieces," says Mr. Washington.

He may be right. The atmosphere that pervades Beaufort today reminded one globe-trotting writer-photographer of the up-tight silence that pervades East Germany. The *Planet* reflects a growing discontent, but not with integration. While their parents continue to fight the battles of racism, integration and separatism, many young people, black and white, appear to have come to terms with integration. Says one poem in the *Planet:* "Love and peace, the teens new creed, is really true you see/there should be love and peace for people like you and me."

The students instead are questioning the whole system of education which *Fortune* editor Charles Silberman and others have criticized as joyless, oppressive to the questioning mind, destructive to spontaneity and "a sense of self." And with education, they are questioning every area of American life—the military, women's rights, politics, the arts, pollution, poverty, the competitive ideal. South Carolina already has a 50 per cent drop-out rate, many of them students who, having rejected the educational system, are dropping out of the mainstream of American life. In Beaufort, the rhetoric of violence, racism and separatism can be heard both in the drawing rooms of the affluent and the shanties of the poor. But these are the adults speaking. To many of their sons and daughters it is an antiquated and tedious refrain. For integration is producing a new breed of students in Beaufort, youngsters who are fighting for a flexible and innovative school system to meet the urgent challenges of a nation both torn by dissent and united by the powerful dynamics of an emerging and infinitely promising American ideal.

ATHENS, GEORGIA:

WHERE BUSING WORKS

By Horace N. Barker, Jr.

In October, 1970, when Clarke County, Georgia, was well into its second year of system-wide desegregation, lawyers for the school board appeared before the U. S. Supreme Court. Their mission was unique: to plead not for neighborhood schools, but to defend the school board's plan involving a generous amount of busing, against charges of "unconstitutionality" from a group of Athens parents and to plead for a reversal of a Georgia State Supreme Court decision which had supported the citizens' legal challenge.

Clarke County has completely desegregated its public schools in less than two years. The primary impetus for this sweeping transformation came from civil rights officials in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) who had threatened in the summer of 1969 to terminate over $300,000 in Federal funds if the county refused to comply with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Like hundreds of other southern school districts, adoption of a freedom-of-choice plan was the only step towards desegregation which the county had taken since 1954. By September, 1968, this plan had placed only 10 per cent of the county's black students in schools having majority white student populations. Several all black schools remained.

In October, 1968, HEW advised the Clarke County Board of Education that much greater student and faculty desegregation would be necessary for the 1969-70 school year. After months of study and negotiations, the board submitted a "Neighborhood Plan" to HEW on May 1, 1969. This plan would have increased the number of black students in predominantly white schools, but still would have left four elementary schools, a junior high, and a high school with all-black or nearly all-black student bodies. HEW said this plan failed to meet the requirements of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Greater desegregation was feasible, said HEW, and therefore, greater desegregation was required.

(This exceptionally strong stand by HEW, requiring desegregation of every school in the district, occurred in the early days of the Nixon Administration, six months before the resignations of Leon Panetta, former director of the Office for Civil Rights at HEW, and Paul Rilling, former director of HEW's regional Office for Civil Rights in Atlanta. Soon after these departures, HEW scrapped the administrative standards which Panetta and Rilling felt were required by Title VI and the Constitution. The agency then began to describe entire school systems as "desegregated"

even though some schools within the districts continued to have the same predominantly white or black student enrollments as in the "old separate but equal" days.)

Realizing that loss of Federal monies was intolerable, the school board submitted another plan to HEW on July 30, 1969. A week later HEW gave its approval.

The plan which was implemented in September, 1969, established a 20 to 40 per cent black student population in 11 of the 13 elementary schools. In the other two schools the black population was about 50 per cent. The plan meant busing approximately 200 more students than had been bused in 1968-69. Desegregation of the white and black high schools was set for September, 1970.

According to Clarke County Superintendent of Schools, Charles P. McDaniel, neither he nor the school board was happy about the increased busing. "But there was no other way we could comply with the law," he said. "For a half century we have been busing black students past white schools and vice versa to maintain segregation. Now we're busing to eliminate segregation."

When the plan was challenged[1] and, at last, brought before the Supreme Court, school board attorney Eugene Epting says he rather enjoyed his appearance. "Most school boards are up there complaining that they've been forced to do too much. But we went up there asking the Court to overturn the Georgia court and let us continue what we had already done."[2]

However strong may have been the initial reluctance of the Athens' school board to adopt a plan which would actually desegregate every school in the system, school officials now want to keep the plan. Don Hight, principal of Clarke County's high school, said a return to a neighborhood plan would be ". . . a serious setback for students and parents. Our schools could adapt themselves to the old ways, but it wouldn't be nearly as good."

No Place to Run

Superintendent McDaniel feels that the current plan is essential to the operation of a thoroughly desegregated system. "If you want desegregated schools, a neighborhood school plan simply wouldn't work here in Clarke County. It would mean we would have all-black and all-white schools . . . It would mean that parents would be moving around to get their kids in a predominantly white zone." McDaniel said the present system has helped to stabilize the community. "There's no place for anyone to run now."

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[1]The Athens suit raised two questions for the Supreme Court: (1) Whether the plan violated the constitutional rights (equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment) of students required to attend schools other than the school nearest their homes, and (2) Whether Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits a school district from operating a school attendance plan which involves the assignment of students to achieve a racial balance.

[2]Mr. Epting's personal feelings about desegregation are not necessarily represented by the plan he defended in Washington.

An Athens real estate agent affirms McDaniel's observation. "With a consolidated school system, it really doesn't make any difference which attendance zone people live in. They can be much less concerned about having to locate in the 'proper' zone."

McDaniel says the plan has helped to maintain the number of students in the public schools. He claims the county lost only about 100 students out of 11,500 to private schools in September, 1970, and less than 35 in September, 1969.[3] "With our plan there was no reason for parents to worry about sending their children to a 'bad' school. Now, everybody faces the same situation." He added, "The vast majority of the people have accepted what we had to do. All of them are not yet convinced it will work. We need some time to show them that it can and is working."

What would happen if the Supreme Court were to declare the plan unconstitutional? McDaniel said there would be some public pressure to revise the plan and go back to neighborhood schools. "An adverse decision would present unnecessary difficulties which we would rather avoid."

A black member of the school board, was less discreet: "We'll be in a hell of a fix if we lose it. Before you know it things would be just like they were before all this got started. It would be a bad situation. . . ."

The geography of Clarke County lends itself to a county-wide busing system. With only 125 square miles of rolling, woody, clay land it is the smallest of Georgia's 159 counties. Schools are situated in this area so that the longest one-way bus ride for any student under the present plan is five miles and normally requires a maximum of 35-40 minutes. The majority of students ride for about 25 minutes or less.

Over 51,000 of the county's 65,000 residents live in the "Classic City" of Athens[4], including 20,000 students at the University of Georgia. About 80 per cent of the county's total population and about 70 per cent of the elementary and high school age children are white. The county and city consolidated their school systems in 1956. Until January, 1968, the school board consisted of nine appointed members. At that time, the number was expanded to eleven, permitting the appointment of two black members.

Parents Response

Many, probably a majority, of the white adults who live in Clarke County still would prefer to send their children to neighborhood, segregated schools. The most frequently-voiced complaints of all parents concern irregular

[3]There are three private schools in Clarke County. St. Joseph's, a Catholic parochial school founded over 20 years ago, has an enrollment of 218 elementary students, including 12 blacks. The Athens Academy is a college preparatory school with 325 students, all white, enrolled in kindergarden through grade 12. The Academy opened in September, 1967. The third school is Athens Christian Academy. Opened in August, 1970, it enrolls 130 white students from six counties in grades one through eight. Having complied with the Nixon administration's politically soothing paper policy of simply declaring "non-discriminatory admission practices," the latter school was declared tax-exempt by the Internal Revenue Service in January, 1971.

[4]So named by its own residents because of the presence of many Greek Revival ante-bellum homes built on large, four-acre lots and because of the university's location on a high hill overlooking much of the city.

bus schedules, poorly-trained drivers, early morning departure times, lack of discipline within schools, and in some cases, overcrowded classrooms. But whatever may be the deficiencies in implementing the current plan, there have been no major disruptions or acts of violence to support segregationists' claims that, "It would never work."

Contributing to the success and support of desegregated education has been a sizable group of white parents, including members of the University faculty, who believe that the present educational system is best for their children and their community. Although sharing many of the complaints about imperfections in the current operation of the schools, this group of adults believes that the sacrifices made during this transitional period will be more than justified by the public benefits derived from providing every child with an equal educational opportunity through integrated education.

Typical are the comments of Howard Schretter, a school board member and 14-year resident of Athens with three children in the public schools: "Let's face it, the present generation of children are up against it, especially the most gifted children. Desegregation means that the teacher must spend more time with those that are behind in reading and other skills. . . . But I think it's more important to have a child learn something about human relations, to be exposed to a variety of people than to learn a little bit more than anybody else . . . . "

Schretter also said he wouldn't hesitate to send his children to private schools if they were subjected to bodily harm at public school. "If a kid's life is in danger, then integration is not worth it. But we're in no danger of reaching that point here. In fact, considering the mess we've made of things in the past, I'd have to say things are going pretty well now . . . "

One white, liberal middle-class parent said that, much to his chagrin, his son in the fourth grade had begun to develop a negative attitude toward his black classmates from the ghetto, describing them as "nuisances" and "troublemakers." The father hoped for a change in his son's attitude before the end of the school year.

Another white parent said that his son and his son's white friends in a junior high school thought their black classmates were "sort of exotic." "I've noticed a tendency for some of the kids to admire and sometimes imitate the black kids. My son is even picking up a ghetto dialect . . . . He seems to be getting along fine."

A parent with a son in one of the two consolidated sixth grade schools said his son's education has not been damaged. "The . . . school is very good this year. But that's because of the principal and because it has some of the best teachers. It has nothing to do with integration one way or another . . . . " He also said that his son catches the bus at 7:00 every morning—when the bus is on time. He has driven his son to school two or three times because the bus failed to arrive.

Sending their children to school with blacks has come hard to many white parents. A professor at the University described the reaction of some whites confronted with desegregation on a personal level for the first

time when they took their first graders to school on opening day and met their child's new black teacher:

"Some of the parents were really shook-up. I remember that one mother in particular was terribly upset. She almost cried as she introduced herself and the child to the teacher . . . But she left her son in the room . . . didn't take him out. For people who've been taught all their life to be prejudiced, that took a lot of courage . . . .

"I know some people who use the word 'nigger' with all its derogatory overtones, but who've made a real effort to see that their children get along in the integrated schools. I suppose that gives some basis for being optimistic about the future . . . . The change in attitudes here over the last seven years has been incredible."

A special concern of black parents this year is an unusually large number of black students who have been suspended from school for one to three days. Many members of the black community see this as a disturbing indication of the considerable progress that needs to be made in interracial teacher-pupil relationships.

For example, one mother who has seen all of her ten children attend Clarke County schools said that many white teachers still fail to understand the language, feelings, and problems of young black children. She said it does most of the students ". . . . no good at all to send them home. That just encourages them to go ahead and drop out." She feels the school board is obligated to provide much more training for teachers in an ongoing intergroup relations program and to add well-qualified counselors to help students with personal as well as academic problems.

Several students and parents mentioned a need for an improved and expanded vocational training program. Superintendent McDaniel and other school officials indicated a willingness to invest more resources in this area as well as in areas of intergroup relations. But whether these kinds of problems will actually receive a higher priority in the future is an open question.

A group of about 78 parents, many from the comfortable neighborhood of University Heights initiated the court challenge to the desegregation plan. They charged the school board with unfair treatment since their neighborhood was the only area of the city from which white students were to be bused to a formerly black school. They also complained about the poor condition of the school.

The school board responded by improving many formerly black schools with paved driveways, fresh paint, new blackboards. The board also modified the school attendance plan so that students from areas other than University Heights were to be bused to the school in 1970-71. (All schools now have a 20 to 40 per cent black student population.)

With these changes University Heights parents withdrew their support of the court challenge to the '69-70 plan. But other Athens parents, whites and blacks, carried the case through the courts and succeeded in getting the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia to declare the plan unconstitu-

tional. The school board appealed this decision to the U.S. Supreme Court which heard arguments in October, 1970.

One of the groups most inconvenienced by the present desegregation plan consists of the approximately 100 black children who live in Rock Springs Homes, a large public housing complex. Black parents from the area who were involved in the suit complained that children in grades one through five had to walk almost one and half miles to school, crossing heavily traveled streets. This is so because bus transportation is provided only for students who live more than a mile and a half from school. School officials concede that the restricted transportation is sometimes an imposition, but they point out that many white children are also required to walk the same distance as the black children from Rock Springs. To ease the safety concerns of parents, the school board has provided guards at the crossings but the matter remains one of concern to many black parents.

Merger and Dissension

The most serious disruption of education in Clarke County came last spring as school officials made plans for the September, 1970, merger of the all-black Burney-Harris High School (486 students) and the nearly all-white Athens High School (1529 students). As has been true in many other southern communities, some black and a few white high school students found it necessary to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with desegregation plans drawn up by school officials, most of whom were white. Marches, mass meetings, and other activities concerning the consolidation of the two schools occurred during April and May. Over 350 arrests were made. There was some minor vandalism and charges of police brutality, but no serious injuries were incurred.

During the demonstrations a predominantly black group of students presented a list of grievances to the school board. The grievances did not question the basic plan which made Burney-Harris serve all of the county's 10th grade students and Athens High serve 11th and 12th grade students. Rather, the demonstrating students were concerned with how the plan would be implemented.

The school board met with a student negotiating committee and formulated written, itemized responses to each issue raised by the students. Student leaders involved in the protest were satisfied with only one or two of the board's responses. Many of the board's answers were too general and evasive, according to the leaders.

The list of demands *per se* ceased to be an issue, however, after the board issued its written response and after the 1969-70 school year was completed. But some high school students feel that many of the issues are still not satisfactorily resolved. For example, the students wanted a black studies program implemented on a broad basis from elementary through secondary school. This year a black studies course, taught by a black teacher, is offered as a regular elective course at the high school. But some of the students in the course, while saying it was a "pretty good one,"

complained about a shortage of books. No special black studies programs have been included in the curriculum for elementary and junior high grades.

Another student concern last spring was the selection of colors for the new school. The problem appeared solved when one color was selected from Burney-Harris High and one from Athens High to form the new colors for "Clarke Central High." (This is the new name given to the secondary school system which includes the "Burney-Harris campus" and the "Athens campus.") However, the new football uniforms displayed the old Athens High color quite prominently but gave very little visibility to the old Burney-Harris color. (One Athens minister said this was typical of the "blundering, stupid, unnecessary mistakes of the white community which create bad feelings and makes our problem more difficult to solve.")

A third issue concerned the place of the Burney-Harris teaching and administrative staff in the new system. For example, the former principal at Burney-Harris High was made director of the Clarke County adult education program. (The principal at Clarke Central is white, while the assistant and building principals at the Athens and Burney-Harris campuses are evenly divided between whites and blacks.)

The most serious controversy in the merger of the two high school faculties involved football coaches. The black head coach at Burney-Harris was demoted to an assistant coach while the Athens head coach returned to his position. During the football season this situation produced considerable resentment of the part of the black football players who felt that the white coach was incapable of treating them fairly. Dissension among the black players could not be easily dismissed or overlooked by white school officials since several of the athletes not only were student leaders, but also the team's best players. (Two of them won football scholarships to the University of Georgia.)

One Monday, late last October, after the integrated Clarke Central team had lost its only game of the season, a group of black players refused to practice. They claimed that the head coach had unfairly blamed them for losing the game. The coaches and protesting students had a meeting, however, and the walkout ended the next day.

Some observers in Athens believe that the absence of more incidents like this during the season indicated a special effort on the part of coaches and players to establish mutual respect. But many of the black football players still strongly feel the need for a change in the attitude of the coaching staff.

One of them put it like this: "The head coach is wrong, he's wrong from his heart . . . . If there's anyway possible for him to straighten out, then things will work out, I believe. If they keep him, and he don't change, there won't be many black students playing ball . . . because they know what we went through. And besides, there may be trouble . . . ."

In contrast to the dissension which plagues the football team, other areas of the school's athletic program are much more satisfactory to all concerned. The basketball team is co-coached by the former Burney-Harris head coach and a coach from the former Athens High. Players said this

arrangement was working out well. As of the first week in February the team was undefeated and ranked among the top ten teams in the state.

The baseball team will have a black head coach.

Policies For Transition

The city of Athens and its schools have been free of major demonstrations since last May. The newly-named Clarke Central High School opened in September, 1970, without any disruptive incidents. Principal Hight said that many parents thought that the black and white students would never get along together. "Some parents believed the school would be blown off the map. It hasn't been. This doesn't mean we've done everything right. We've made some mistakes. But we have kept things together."

School officials have made some policy decisions that have resolved problems which continue to plague schools in other southern communities. For example, the dress code in effect this year in Clarke County schools permits considerable personal freedom in selecting the length of one's hair and the style of one's clothing. In roaming the halls and campus one sees many white students decked out in hippie-style outfits and black students with the most outstanding kinds of Afros and matching attire.

The playing of "Dixie", which has terrorized band directors and high school principals at other schools, is no problem at Clarke Central because the band stopped playing it a year before the schools were consolidated. Superintendent McDaniel says he likes it and considers it a fine song, "But," he explained, "we would prefer not to use it if it's going to offend some of our students and to cause dissension. We believe that helping students to get a good education is more important than stubborn adherence to tradition just for stubborness' sake."

One long-haired student, a member of the high school band who takes a great deal of pride in what he terms the progressive attitude of band members ("We've never had any problems admitting blacks"), said that band members themselves decided 'Dixie' wasn't worth playing if it got people all up tight." He found continued use of the song by the University of Georgia band rather juvenile. "They still play it at all the games. I wish they would grow up and realize they're living in the 20th century. They should set an example for us, not the other way around."

With the assistance of faculty members from the Department of Education at the University of Georgia, the high school is training some 17 students to work in biracial teams to lead "sensitivity sessions" on the dynamics of black-white relations with selected groups of junior high students. Initial meetings with student groups met mixed results. However, most students on the teams thought the meetings were worthwhile, but that the number of students involved was too small. What was needed, they felt, were many more school-sponsored opportunities for students to talk frankly and openly with each other about racial problems.

One student-initiated effort at promoting better understanding among students and between students and school administrators was the formation this year of a new club called "Union for Student Equality" (U-S-E).

The organization was started by a group of 10th grade students at the Burney-Harris building for the purposes of protecting the rights of students, acting as a mediator between students and faculty, and bringing students together on a social basis. USE has sponsored some community events, such as a Christmas party for Headstart children. It is trying to enlarge its membership and to secure financial assistance from HEW under the emergency school desegregation programs.

One of the more ominous new policies at the high school is the deployment of a half dozen security guards. They are all young men, uniformed, armed with a can of Mace for "self-defense". School officials claim they are there to guard against outside bullies and troublemakers. If this were the only reason they were there, one might expect to find them stationed only at the building entrances. But they in fact are found throughout the building.

Walter Allen, the black assistant principal at the high school, said that he at first had serious reservations about hiring the guards, primarily because of the potentially bad image they might have for black students. "I remember all too well," he said, "what, historically, policemen have done to me and most other black people. But now since they've been here for a while, they seem to be working out."

Student opinion of the guards is far from unanimous. Many students said they "didn't mind the guards being there", but thought they were unnecessary. Some black students said they got along well with the guards "except for one or two who try too much to assert their authority . . . ." Other students said the guards were needed to prevent incidents of extortion and bullying in the halls. Still other students expressed strong resentment of the guard's presence and felt they contributed to a repressive and tense atmosphere. However, barring a flagrant discourtesy or indiscretion by the guards, it appeared unlikely that their presence would precipitate a major incident.

The number of school-sponsored social activities at Clarke Central has been reduced considerably. The traditional fall homecoming dance was cancelled and only one other social event—a Christmas dance—has been attempted. The latter dance flopped partly because students considered ticket prices too high and partly because black students disliked the band.

School officials are proceeding cautiously in the area of social activities apparently to avoid a major incident of violence which would provoke an outcry from the white community. But many students expressed an interest in a greatly expanded social calendar. Students generally seemed much less apprehensive about the potential for trouble than did school officials and parents. One white student leader said school administrators could take necessary precautions against violence and could do much more to encourage antagonistic white and black students to cooperate in seeing that social functions were kept peaceful.

A black member of the student council offered this advice:

> The thing that would help our school now more than anything

else would be for the administration to stop worrying about the black and the white and to start worrying about students . . . Treat everbody as students because that's what they are, really . . . and the situation would work out, *but they just don't believe it.* [emphasis supplied]

Interviewed for this report during the first week in February, high school officials readily agreed that an expanded social program was highly desirable. Principal Hight said, "It is now imperative that the school sponsor more social activities. Students are growing tired of administrators using 'integration' as a crutch for not doing anything. Everyone is much more accustomed to integration now and there's no reason why we can't hold generally all of the activities that the schools sponsored before they merged."

Student Reflections

Given the encouragement and opportunity, a vast majority of black and white students probably could do much more to relieve resentment and mistrust. The following experience of one black high school senior suggests the possibilities:

> We were in this class together, another black guy and I, and we got into a discussion with white kids about the demonstrations of last spring.
>
> Some of the white kids thought we did it because we were violent, and didn't like them and didn't like anything about them.
>
> But we explained why we demonstrated. It wasn't for any reason of violence, not to cause violence. But that's the way it turned out . . . we had to demonstrate anyway.
>
> We explained [to the white students] how we really thought about things. We sort of made them see the light, to see how we really felt. It wasn't that we didn't like them, but it was a cause we were fighting for.
>
> Things won't get better until blacks and whites get to know each other as friends. That's what it takes.

The black seniors also articulated a determination to secure on a permanent basis the fundamental rights, respect, and civilities due them as American citizens.

One student, reflecting on part of the meaning of his heritage said:

> I think some of the older white folks think that stuff [white domination] is still going to happen. But, I don't believe it's going to come about anymore . . . because I'd rather be dead than do what my foreparents did . . . .
>
> When some whites come up to me now and, you know, try to holler at me and say do this, do that, demanding like, I want to retaliate . . . because I've heard many times before what my grandmother went through, and I just don't want to go through that. It's heartbreaking to know what she had to go through.

Another student:

> My mother and father, they tried to put me down, told me I was going to get in trouble because I talk a whole lot, speak my mind . . . but I say what I think because I don't mind. I told them that Martin Luther King said, 'If you don't have a cause worth dying for, you're not a man' and that's what I tell them . . .
>
> That's what they [white people] want Negroes to do anyway. Sit back and don't say anything. That's what happened to our parents. They were afraid to speak up . . . .

A third student, referring to the demotion of black teachers and principals when desegregation occurs:

> The Negro, he's been taking it for so long . . . he's tired, he's not going to take it anymore.

The Future in Athens

A biracial committee, consisting of students and faculty from the former Athens and Burney-Harris high schools, was set up three months before the April, 1970, protests to devise a mutually satisfactory way of implementing the desegregation plan. But one student, a member of the committee, reported,

> Students at Athens High wanted to be on it mainly because it was a big deal, a prestige thing, but they weren't really interested in communicating with the black students or in understanding how they really felt about having to give up their school . . . . Students' feelings should have had top priority, but they didn't.

Another observer who was involved in these early meetings also blamed black students from Burney-Harris for not taking advantage of this initial opportunity to express their opinions. "They gave us no indication of how they really felt or what they really wanted. Some of them didn't even attend some of the meetings because of basketball games . . . "

Rev. Frank Hutchison, however, white minister of the Athens United Presbyterian Church, sees the events of last spring as a logical consequence of a culmination of bigotry and ignorance on the part of much of the white community: "A lot of white people either didn't know or didn't care about the feelings of the black people, adults and students, who had strong emotional ties to their high school . . . ."

Many school and city officials in Athens do not deny that what happened last spring has made the white community more *attentive* to voices from the black community. The crucial issue, however, is whether the white community will be more *responsive* to the needs of the black community.

In the aftermath of the demonstrations several leaders in the black community spoke out against the failure of the "old Athens establishment" and the city administration to show any kind of genuine concern for the poor and problems of poverty. "The black people have not been heard," said Mrs. John T. (Jessie) Barnet. "There's a terrible lack of communications. The city seems blind to proverty."[5] When asked in

[5]Athens *Banner Herald,* May 31, 1970.

January, 1971, if the situation had improved, Mrs. Barnet replied, "Maybe it's a little bit better, but we'll just have to wait and see what happens. . . . "

Mrs. Miriam Moore is a black woman who has been quite skeptical of the concern of many white Athenians for the black community. (She calls herself a "pure-blooded Athenian" because she was born in the house where she still lives.) But Mrs. Moore sees some progress in Athens, particularly as reflected in the greater interest city officials have shown in the Athens Model City program.

Another reason for a slightly more optimistic outlook, Mrs. Moore said, is the election of 26-year-old Edward Turner to the Athens city council. He is the first black man to serve since the days of Reconstruction.[6] Turner sees a major benefit of his election as giving the black community an official voice for communicating with city officials. He said he has little indication that the city will make significant improvements in programs affecting the black community. "There's not much hope in one vote out of nine, but at least the black community will have a voice that they've never had before."

Turner emphasized that the problems in Athens involve " . . . not just improving the educational system, but raising immediately the socio-economic status of most of the students' parents. Athens needs a lot more decent job and housing opportunities for its black residents."[7]

One outgrowth of the demonstrations last spring was the establishment of the *United Free Press,* a mimeographed monthly newspaper published by a group of black and white citizens in an effort to fill a communications gap between the black and white communities. Founders of the paper say it was established " . . . due in large part to the apparent unwillingness of local newspapers and radio stations to report certain kinds of news, especially news which reflects discontent with the manner in which the public business of Athens is conducted."[8]

The paper has received a warm welcome in the black community and among students. Many black residents said the paper serves a very useful function in discussing events that the " . . . two establishment Athens dailies wouldn't touch." Continued publication of the *United Free Press* should make social injustices in Clarke County more difficult to ignore.[9]

One cannot responsibly predict that the school system will be free of major disturbances during the remainder of this school year. In Athens as in many other American communities, meaningful communication

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[6]Turner was elected from Athens' First Ward where 800 whites and 1175 blacks are registered. He defeated the white incumbent 645-571 in a runoff election after receiving the highest vote in a 3-man primary race.

[7]Only 8 per cent of the black labor force in Clarke County hold jobs classified officially as "white collar" positions, compared with 58.1 per cent of the white work force in these positions. 53.1 per cent of the county's blacks work in "service" jobs, compared with only 7.2 per cent of the white work force.

[8]*United Free Press* June 1, 1970, p. 1.

[9]In its second issue, (June 7, 1970) the *Free Press* noted "some improvement" in the "establishment" papers' coverage of events concerning the black community. Such improvements included a special eight-page feature section on "Black Athens: Triumph and Tragedy," wherein some black leaders were given an opportunity to express their ideas in public.

between white and black residents was breeched by a history of enforced patterns of racial segregation and discrimination. The legacy of that history continues to be a considerable amount of resentment, frustration, and mutual suspicion. But, through the physical desegregation of their educational system, the people of both races in Clarke County have created new significant possibilities for ending the destructive legacy and correcting past injustices.

Having taken this initial step towards giving all students, for the first time, an equal educational opportunity, school officials may find more time and resources to invest in expanding and revising the total educational program. The situation is now at the point where students and school officials can begin to confront problems more sophisticated and complex than simply placing black and white students in the same classrooms and buildings. The remaining problems, particularly at the high school and junior high schools, require a more energetic attack on feelings of mistrust, resentment, and social isolation. The present challenge is to create good-will, espirit d' corps, a situation where everyone feels that they are welcomed and "a part of the team."

Clarke County has the potential for operating one of the highest quality integrated school systems in the country. During the last decade its citizens consistently supported increased local spending for education.[10] Yet, only a small percentage of the county's available financial resources have been tapped. For example, local school revenue for 1967-68 represented only 2.2 per cent of the county's effective buying income of *$131.8 million. Less than one per cent* of the total property value of the county is being spent annually for school purposes. The people of Clarke County as a whole clearly have the ability to provide the additional financial support which will be necessary to maintain and improve their public education program.

Hopefully, there are enough people in the county who have achieved sufficient freedom from their personal prejudices and who have enough pride, determination, and patience to complete the social transformation they have initiated. Hopefully, enough people appreciate the progress that has been made and recognize the much greater progress that needs to be made so that Clarke County residents may provide, sooner than the people in many other communities, an opportunity for their children to learn to live together, acknowledging and developing the differences and similarities of their respective southern cultures.

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[10]Total current expenditures for 1968-69 were approximately 90 per cent greater than expenditures for 1964-65.

WHITE FLIGHT:

THE SEGREGATION ACADEMY MOVEMENT

By Kitty Terjen

The rapidly developing segregation academy movement in the South is an anomaly in the history of private education. Unlike parochial schools and the better private preparatory schools founded earlier in the century, the segregation academy tends to be academically inferior—accredited neither by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools nor by the states in which they operate. Although this year there is evidence that many private academies are moving from make-shift quarters into new prefab buildings, the caliber of teachers (many of whom came out of retirement to teach) remains sub-standard and the curriculum offerings, at best, are pale imitations of what is offered in the public schools.

Many of these new schools, with their underlying philosophy of "Never!", are a warping influence on the children who attend. Even aside from the implications of removing children to a segregated situation in a democratic country, it is important to note that many of these schools are motivated by an extreme right-wing philosophy which, in the name of "patriotism" and "quality education," is a perversion of the nation's ideals.

Private School Enrollment

For the 1970-71 school year, the Southern Regional Council estimates that 450,000 to 500,000 students attend private segregated schools in the 11-state South. Many of these are older private schools, not founded for the purposes of segregation but still without Negro students; others are the new segregation academies.

The Council estimated in October, 1969, that 300,000 students were enrolled in segregated private schools. After the Supreme Court's decision in October, 1969, to integrate schools "at once," the Council revised its figures upward to 400,000 students, based primarily on reports of the virtual abandonment by whites of the public schools in some areas of Mississippi and Louisiana. Since that time some whites have returned to the public schools and many of the older private schools have begun to integrate. The estimate of 450,000 to 500,000 students enrolled, therefore, represents an attempt to reflect these subtle shifts but tends to conceal the dramatic growth of the newer segregation academies. There is ample evidence that existing academies are adding grades and increasing enrollments and that a great many new academies were opened for the first time this fall.

Sources of information about the number of newer schools are fragmentary and in many cases uncertain. SRC estimates are based on the latest state records available, as well as HEW estimates and news stories.

State departments of education do not keep up with the phenomenal growth and do not usually separate the various categories of private schools. HEW estimates have proved inaccurately low. Despite SRC recommendations last year for better public records on the private school movement, up-to-date and accurate information is still not available.

State-By-State

Following is a brief state-by-state report on private school activity in the South last year:

—Alabama: The latest figures available from the state department of education are for the year 1968-69, when 39, 214 pupils reportedly were enrolled in 191 private schools of all types (including post-secondary) in the state. The only up-to-date figures available on this state are those provided by Allen Cleveland (an Auburn University graduate student), who made a survey of the non-sectarian private schools in the state last spring. He found, by interviewing school superintendents, that as of April, 1970, there were 83 non-sectarian private schools in operation in the state and that 43 would open in September, 1970. After his survey was made, Cleveland discovered an additional 20 schools which planned to open in the fall of 1970, bringing the total of new schools this year to about 65.

"I anticipated in April that 20,500 pupils would attend private schools in September. My guess now is that it is closer to 35,000," Mr. Cleveland said in January. He added that his survey did not include private schools set up in churches to avoid segregation and he indicated there were a large number of schools so situated in Alabama.

The survey, which Mr. Cleveland conducted as part of his Ph.D. dissertation at Auburn University, indicates that private school enrollment in the state has more than doubled since 1964. In addition, his study concludes that in many instances the newer the school, the lower its enrollment and tuition the more likely it is to be lacking certain elements which constitute "quality education."

—Arkansas: The department of education was having trouble keeping up with the growth of private education as a whole in the state so it quit keeping statistics in 1968. However, the *Arkansas Gazette* reported that enrollment in segregation academies—not counting older private schools and parochial schools—rose from 405 in 1969 to 2,348 in 1970. The number of such schools tripled during the year.

—Florida: This state has traditionally had a greater percentage of its school-age population enrolled in private schools than have other states in the South, but it was not believed until last year that there was any significant enrollment in segregation academies. Newspaper reports in the last year, however, reveal that there is an academy movement in that state and it is growing. During 1969-70 there were 396 private schools of all types in Florida with a total enrollment of 109,478 students. The state department has made a conservative estimate of five per cent growth this year.

—Georgia: No official statistics are kept, but an unofficial state department survey, which is incomplete, suggests that this year there are 224 private schools in the state, 144 more than there were in 1967. Enrollment this year is estimated to be 50,078 students, an increase of almost 40,000 since 1967.

—Louisiana: According to the state department of education, 165,000 students are enrolled in private schools this year, 12,380 more than the previous year and 15,152 more than 1964. The growth in Louisiana is exceptionally large but it does not show up clearly in the figures because of a concurrent drop in parochial school enrollment which is part of a national trend due to rising costs and shrinking financial support of Catholic schools. (Louisiana has a larger Catholic population than any other Southern state.)

—Mississippi: The most dramatic and most publicized growth of the academy movement has occurred in this state. This year, according to state figures, 62,676 pupils are enrolled, an increase of 43,278 students since 1964. State figures on the number of private schools are contradictory. This year the state reports 197 private schools in operation, although last year it reported 256 such schools. Newspapers document a continued growth from 1969, so an estimate of 275-300 schools would probably be accurate for the current school year.

—North Carolina: This is one of the few Southern states which attempts to keep full and current records on the private schools within its boundaries. It even has a paid coordinator of non-public schools. North Carolina has witnessed a steadily increasing private school enrollment, from 18,721 students in 1964 to 36,470 students in 1970-71, an increase of approximately 18,000. Eighty-one private schools have been created in the state since 1964, 31 in the last year.

—South Carolina: The department of education estimates that 35,000 students are enrolled in private schools this year, 9,000 more than last year and approximately 17,000 more than in 1964. The number of private schools also has risen sharply, from a reported 78 in 1964 (there were 48 in 1954) to 139 in 1969-70. The membership in the segregationist South Carolina Independent School Association has risen to 60 member schools this year, compared with 31 in mid-1969. Officials of that organization say there are many more operating in the state which are too inferior in quality to be members.

—Tennessee: The state does not keep private school statistics (except for those few—37 in 1969-70—which voluntarily request state approval) and public school enrollment figures show no significant decrease this year. Observers at the Race Relations Information Center in Nashville feel the segregation academy movement in Tennessee has been limited.

—Texas: The state department of education did not respond to SRC inquiries in time for inclusion in this report. HEW estimates that this year 57,000 are enrolled in private schools, a drop of almost 4,000 from the previous year. This drop probably reflects declining parochial school

enrollment, which is large in this state, and growth of segregated private education, if any, is not reflected.

—Virginia: The Old Dominion, a pioneer in the academy movement (Prince Edward Academy in Farmville has provided a model for other states), reports 56,304 Virginia residents enrolled in private schools this year, an increase of 5,847 from the previous year. The busing issue in Richmond and Norfolk has contributed to this increase.

IRS and the Academies

The signal event in the life of the new "segregation academy" movement during the past year, aside from its continued spread, was the Internal Revenue Service's decision on July 10 that it "can no longer legally justify allowing tax-exempt status to private schools which practice racial discrimination nor can it treat gifts to such schools as charitable deductions for income tax purposes." At first glance this new policy seemed a victory for civil rights advocates who had long argued for an end to indirect public subsidy, through the tax system, of private segregated schools organized deliberately to avoid public school desegregation. However, as the first favorable rulings were announced under the new policy, it became painfully clear that the IRS, in accepting "good faith" statements by the schools themselves as to whether they discriminate, was defeating its own stated policy.

According to Internal Revenue Service Commissioner Randolph Thrower (who since then has resigned from his position) the IRS is issuing favorable rulings "based on representations of fact made to us in writing by responsible officers of the school setting forth its admission policy and the publication of this to the public." He continued, in testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity in August: "Our whole basis of tax administration in this country . . . is based on trust. We assume a voluntary compliance . . . ."

To assume "voluntary compliance" on the part of Southern segregationists is to ignore realities that by now should be second nature to any federal official involved in civil rights enforcement. In the South, a simple statement by a private school that it is open to all regardless of race obviously will not be sufficient.

As of December 30, 1970, six months after announcement of the new policy, the IRS had not initiated revocation of the tax-exempt status of any of the estimated 17,000 to 18,000 private schools in the nation which already had tax-exempt status outstanding. (In Mississippi, the exemptions of 30 such schools were suspended, but this was under court order in the case of *Green vs. Kennedy and Thrower.*) Nor has the Southern Regional Council been able to ascertain that any of the 136 private school applications pending with the IRS as of July 10, 1970, have received unfavorable rulings.

Information and the Public

In an interview in December, Stuart Patt, an IRS spokesman, declined to say whether IRS had made even one unfavorable ruling outside the

Mississippi cases. "We don't make announcements on that," he said. "As long as schools are not exempt, they are taxpayers entitled to the same privileges under the law as all taxpayers . . . . We are prohibited by law from disclosing the affairs of a taxpayer."

This interpretation was rejected by the U. S. District Court of the District of Columbia when it ordered the IRS to make public the names of the 30 schools under its jurisdiction whose tax exemptions were suspended. Many believe that all such IRS rulings, favorable or unfavorable, are matters of public record.

The subject of private schools at the IRS is "so sensitive that we've been cautioned to follow correct procedures," Mrs. June Norris, acting chief of the rulings section, Exempt Organizations Branch, told a researcher who inquired about such information for this report. This "sensitivity" has led to equivocation by some members of the IRS bureaucracy. For example Mr. Patt declined to supply an SRC researcher the list of *136* schools whose applications for tax exemption IRS Commissioner Thrower said were pending July 10, 1970. "Until they receive the exemptions, we can't disclose anything about them," Patt said. However, the IRS did supply the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity a list of *137* private schools with applications pending as of August 7, 1970, and the list was published in the record of the hearings which are available to the public.

To further confuse matters, the IRS, after announcing in Washington the names of the first seven schools which received favorable rulings, began with the eighth favorable ruling to make announcements only at the district-office level. There are 58 districts. Furthermore, rulings on the 17,000 to 18,000 private schools with exemptions outstanding will be made at the district level, according to Terry Gastell of the IRS Public Information Office in Washington. He said he did not think the names of schools approved or disapproved on review would be available in Washington. "We will probably have some statistics," he said.

The IRS, then, is giving no assurances at this time that information regarding any of its rulings, favorable or unfavorable, will be made available to the public generally. Without such information a meaningful evaluation of the effects of the new IRS policy on private school tax exemption will be all but impossible.

Favorable Rulings

As of December 2, 1970, a total of 58 private schools had been granted advance assurance of tax exemption by the IRS. The Southern Regional Council was able to obtain a copy of this list from the IRS in Washington. Of those schools granted favorable rulings, nine were in Mississippi and under jurisdiction of the federal court in the *Green* case. (Eight of these schools are awaiting decision by the court on an appeal by the plaintiffs, who contend that the schools, despite their declaration that they have a non-discriminatory admissions policy, are "part of a system of private schools operated on a racially segregated basis as an alternative to white

students seeking to avoid desegregated public schools." The ninth school, the Saints Academy in Lexington, is integrated and its exemption was not challenged by the plaintiffs.)

Of the 49 private schools outside Mississippi which have been granted tax exemption, one school, the Pinewood Christian Academy in Claxton, Ga., does not appear on the list of 137 private schools with applications pending August 7 (as listed in the committee hearings). Nor were the names of the first seven schools which received IRS approval on July 19 on the list supplied to the Equal Educational Opportunity Committee by the IRS. It is very difficult, therefore, to determine whether the IRS is presently issuing rulings only on those schools whose applications were pending at the time of the policy change or whether the IRS is adding, and approving, private schools. Furthermore, current IRS policy makes it impossible to determine which schools with applications pending, if any, have received unfavorable rulings.

Violations

Shortly after the first six IRS exemptions were announced, Mrs. Ruby Martin of the Washington Research Project testified before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity that at least three of the six private schools granted exemption fit "the classic pattern of the segregation academy." At later hearings before this committee, the IRS commissioner said: "We have not at this time made an effort to determine the motivation for the formation of the seven schools about which you specifically requested." Adding that decisions were "prospective" and that the IRS was giving all schools ample opportunity to "conform," Thrower refused to be convinced that a school which was organized to avoid public school desegregation and which remained segregated should be judged on those grounds. "I am not willing," he said, "to make the assumption that assurances given us in writing by the leaders of any institution will represent a farce and a fraud. If any are, we want that called to our attention."

Sen. Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, called to Thrower's attention the following evidence provided by Robert Valder of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.:

> . . . . The information contained below was obtained by Mr. Ernest Johnson, a black resident of Alabama . . . .
>
> Mr. Johnson went to Newnan, Ga., at my request to obtain certain information about Heritage School on July 31 and August 1, 1970. Mr. Johnson first talked to two black residents of Newnan who wish to remain anonymous. One of the residents told Mr. Johnson that the Newnan City Council, in a meeting during the summer of 1969, had discussed methods of 'keeping the niggers out of' the Heritage School. One method discussed during that meeting was to charge excessively high tuition.
>
> In order to get the most complete information possible, I had asked Mr. Johnson to attempt to obtain an application form for

this school. Accordingly, Mr. Johnson decided to ask a black parent to go to the office of this school and say that she was thinking about enrolling one of her children in the school. She refused because she said she had seen an article in the local paper during the summer of 1969 which stated that this school was for 'whites only.' Mr. Johnson went to the local newspaper office in an attempt to locate that article, but was told that newspapers were not retained in that office for that length of time. Mr. Johnson then went to the school's office and talked to Mr. George H. Keller Jr. who is headmaster.

Mr. Johnson told Mr. Keller that he was thinking about enrolling his child in this school and would like to obtain an application form and any other relevant information. Mr. Keller told Mr. Johnson that at the present time no Negroes had applied to enroll their children in the school but that Mr. Johnson could make such an application if he had $750.00 'in your ass pocket.' Mr. Keller did give Mr. Johnson an application form and information about tuition costs. Mr. Johnson said Mr. Keller's general demeanor towards him was 'nasty and hostile.'

Mr. Keller also told Mr. Johnson that if his children were enrolled they would have to be 'clean and decent.'

Enclosed is a copy of the application form for this school. It should be noted that references are required; obviously such a requirement would act as a deterrent should any black person have the desire to attempt to enroll his child in this school . . . .

Enclosed are Xeroxed copies of clippings from the Newnan *Times-Herald*. The clipping dated July 9, 1970, does not state that this school is open to blacks. One of the clippings dated July 16, 1970, does make such an indication. The implication being that suddenly this school became open to black students . . . .

Commissioner Thrower rejected the deeply distrubing allegations in Mr. Johnson's report. He preferred to believe that the Heritage officials were acting in good faith. To the knowledge of SRC, the IRS has not yet investigated the Legal Defense Fund's complaints against the Heritage School.

While Thrower testified that he would welcome information from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson later said that the burden of monitoring private schools will be on private citizens. He said Southerners who feel the private schools are discriminating can complain to the IRS or file suit.

Enforcement

The Southern Regional Council recently discovered that five of the six private schools in South Carolina which have been granted tax exemption as of December 2 are members of the segregationist South Carolina Independent School Association. The sixth school, the Union Academy, received advice at its inception from Dr. T. E. Wannamaker, a hero of the white Citizens Councils and a founder of the South Carolina associa-

tion, which has been closely aligned with the Citizens Councils organization. The Union Academy, according to one of its board members, intends to join the association in the near future.

One of the first schools to be granted exemption by the IRS under its policy is the Gaffney Day School. As early as 1966 this school was listed as a member of the South Carolina association and it is on record with the IRS as having "applied for membership in the South Carolina Independent School Association and this will be the accrediting agency." When the Gaffney School first appeared on the membership roster of the South Carolina association, Dr. Wannamaker, then president of the group, told the Columbia *State* and *Record* (July 10, 1966): "We're here because we have convictions—and we're going to stay. It's not token integration we're concerned about, but the effects mass integration will have on our schools in the future . . . . The immediate concern is this heavy ratio, the future concern is amalgamation of the races which takes three generations." In the past Dr. Wannamaker has indicated he believes in the inherent inferiority of Negroes and on one occasion he told the Washington *Post:* "I'm an old-time conservative. I believe it's heredity first and environment second. Many (Negroes) are little more than field hands."

The South Carolina Independent School Association's close relationship with the white Citizens Councils often has been kept in the background. As early as February, 1966, an article by Dr. Wannamaker entitled "Private Schools—Developments in South Carolina," appeared in *The Citizen,* the monthly publication of the Citizens Council, and his picture was on the cover. In June, 1969, William J. Simmons, administrator of the Citizens Council, told a New York *Times* reporter that "there are about 24 (private schools) in South Carolina, where the council-sponsored school system is called the Independent School Association . . . ." Later that year Mr. Simmons attended the annual convention of the South Carolina association at Hilton Head as an "observer." The Columbia *State* on December 15, 1969, reported: "The soft-spoken, easy-talking Mississippian said forthrightly that he isn't much impressed by some private school-men who emphasize the need for quality education. He said, matter-of-factly, the root is school integration."

The five schools in South Carolina which have been granted favorable rulings by the IRS, despite their membership in an association which has linked arms with the white Citizens Councils and which in earlier days espoused segregation openly but which now couches its beliefs in terms of "quality education", are:

> The Gaffney School, Gaffney; Holly Hill Academy, Holly Hill; Thomas Heyward Academy, Ridgeland; Coastal Academy; Myrtle Beach; Thomas Hart Academy, Hartsville.

(The sixth school, Union Academy, which received a favorable ruling from the IRS, plans to join the South Carolina association in the near future.)

Because of the new IRS policy, all these schools now have publicly espoused a non-discriminatory admissions policy and published it in a local newspaper (to satisfy an IRS requirement), something not all members of the South Carolina association are sure they are willing to do, even hypocritically. Hillyer Rudisill III, a ranking official in the South Carolina association, recently said he is wary of publishing a statement on non-discrimination in the local newspaper and then claiming that no qualified Negro has applied. Even that would be "capitulation" to the federal government, in his view. "If you said there were no qualified Negro applicants, some Yankee psychologist would come down and say the tests are culturally biased," he said.

Sentiments like these suggest the real spirit of the segregation academy movement. Commissioner Thrower, however, did not consider them relevant. It is his judgment that the IRS exemption rulings should be based only on officially published statements. This policy ignores the cynicism of the statements and the fact that they are designed to placate the IRS. "This policy," Thrower told the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, "makes available to all children, without regard to race, private education in the country which has the benefit of tax exemption. What we are assuring is availability, not attendance." Paper assurances, of course, do not insure availability and the IRS, in a recent attempt to recoup some of its credibility on the subject, told Atlanta *Journal* education editor Junie Brown that the July 10 ruling does not apply to such areas as "testing, grade requirements, high tuition and other technicalities to try to keep Negro students out while still proclaiming an open-door policy." Nor, obviously, does the IRS consider, as it hands out favorable rulings, the social and economic pressures of the white community—not to mention outright violence—which might face Negroes attempting to enroll their children in a private school in the South.

The Green Case

The ugly reality of the situation seems to have entirely escaped the Internal Revenue Service, but it has not escaped the plaintiffs in the *Green* case, who argued in December before the U. S. District Court in the District of Columbia that "the name of the game is paper compliance" to obtain tax-exempt status. The specific issue now before the court involves the eight schools in Mississippi which were granted favorable tax rulings by the IRS last fall. All eight have officially declared that they will accept applications from black pupils, but in none are blacks actually enrolled. One reason for this, an IRS lawyer argued, was that "none have applied."

The *Green* case is significant because it has ordered the IRS to "first affirmatively determine . . . that a school . . . is not a part of a system of private schools operated on a racially segregated basis as an alternative to white students seeking to avoid desegregated public schools." The judges, according to the Washington *Post,* "have made it clear that they were not entirely satisfied with IRS action to date." If the court requires the IRS

to go beyond paper compliance in Mississippi, it will surely be forced to do so in the rest of the country. ("Or else Jim Eastland would scream," noted Frank Parker, who is lawyer for the plaintiffs.) If so, then surely most of the 57 favorable rulings issued as of December 2, 1970, would have to be rescinded.

Schools With Favorable Rulings Outstanding

According to IRS sources, a review of the estimated 17,000 to 18,000 private schools in the country with favorable tax rulings outstanding is still in process. "We really don't know very much about the admissions policy of these schools," IRS Spokesman Stuart Patt said. "We have sent out a questionnaire form to all schools we could possibly pick off our lists." Patt said the due date for return of these questionnaires was December 30, 1970. "Until the examinations branch has all of these questionnaires back and goes through them, we won't be able to undertake a full-scale examination in this area," he said. He added that no tax exemptions for private schools approved in previous years had been revoked as of December 30, 1970.

Unless the court intervenes, the IRS will probably continue its farcical acceptance of the written word. There is no evidence that the IRS has yet conducted field examinations or considered the racial constituency of the student body (an earlier criterion announced by the IRS, but later dropped from the record) of a private school seeking tax exemption. All evidence points toward satisfaction with the present policy.

Despite the IRS's new policy on private schools, the government is continuing its indirect subsidy of segregated private schools by granting favorable rulings to schools which hypocritically announce an open-door policy. Its announced position is that if a school's tax-exempt status is revoked, gifts or contributions made to it before the revocation will not be affected. A school already might have received its major capital gifts before adverse action is taken in Washington. Thus, on the strength of bad judgments by IRS in the initial phase, some schools that are not eligible for an exemption will have received the benefit of one at the most crucial stage of their development. While approximately 85 per cent of the private schools' operating costs can be met by tuition and other fees, funds for capital improvements are almost totally dependent upon contributions.

As a letter to the editor of the New York *Times* (August 2, 1970) suggests: "By such action these schools would be able to assure their contributors that the deductibility of their contributions would not be in question. After the buildings have been completed and the buses have been bought out of tax deductible contributions, the effect of a revocation is not harsh since the daily operating costs may be satisfied through tuition payments.

"If the administration is sincere in its aim to prevent the formation of tax-exempt segregated schools, it should ask the IRS to point out that a deliberate misrepresentation in a tax exemption application constitutes a

crime, with a maximum penalty of a fine of $5,000 and three years imprisonment."

Effect on Public Education

While the proportion of students enrolled in all private schools in the South is still below the national average, the growth of private school enrollments in some areas has had an undermining effect on the public schools. The South, a region which traditionally has been at the bottom in virtually every aspect of public education, is again being victimized by its own racial fears. Because of the private school movement, many areas are seeing a return to separate-but-unequal education. According to the latest figures from the National Education Association, four Southern states show a significant drop in public school enrollment this year:

State	*1969/70*	*1970/71*	*Loss*
Alabama	825,072	803,507	—21,565
Louisiana	853,766	842,365	−11,401
Mississippi	575,284	534,395	−40,889
South Carolina	648,182	646,100	− 2,082

In many areas within these states the public school systems are becoming all-black. In many of these instances the school boards remain under the control of whites who are sending their children to private schools. Instances of the transfer or gift of public school property and materials to private schools have been alleged. State revenue to public schools, usually based on average daily attendance, has decreased with white flight and evidence is accumulating that local bond issues for public schools in several Southern states are being voted down because of the move to the academies.

The problem compounds itself. As black enrollment increases, achievement test scores begin to drop, reflecting centuries of educational abuse Negroes have suffered in segregated schools and a segregated society. Negro drop-out rates increase because the public school system in the South is still, generally, a white middle-class institution which does not effectively serve its new constituents. White parents became more and more reluctant to send their children to schools as the percentage of blacks in a school increases and the benefits of an integrated education are lost to all. The present institutional framework of public education is generating trouble and unless effective solutions are created, there is a grave danger that public education in many parts of the South will disintegrate.

Because the segregation academy movement is a prime factor in this depressing state of education in the region, it is imperative that all publicly-supported encouragement of segregated private schools—by tax exemptions, free lunches, etc.—be withdrawn at once. Further, to insure an educated populace for the future, minimal standards of quality should be required of all private schools for the safety and well-being of all.

BLACK STUDENTS SPEAK:

THEY'RE LOOKING TO US AS EXAMPLES

(The following is from a tape recording of a discussion by four black high school seniors who are in their first year at a fully integrated school in a small southern city. It is not necessarily representative of all problems or ranges of opinion among southern students. But it does suggest the concrete reality of a situation about which adults have done so much abstracting and generalizing. And it reflects that which in all southern young people needs only encouragement and honest adult leadership for the making of a better South and better America.)

FIRST STUDENT: You know it may not seem important to some people. But to us—you know we had been going to [all-black school] for three years—and to go to another school and lose all our identity wouldn't seem right to us. Because you know we had more pride in our school than to just go lose it. So we wanted our school colors—you know not all of them—but consolidated. We wanted part of our colors to be there, too. I mean they really sort of played our school color out. They had more of theirs than ours. They just gave a few stripes. [laughter]

SECOND STUDENT: They just had a little stripe of gold [on football uniforms]. All the rest of it was [formerly predominantly white school] colors. For them it was just like last year—only instead of having a little white stripe they had a little gold stripe.

THIRD STUDENT: Football. That's where most of the problems come from—football. The Negro students and the coaching staff—how we were treated over there. . . . They criticized our coaches—about how we played ball. Yet still we had the best players—most of the best players out there on the field were Negroes.

FOURTH STUDENT: Our head coach was assistant B-team coach and our head line coach was really assistant C-team coach and our one black coach on the varsity was—they always sent him down on the end with the leftovers. . . . The head coach [of the B-team] just started coaching this year.

THIRD STUDENT: I think they should change the whole coaching staff. As long as you have Negro players the kinds of things that happened this year will go on happening after the coach acted like he did this year.

FOURTH STUDENT: Rather than get a black head coach, they should

get a fair head coach. Get a man that's qualified. He doesn't have to be black to be qualified. Someone who can deal with both black and white ball players.

FIRST STUDENT: Someone who would treat one player as he would treat another.

SECOND STUDENT: [The present coach] will be back next year. But I don't think he should. They should get a coach who is fair to all players.

FIRST STUDENT: What his problem is—he is the authority over there at school.

THIRD STUDENT: He runs everything.

FIRST STUDENT: What he says—he tells the principal what to do. He can tell anyone what to do over there because you know—they consider him as a god because, you know, he had a pretty good season—winning teams, you know. So he thinks everything should go his way. And the principal lets him have his way.

THIRD STUDENT: On the basketball team it seems as though to me they [white and black co-coaches] try to do half-way right. If they make a decision they try to show that both of them discussed it and made the decision together. . . . The basketball situation is a lot better than the football situation [even though the white co-coach is, in effect, in charge of both the girls' and boys' teams]. Not just because we have more black players out there—even though the black players we have out there—they are the best.

FIRST STUDENT: [A big difference in the new school situation this year] is that the higher authorities expect you to change. You know—you've been going to a black school for twelve years and they expect you to change your ways, your traditions and everything, you know—even your language. They expect you to change this in a year . . . You can change a little. But there's no reason to change totally. The teachers—they're all right. They don't try to be so rough. Just a few do.

FOURTH STUDENT: The principal and assistant principal, they'll get you in the office and the first thing they'll tell you is—you're supposed to be setting an example. You can't be with all the other black students out there. You got to walk this way. You got to talk this way. I told him one day, I'm on the student council and he going to tell me I couldn't be with those people. I told him they were the ones who elected me. For me to turn my back now—In other words they want you to be white. I mean they want me—if some trouble comes about—to tell 'em to be cool. Don't boycott. Go along with it. I know it's wrong. But go along with it. I don't believe in it.

SECOND STUDENT: They always tell us they're looking to us as examples. But we got to live with our color. They don't have to live with our color. They don't. We grew up with them. For us to go out there and change—uh-uh—ain't no way. They talk about you got to set an example. Don't do what you see everybody else doing. They want you to stay out from around ones they think cause a whole lot of trouble. We got a little

old place out there [in front of the school]. A lot of Negroes hang out there. They don't want you to hang out there. That's a bad group. You know it's mostly hippies and Negroes hang out there in front. I been with 'em all my life. I can't change in one year. . . . If a Negro don't come to school and they happen to see him on campus, he gets suspended. They've thrown out a lot of them, and the majority was Negro. . . . The Negroes and hippies get along very well.

FIRST STUDENT: They sort of had a reason for putting [security guards] in—consolidation, integration and all. They don't bug me. The majority are white. Some people say they bug them—they try to say they're like policemen or cops or something. But I don't think it should bug them. If you don't do wrong, they don't have anything to do.

FOURTH STUDENT: You have to give it to them. Some of them go out of the way to be nice to you. One of them, white, when he sees a black person, he says, "Brother—brother . . ." You can talk to them. . . . We get along with them. Black people do. But like I say, those hippies and some of the white people, they don't like them. . . .

THIRD STUDENT: They're just trying to do a job. I think it's good to have them over there . . .

I get along with most of the white kids. In football, we got along all right. They didn't get mad or anything while we were out there on the field. But now after football season is over with—we're just like somebody who just walked onto the schoolyard. When we were football players, they thought something of us.

FIRST STUDENT: The young black students—they can get along with the young white students. The young black students, they have a rather different idea towards older white people. I mean you can't—maybe it's just a generation gap or something like that . . . But the young white students, they sort of understand some parts of how we act.

SECOND STUDENT: All the while we were playing football, all the white football players—they only spoke to Negro football players. You know, seems like there were just a few who would speak to a Negro they didn't play football with. If they would see me coming down the hall, they'd speak. But if you didn't play no football they wouldn't have nothing to do with you. Then when football season was over—don't none of 'em speak to us. It don't make me no difference but—they say we're integrated, but we are not because when you go over there, you've got the blacks in one group, you've got the hippies in one group, you've got the whites in one group. You may find a few whites and blacks together. But mostly you got the whites and hippies and blacks . . . I ain't going to die over them not talking to me—but if you're going to integrate you ought to go over there and be together on things. I try to get along with them. We went over there trying to make the thing work. We gave them a lot. We went over there, we had to go by their rules. . . .

You know we used to have dances. Well, they cut that out. We like to go to dances. [The town] is pretty dead nowadays. You don't have anywhere

to go. Now we can't have a dance because somebody's going to get to fighting. That's the first thing they bring up.

FOURTH STUDENT: If they're going to fight, they'll fight anyhow. We are over there all day—we go to school together.

THIRD STUDENT: So why shouldn't we be able to go over there to a dance? We didn't have no homecoming court or anything. We go to school all day with them. Why shouldn't we be able to socialize with them at a dance? . . .

Anything they have over there, it looks like they try to eliminate a lot of Negroes from being in it, anyway.

FIRST STUDENT: If they're going to have integration over there, seems as though they should want the blacks and whites to get together. But seems like they try to keep us apart. I don't know what they think. I guess they think we can't be together.

FOURTH STUDENT: He [the principal] argued with me about assembly programs. We were going to have a black history program and [one on] Martin Luther King's assassination. He was afraid any time we get in there together there's going to be an all-out battle. We had one program, and he was afraid Negroes and whites were going to get to fighting then. Nobody didn't get in a fight. It was just like anything else. I told him one day, "What you trying to hide? If we go fight, you might as well get it over with. Let 'em fight." He dodged around all the issues, you know. . . .

FIRST STUDENT: The school year is almost half-way over, and we haven't had even two fights over to the school yet between black and white. I mean why do they try to avoid the issue? If the blacks want to fight, they'll fight. We're just like they [whites] are. I mean they try to label us as violent and all that. We are just like they are. We have brains.

THIRD STUDENT: I think that what we did last year, going over there protesting—that helped a lot. I bet you they weren't going to change the colors and all. Because they think that Negroes, we don't think about anything. That we would just go over there and give in to what they already had over there. We had traditions just like they did.

FOURTH STUDENT: The principal admitted himself if it hadn't been for those demonstrations, they weren't going to change anything. . . .

FIRST STUDENT: You know you're not going to have many white people taking that [black history] course. I like the class myself. It reminds me of last year. When I go in there, it's mostly Negroes. Three hippies go in there. It's just like a regular [all-black school] class for me. I feel right with it. They say they don't have any class books for Negro history. . . .

THIRD STUDENT: They're doing things to bring about demonstrations over at that school.

FOURTH STUDENT: If they keep on, it's kind of like a steam pot. If you keep it on the stove the pressure builds, the top will blow off. . . . They should just show they aren't scared of us. Like they feel like we are wild, going to fight . . . . Give me a chance. They say, you know, hot weather—

we're supposed to riot and tear up in hot weather. That's the way black people are. That's what they believe, I guess. But if all along we had been having dances—you know, the more you become familiar with people the less it will be. Like going to school with them—you know, you don't notice white people too much. The first day you really noticed 'em—but now it's just common. If we had dances with 'em, it'd be common if we kept doing it.

FIRST STUDENT: I think they should have a dance and just see how it worked out with the Negroes and the whites. You can't hide from things. They going be thinking about the same thing we are right now. They're making it bad for themselves. For example—if you have a friend that's a white friend—if you made friends with him, you know and socialized with him, if something were to happen you wouldn't want to take it out on your friend—because he's a friend, too. He's just your friend. But I mean if you don't socialize with 'em or anything like that and he's just around, he may get hurt just like the rest of 'em. If you socialize, well, you know, you don't have any problems. If you're separate—like we're all-black and you're all-white—if something comes up, you don't care who gets hurt. . . .

THIRD STUDENT: When we started demonstrating, we didn't start off by going straight to violence. We went over there and tried to talk to the principal, and get a meeting going and everything. They tried to run us out.

[The most of violence that occurred in the demonstrations was by police during mass arrests. Some black students were involved in window breaking.]

FOURTH STUDENT: We had been meeting for two or three months and we couldn't find anything. No changes had been made; no attempt to make any changes had been made. . . . We tried to tell [an assistant principal] and he just ran us out. He literally ran us out from over there. After that there wasn't anything else to do but this other thing. Demonstrating worked better than talking.

FIRST STUDENT: Some people say you can't solve anything by violence. We didn't intend to solve it by violence. It wasn't going to be in a violent way but the stuff just kept building up and building up. We didn't try violence, but that's the way it turned out.

THIRD STUDENT: Like they say you can't handle things by violence, and they over there fighting in the war, trying to solve it by violence. . . You see that talking isn't getting you anywhere. You can't talk your way out of everything. You have to fight your way out sometimes. [laughter] . . .

The same thing will come about next year. They talk about building a new school. When they build a new school, they got to find a way. So why not be looking for it now. They wait 'til the last minute and then they go drop something down on your shoulders. And you're supposed to take that and go on with it. . . .

They get us and try to talk with us individually. We can't tell what everybody's going to be thinking about out there in the student body. The

principal and all have got to get the students together and talk about solving problems. They can't just get some of the folks. . . .

FOURTH STUDENT: [The principal] is not the main problem. You know I talk to him a lot. I kind of feel sorry for him really. I think he's just scared. You know, he's trying to keep his school together so the people in this community won't get on him—because, you know, they got on him last year. I told him, "You ought to face the problem," you know, but he just don't want to face the problem. He tries to stay in the middle. The middle of the road is not the best answer. . . . Do it fairly. Go on and face the problem and let it go.

FIRST STUDENT: [A black assistant principal] is a pretty good guy. He tries to work with everybody. He don't just try to work with blacks and not work with whites. He tries to work with white and black, and you know, get us all together. He's not trying to be separatist or anything like that.

FOURTH STUDENT: The situation at that school would be worse if it weren't for [the same assistant principal] because, you know, he understands. He tries to understand you and he listens to the problem. He's helping not just white and not just black; he's helping the whole student body.

THIRD STUDENT: The white students and the black students trust him more than they do anybody else over there. . . .

They try to keep dodging. . . . I don't think it'll be any better myself. You try to be friends with the whites. Now you might be a friend with some that go to classes with you. But some of 'em you can't meet—they don't get a chance to see or anything.

FOURTH STUDENT: We get along with the white students. It's just the older people. I don't know—they've got the wrong—I don't know where their ideas come from.

THIRD STUDENT: If someone started now and when it comes to the students that come behind us someone would help try to bring it along again. It would keep building up and then one day it would be all right and everyone would be human beings.

FIRST STUDENT: If they keep us separated things are going to remain the same. It's going to be just like when they first started integration if they keep us separated. But if we mingle and become more understanding toward each other, why things could be better.

SECOND STUDENT: A lot of people say if it hadn't been for the football team, for the football, with Negroes going out there and getting along with the whites, and going along with it, things would have been all messed up. The way I look at it, they're going to have to get a better coach if they going to want this thing to work out.

THIRD STUDENT: If [the present coach] had been [in an integrated situation] three years ago, he wouldn't be there today. The students that were before us wouldn't stand for this. They think that we are violent, but the students that came before us . . . would have turned it out a long time ago.

FIRST STUDENT: Time . . . time solves a whole lot, you know. The students that were before us—some of them have told us they don't want to associate with whites and they don't want whites to associate with them. But time changes. We want to, you know, get together. Things can't go just separated all the time. But then—they hadn't experienced being with whites, whites with blacks, you know. They were just apathetic. They just didn't care about nothing. We do care. We want things to go on right.

THIRD STUDENT: We was young when we first started. . . . You can't teach an old dog new tricks. When we was young, we had a chance to associate with some white teachers. They talked to us. . . .

SECOND STUDENT: They think they can tell the Negro anything and he'll go along with it. But they're wrong. These Negroes, they've got to the point where they don't want to take no more foolishness. You've been through it so long that you've done got tired of it. Don't want to take it no more. Out there on the field, when the coach hollers at us, that's the white man, he's been hollering at us all the time. . . .

FOURTH STUDENT: On a football team, you're going to get hollered at and if you deserve it. . . . I don't mind.

THIRD STUDENT: If you're black and you're not super, you don't get to play.

THIRD STUDENT: I think it's more the older whites than the younger whites. I get along with them. I've got more white friends—whites that I speak to.

FIRST STUDENT: You know my grandmother is 93 years old and you know she's kicking about pretty good. She tells me about what she used to go through, how she used to try to make a living. Compared to now, it was hard. I sort of think, you know, how could people treat people that way?

FOURTH STUDENT: You never will get total integration. You know that. But we're in there together. I figure if they'd put somebody eighteen or twenty years old in there as assistant principal and let 'em go on you know the school would be all right. People are people—I don't care. I don't say there'll be total integration. But I can live with you just as long as you'll live with me. Just like those people at school. We can live with them. We get along well with them.

FIRST STUDENT: You take a Martian and an Earthman, and they get together—you don't expect them to do the same thing. That's the way with Negroes and whites. You can't expect them to talk the same, dance the same. . . . Talk, dance, think.

THIRD STUDENT: All these things they're doing [at school]—some Negroes are looking at it. It won't take a whole group of folks to do it. If some Negroes get together and . . . . start something . . . then everybody's going to join in with it. I mean why shouldn't I help? If some Negroes get together and say, "I'm just fed up"—that's what happened over to the school last year. Everybody just started talking and the hall filled up and everything. . . . It won't be planned or anything; it'll just happen.

SECOND STUDENT: If it keeps going on like it's going now, there's going to be some trouble. If they keep ducking and dodging and going on like it is, just like the man says, it's going to get hot after awhile . . .

They're trying to hide [from] social life . . . Going out to dances and things with white people. . . .

FOURTH STUDENT: Our Negro principal [last year] is a principal now in a night school. . . . We were trying to help him. If he had stuck with us he might have been a principal or assistant principal [at the integrated school]. We would like to see our principal get a good job.

THIRD STUDENT: Like our coach. He was the head coach and has fallen back to assistant coach. . . .

FOURTH STUDENT: How does [the principal] feel now? I'd leave this town. . . Money helps. But my pride—being a man—that's what we're trying to get away from—these black men who . . . aren't men. They're "boy" you know—that's why they call them boys all the time. That's what we're getting away from. We want to be men.

FIRST STUDENT: If they don't want to talk with you, don't want to associate with you, don't want to say anything—and you go up to them and say something, and they'll walk on off. . . . That sort of gets me. I can't see why they think they are so much superior. . . .

THIRD STUDENT: Now my sister, she's real small. She probably doesn't think much about it [integration]. She's in the fifth grade. She gets along with the whites all right. They call her and she has friends. My little nephew, he brings white friends home, and he goes over there sometimes. The young folk get along all right.

FOURTH STUDENT: They've been going together all along. It's nothing new. . . .

SCHOOL CASES

Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, North Carolina

Mobile County and City, Alabama

Clarke County, Georgia

N.C. Anti-bussing Statute

The attached material summarizes the school decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court on April 20, 1971. The summaries are taken with permission from the Race Relations Law Survey, Vol. 3, No. 1, May, 1971.

These cases are a major recent reminder of the continuing firm role taken by the Court in requiring actual desegregation without further delay.

Public Schools (Supreme Court Decisions)

On April 20, 1971, the Supreme Court handed down decisions in five school cases which had been awaiting determination since they were argued in October, 1970. Three of them were concerned with the desegregation of the schools in *Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, N.C., Mobile County and city, Ala.*, and *Clarke County, Ga.*, while the other two related to the validity of the North Carolina anti-busing statute. Chief Justice Burger wrote the opinion for the unanimous Court in four of the cases; in the fifth, a brief Per Curiam opinion was filed.

The principal opinion was written for the *Charlotte-Mecklenburg* decision, which not only sustained the validity of the desegregation plan prescribed by the district court for that school system (see 2 Race Rel. L. Survey 8 and 125), but also established some general guidelines regarding the Court's current interpretation of the constitutional requirement that dual school systems be abolished. Noting that at no time during the seventeen years since the Brown case was decided "has the Court deviated in the slightest degree from that holding or its constitutional underpinnings," Chief Justice Burger declared: "The objective today remains to eliminate from the public schools all vestiges of state-imposed segregation." At several points in the opinion, the import of the decision was apparently restricted to situations involving de jure segregation produced by the manner in which state and local governments had established and operated the public school system. This limitation was indicated by the Court's early emphasis on the fact that the case came from a state with a long history of maintaining separate schools based solely on race, that the Brown case had declared such operations unconstitutional, and that the present problem was to define more precisely the scope of the duty of school officials to implement the mandate of the Brown case. Further, the Court asserted: "The elimination of racial discrimination in public schools is a large task, and one that should not be retarded by efforts to achieve broader purposes lying beyond the jurisdiction of school authorities. . . . We do not reach in this case the question whether a showing that school segregation as a consequence of other types of state action, without any discriminatory action by the school authorities, is a constitutional violation requiring remedial action by a school desegregation decree."

Though the Court declined to attempt to delineate generally what constitutes "a nonracial unitary school system," the opinion contains a number of references to elements which are or are not required for such a system. (1) In regard to "such matters as transportation, supporting personnel, and extracurricular activities . . . maintenance of buildings and the distribution of equipment," the "remedial responsibility of school authorities is to eliminate invidious racial distinctions." (2) As to faculties, the arguments that assignments must be on a "color blind" basis—"that the Constitution prohibits district courts from using their equity power to order assignment of teachers to achieve a particular degree of faculty desegregation"—was explicitly rejected; and the duty of the courts to further the process of desegregation by requiring biracial faculties in all schools in a system was re-affirmed. (3) In discussing the construction of new schools and the closing of old ones, the Court declared that both the school boards and the courts are under a responsibility "to see to it that future school con-

struction and abandonment is not used and does not serve to perpetuate and re-establish the dual system." (4) Regarding the imposition of racial quota or balance requirements in the formulation of desegregation plans, the court stated that if the district court had required "as a matter of substantive constitutional right, any particular degree of racial balance or mixing," the decision below would have been reversed, because: "The constitutional command to desegregate schools does not mean that every school in every community must always reflect the racial composition of the school system as a whole." However, the district court was found not to have pursued such a course, but rather to have used the 71-29 per cent white-Negro ratio as merely a desirable general objective to be achieved for each school where feasible, rather than as an "inflexible requirement." (5) Further, it was declared (for the first time by the Supreme Court) that "the existence of some small number of one-race, or virtually one-race. schools within a district is not in and of itself the mark of a system which still practices segregation by law." However, it was quickly added that "every effort [should be made] to achieve the greatest possible degree of actual desegregation," and that there is "a presumption against schools which are substantially disporportionate in their racial composition"—a presumption which places on school officials the burden "to satisfy the court that [the] racial composition [of such schools] is not the result of present or past discriminatory action on their part." (6) The Supreme Court also confirmed for the first time the requirement previously laid down by several lower federal courts that desegregation plans include a majority-to-minority transfer privilege for students, and that students exercising the privilege are to be accorded free transportation to, and priority of claim to space in, the transferee school. (7) The gerrymandering of geographical attendance zones (including the incorporation of non-continguous areas into a single zone), and the use of pairing, grouping or clustering schools (even those located in non-contiguous areas), as a means of deliberately placing more Negro students in formerly white schools and more white students in formerly Negro schools was declared not to be "beyond the broad remedial powers of a court." In this regard the Court observed: "All things being equal, with no history of discrimination, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation. The remedy for such segregation may be administratively awkward, inconvenient and even bizarre in some situations and may impose burdens on some; but all awkwardness and inconvenience cannot be avoided in the interim period when remedial adjustments are being made to eliminate the dual school systems." It was then conceded that: "No fixed or even substantially fixed guidelines can be established as to how far a court can go, but it must be recognized that there are limits." Deciding what is within the proper limits in each specific situation was said to depend on what is necessary to achieve the objective of dismantling the dual school system, in the judgment of the court involved in each case. (8) Turning to the issue of busing, the Court stated: "The scope of permissible transportation of students as an implement of a remedial decree . . . by the very nature of the problem . . . cannot be defined with precision." After examining the relevant facts of the case at hand the Court determined: that the district court was right in finding that assignment of all elementary students to the schools nearest to their homes would not dismantle the dual school system; that the busing requirements of the district court's order call only for a "system which compares favorably with the transportation plan previously operated in Charlotte . . ."; and that "on the facts of this case, we are unable to conclude that the order of the district court is not reasonable, feasible and workable." However, it was observed that "an objection to transportation of students may have validity when the time or distance of travel is so great as to risk either the health of the children or significantly impinge on the educational process." Earlier in its opinion the Court had rejected the argument that Sections 401(b) and 407(a) of the 1964 Civil Rights Act limit the power of the federal courts to order busing of students and assignment of students on the basis of race to achieve desegregation of a dual school system. Instead, it was ruled that those sections "purport only to insure that the provisions of Title IV . . . will not be read as granting new powers [or] . . . as expanding the existing powers of federal courts to enforce the Equal Protection Clause." (9) Finally, recognizing that communities will not remain "demographically stable" in a "growing and mobile society," the Court asserted that "neither school authorities nor district courts are constitutionally required to make year-by-year adjustments of the racial composition of student bodies once the affirmative duty to desegregate has been accomplished and racial discrimination through official action is eliminated from the system." Only if school or other governmental authorities have "deliberately attempted to fix or alter demographic patterns to affect the racial composition of the schools" would further intervention by the courts be necessary.

On the basis of its application of these principles and guidelines to the Charlotte-Mecklenburg situation, the Court affirmed the part of the Court of Appeals' decision (regarding junior and senior high schools) which had affirmed the district court's order of Feb. 4, 1970 (see 2 Race Rel. L. Survey 8 and 47), and also affirmed the district court's order of Aug. 7, 1970 (requiring extensive non-contiguous zoning for elementary schools and considerable busing of elementary students to schools outside of their neighborhoods) (see 2 Race Rel. L. Survey 125). *Swann, et al.* v. *Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Ed'n, et al.*, ____ S. Ct. ____ (Nos. 281 and 349, April 20, 1971).

In the closely related case involving the issue of the validity of the North Carolina "anti-busing" statute, the Supreme Court agreed with the reasoning of the three-judge federal district court which had held the law to be unconstitutional and had enjoined its enforcement (see 2 Race Rel. L. Survey 48, sub nom. Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Ed'n, et al.). In response to arguments of state education officials that the statute constituted a valid declaration of the state's policy regarding the operation of its public school system, the Court declared: ". . . if a state-imposed limitation on a [local] school authority's discretion operates to inhibit or obstruct the operation of a unitary school system or impede the entire system was affirmed by the Supreme Court. As to the assignment of students both on the elementary and secondary levels, however, the arrangements approved by the appellate court were found to be inadequate to satisfy constitutional requirements. In regard to junior and senior high schools, the appellate court plan, designed to eliminate all of the seven remaining all-Negro or nearly all-Negro schools, called for a number of pairings of white and Negro schools, without the use of either non-contiguous attendance zones or bus transportation to achieve desegregation. For the elementary schools, the plan employed revision of attendance zones, school pairings and grade restructuring to reduce the number of all-Negro schools from twelve to six, in which about half of the Negro students in the metropolitan area would be enrolled. No use of non-continguous zones or bus transportation of students to achieve desegregation was included; and the arrangement was based on recognition of a major north-south highway through the city as a natural division for school zoning purposes, though about 94% of the Negro students lived on the eastern side of the highway. The record before the Supreme Court showed that the enrollment figures projected under the Court of Appeals' plan were inaccurate, and that over half of the Negro secondary students were actually still attending all-Negro or nearly all-Negro schools, and nine, rather than six, of the elementary schools in the eastern sector had all-Negro or nearly all-Negro enrollments which collectively accounted for 64% of all Negro elementary students in the metropolitan area. In discussing the requirements for valid desegregation of a school system the Court stated: "As we have held, 'neighborhood school zoning,' whether based strictly on home-to-school distance or on 'unified geographic zones' is not the only constitutionally permissible remedy; nor is it per se adequate to meet the remedial responsibilities of local boards. Having once found a violation, the district judge or school authorities should make every effort to achieve the greatest possible degree of actual desegregation, taking into account the practicalities of the situation. A district court may and should consider the use of all available techniques including restructuring of attendance zones and both contiguous and noncontiguous attendance zones. . . . The measure of any desegregation plan is its effectiveness." Concluding "that the Court of Appeals felt constrained to treat the eastern part of metropolitan Mobile in isolation from the rest of the school system, and that inadequate consideration was given to the school authorities in the exercise of their discretionary powers to assign students within their school systems." *McDaniel, et al.* v. *Barresi*, ____ S. Ct. ____ (No. 420, April 20, 1971).

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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 6, 1971

TO: SECONDARY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
FROM: The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ABOUT: RACIAL TENSIONS WITHIN THE SCHOOLS

We are aware of three things:

1. Your job is difficult.
2. You are very busy.
3. This is a large packet of materials.

We ask two things:

1. That you read this two-page memorandum.
2. That you then decide to scan the enclosed materials or have them reviewed for you by a top assistant.

The Southern Regional Council is writing to you because we believe in the importance of education. We want to see all children of our region develop their fullest potential. That development depends on education.

For many schools the process of desegregation is still unresolved. Even when the law is complied with, there may be serious failures in communication, inter-group understanding, and acceptance of education as a fully mutual and desirable undertaking. Schools, students, teachers, administrators have all been affected. Institu-

tional rigidity, community hostility, and the frustration of student rights (both real and fancied) have at times jeopardized the educational process. It is tragic that in some communities education has come to be viewed as a threat rather than as a continuing challenge for the development of individual and community life.

In a number of situations, desegregation and student rights have been intertwined. In general where student rights have been observed--and especially where even-handedness with blacks and whites was the rule--the desegregation process has proceeded much more smoothly. A CENTRAL RECOMMENDATION OF THIS MEMORANDUM IS THAT STUDENTS BE CONSIDERED A POSITIVE RESOURCE IN RESOLVING RACIAL TENSIONS WITHIN THE SCHOOLS. Some of the enclosed materials speak directly to this suggestion.

Of course, there is no substitute for administrative determination to make our schools places of learning, fairness, and understanding. This is a large task. The practical reasons for undertaking this task range from the requirements of the law to the preservation of public education. At a time when desegregation under firm court orders is a fact of life, it seems almost unnecessary to underscore these practicalities. But there are reasons relating to the quality of life, individual worth, and the community good which transcend practical necessities. We wish to reflect that larger interest in making this presentation.

Enclosed are materials which deal constructively with various aspects of school desegregation. Included are practical suggestions for superintendents, principals, teachers, and students. These suggestions relate to administrative policies, student involvement, case studies that reflect successes and failures, and faculty and student related issues. Also included are suggestions of other resources. Together they can aid in developing perspective and technique. THEY CAN ASSIST YOU IN YOUR DETERMINATION TO MAKE EDUCATION WHAT IT CAN BE FOR ALL THE YOUNG PEOPLE IN YOUR COMMUNITY.

"WHAT'S IN THIS KIT"

I. A condensation of a report by the North Carolina Task Force for Student Involvement. This committee of high school students from across North Carolina produced a series of recommendations, under the auspices of the State Department of Public Instruction, concerning ways schools can meet th challenge of integration. Their fundamental conclusion is to foster greater student involvement in school decision-making.

II. "Planning Educational Change: Integrating the Desegregated School." This pamphlet, prepared by the national Office of Education, presents straight forward and concrete suggestions concerning every phase of school integration, particularly as it presents challenges to the high school administrator.

III. A report by the Tampa, Florida, Youth Bi-Racial Advisory Committee. This group of seventy-six high school students, representing all public and private high schools throughout Hillsborough County, suggested program areas which can be used by youth to help bridge the gaps between different race and age groups. These project areas include a youth speakers' bureau, community service, and remedial-tutorial programs.

IV. "The South and Her Children: School Desegregation 1970-71." This original report by six Southern Regional Council staff members includes a general appraisal of Southern school desegregation, four community studies, (Athens, Georgia; Beaufort, South Carolina, Charlotte, North Carolina; and Mobile, Alabama), an assessment of the continuing segregation academy movement, and a profile of four black students' reactions to their first year of desegregated schooling.

V. Summary of the recent major Supreme Court decisions concerning integration. This extract from Race Relations Law Survey discusses the five Supreme court decisions handed down on April of this year in relatively readable, straightforward language.

MATERIALS FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

STUDENT INVOLVEMENT OR STUDENT UNREST?

A SUMMARY OF THE REPORT BY THE NORTH CAROLINA TASK FORCE FOR STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

MATERIALS FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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STUDENT INVOLVEMENT OR STUDENT UNREST?

Student unrest is a national phenomenon. It is as widespread today in the high schools as it was earlier in universities. In high schools that have recently changed racially, it often surfaces destructively.

This development challenges us all to recognize and to encourage the positive potential of student concern and energy. Most students want to help improve our society; most at least have something to say. They should be heard.

What they say may or may not have racial significance. It is the appeal of a generation which in many ways has matured faster than earlier ones, which is more alert, expectant, insistent, and perhaps greater in its potential than any other high school generation. Yet these high school students are not adults. They are young people grappling with what they will be as adults, young people in need of both response and guidance. They cannot be served by repression or by the insincere surrender of adult responsibilities.

Frequently the current student unrest <u>is</u> related to racial change in the schools. The notion that integration simply means bringing blacks into white schools is, fortunately, dying. The courageous black students who endured dangers and tensions in the 1950's and 1960's to bring about school desegregation did not intend to cause the death of black indentity in the 1970's. (White Southerners, who have treasured their own special identity within the nation, should understand that particularly well.) But these black students seemed to know that the destinies of white and black Southerners must be a <u>mutual</u> destiny, that the old separatism must die. What they said--and sometimes added as a verse to the triumphant hymn of their movement "We Shall Overcome"--was: "Black and White Together."

Our schools and the relationships within them, forged to serve earlier generations, clearly need to change to meet new challenges. Already some students and administrators are showing the way.

Two recent developments that particularly illustrate positive student potential are: (1) The Task Force for Student Involvement formed under the auspices of North Carolina's State Department of Public Instruction; and (2) the Youth Bi-Racial Advisory Committee of Tampa, Florida, Commission of Community Relations (a report of which is included separately in this kit).

In late 1969, the Task Force for Student Involvement was formed under the auspices of the State Department of Public Instruction of North Carolina. Since then, it has involved the state's youth directly in proposing how schools can meet their current challenges. The Task Force grew out of serious student unrest; it has produced recommendations which merit attention everywhere if the unrest is to become creative rather than destructive. The Task Force concluded that the greatest resolution for student unrest is greater student involvement. Is it surprising that students living in a nation reputed to be the world's greatest democracy desire greater democracy in their own situations? Through the Task Force, students themselves are showing the way.

The Task Force has produced an extremely valuable publication entitled "Student Involvement: A Bridge to Total Education," which may be obtained from the state Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina, 27602. "Involvement" presents a series of student-inspired proposals, worked out with school administrators and others, which are applicable to high schools everywhere.

In the report you are reading, the Southern Regional Council summarizes these recommendations, hoping that they may gain wider attention. We have sought to present them as the students drew them up, with some rearrangement and shortening in the interest of brevity. We hope they will serve as useful starting points for administrators, students, teachers, and parents.

SUMMARY OF THE TASK FORCE REPORT

Disciplinary Matters and Rumors

Administrators should be honest, straightforward, and frank with students. Especially when rumors are involved, they should tell the entire truth about any and all incidents. Combating rumors and the potential for rumors is primarily the responsibility of administrators.

Students should not be threatened with real and/or imaginary potential punishments. Nor should they be forced into positons in which they are required to reveal fellow offenders in order not to face stricter punishments.

Whenever disciplinary actions are taken, administrators should give full explanations. Suspensions and expulsions should be used only as the last resort. Rules and regulations set by the highest levels of policy-makers and administration--e.g., the Board of Education and the superintendent--should be limited so that the local high school staff has as much flexibility as possible in regulatory and disciplinary matters.

Principals should distribute to all students a pamphlet explaining the grounds on which a student will be disciplined, suspended, or expelled. These rules should list specifically what are considered minor infractions, major infractions and grounds for suspension or expulsion. In light of recent court cases, the principal should make known to all parents as well as students the <u>procedures</u> that will be followed in disciplinary actions.

Police should be used minimally and then only to protect, not discipline students.

Administrative Practices to Involve Students and Facilitate Fairness

Students should be distributed alphabetically in home-room assignments, rather than by tracking systems or other methods. Alphabetic distribution will foster better understanding between students of different backgrounds.

Dialogue and seminar sessions should be held regularly for school problems, current events, and matters arising from differences in students' backgrounds and interests. A suggested approach is that a regularly scheduled course period be set aside once every 2 or 4 weeks for this session; the time could be rotated among school periods to relieve any one period from excessive loss of class time.

Teenagers should be allowed to organize emergency committees to investigate and propose solutions to problems of unrest.

School unity should be fostered by the utilization of athletic event cheers that represent the choices of all segments of the student body.

All clubs in the school, whether of a selective nature or not, should be open to all students. The administration should encourage the creation of more service-oriented and interest clubs and should foster full student control of these.

Ethnic sensitivity training should be a major objective for faculty members. This training might be provided during recertification and in-service training periods. Minority faculty members' experience should be utilized fully in this.

An active interest should be taken in expediting racial integration at school levels below high school, especially on the elementary level.

Extending Structures for Student Involvement

A. A student court for advising on student discipline. Such a court or advisory group might be established

on an application-selection basis. Interested students would apply and be selected by a student-faculty committee. Terms on the court should rotate, perhaps involving every grading period in order to allow an optimum number of students to participate.

B. Advisory Committees for Academic Departments.

These committees should be made up of students taking the various subjects. They would meet with the departmental faculties and individual teachers. Students might help with the instruction, sponsor study outside the classes, and advise the teachers on how well students are comprehending and reacting to the subject matter and instruction.

C. Student-administered Tutorial Programs.

These programs should utilize all students rather than be placed under one organization such as the National Honor Society or Beta Club. Perhaps a Big Brother program or a one-to-one tutoring program can be established to help potential dropouts and low-achievers.

D. Student-administered Study Halls During Lunch Periods

A study hall run by students away from the eating area would help teach students responsibility. Also, the creation of a student union for social mixing during lunch would encourage better communication. Though dancing and extremely loud music would be inappropriate, a place where students could go to talk or play music would be conducive to helping students unwind and release pressures.

E. Student-administered Monitor Systems, When Needed.

This should be used only when absolutely necessary. It would enable students to learn greater responsibility.

F. Advisory Committees for Guidance Departments.

Students could help relieve over-worked guidance counselors by helping with their paper work during study halls and after school. Most important, however,

is the role they could play in research and communication. The advisory committee could look into all possibilities for scholarships and report their findings. This committee also could assist counselors in spotting and helping potential dropouts.

G. Cultural Exchange Programs Administered by Students and Teachers.

Study topics might include black history, history and literature; the state's folklore; Indian history and culture; and local culture. Seminars could be held after school, during activity periods or during class time.

H. Living-and-Learning Exchange Programs Within the Community.

This program would be directed toward better student understanding of the whole community. Students might visit in each others homes and make trips to learn more about the city, town, and country.

I. Social-learning Events Administered by Students and Teachers.

Interracial projects and parties can help teenagers get together on an informal basis, heightening the opportunity for communication and understanding. Projects might include cleanup campaigns around the school, parties for school unity, and school fix-up programs on athletic fields and student unions.

J. Curriculum Study Programs.

Students should be encouraged to serve in ex officio roles in curriculum study programs. They could aid communication between adults and students on matters of common interest and concern.

K. Money for Student Participation.

Administrators should consider minimum monetary expenditures to extend participation in student activities so that those of poorer economic status will not be less involved that those of stronger economic background.

Special Recommendations in Hyper-Sensitive Areas

CHEERLEADERS

A. Cheerleaders should be selected, not elected. The position of cheerleaders, like that of a football player, should be one which is gained by ability, not popularity. Judgment should be made upon the characteristics necessary to being a cheerleader: Poise, leadership, personality, physical ability to work with other girls and with large crowds.

B. No grade requirements, activities record, or conduct requirements should be made of any prospective cheerleader. (After a student is selected to the squad, perhaps she should be required to maintain the same academic standing that students on athletic squads must hold--the passing of three academic subjects.) By eliminating these requirements before selection is made, any and all students may try out for the squad. Thus more interest will be created, more students will be involved in tryouts, and less dissatisfaction will occur because certain students were "discriminated against."

C. The judging panel should be made up of impartial people, preferably from outside the school staff. The panel should represent fairly all races and cultural groups. Selection of panel members should be based on ability to judge cheerleading styles, to judge personality and leadership, and to be fair in appraising all strong and weak points of each student trying out for the squad.

D. Judgment should be made on merit; hence, the use of a scoring sheet is highly recommended. This sheet should allow each judge to score independently each student on several different categories (See I.-A. of this group of recommendations) with points being used in the manner of five--excellent, four--good, three--satisfactory, with two and one being unsatisfactory. In this manner the selection will be based on all students trying out, with only the tabulation picking the final winners. Tabulation should be done by an impartial person, witnessed by students. (Tabulator should not be a student nor one of the judges.)

E. Cheers used for selection proceedings should be truly reflective of all cheers liked in the school. Differences between white and black cheers do exist, as do differences for other cultural groups. Utilization of all types of cheers will eliminate any subtle discrimination.

F. Tryouts should be well announced to all students, with area for tryouts and selection procedure outlined well in advance of opening tryouts.

HOMECOMING COURTS AND QUEENS

Beauty contests should be constructed as to give all students a fair and representative chance at selection.

Any club or athletic team, homeroom, or individual should be allowed to sponsor a girl for the crown. No standards as to academic standing or conduct record should be made of any girl, and "black-balling" by any teacher or student, individual, or group, is highly discouraged. Selection should be done by popular vote, with plurality serving as the deciding vote, rather than by majority.

No selection of queens or other beauty emblems can ever be done fairly until all students recognize the worth and dignity of all their fellow students. Continuation of beauty being defined as the "fair young maid with waxen hair and sky blue eyes" will only lead to further difficulties. Encourage girls of all races and ethnic groups to be sponsored for the crown. Do not allow any girl who has been queen at any other school function during the year to repeat with another crown (i.e., Homecoming Queen also being May Queen). Serious consideration should be given to not including a girl who has won that title in past years. Once again, only a spirit of unity and understanding can overcome society's influence of prejudice and long-standing definitions of beauty.

MARSHALS

Marshals should be selected strictly on the basis of academic standing. One suggested method is to take the top ten girls and top ten boys in academic standing for marshals. Methods which are selec-

tive or use a screening process generally run into more dissatisfaction than a clear cut method such as by academic standing.

SUPERLATIVES

Superlatives are generally traditions carried over from the day of small schools from one community only. In a day of consolidation and enlargement, superlatives are not the same commodity as before. Today few students really emerge as "Best All Around" or "Best Looking." In addition, such titles as "Best Dressed" emphasize wealth rather than personality. Superlatives should be expanded with more students involved. Or, superlatives should be dropped altogether with selection of more students to such groups as the National Honor Society or a "Who's Who" in the school. The main thought behind any honor is to acknowledge those students who are performing up to or beyond their own capabilities.

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF STUDENT NEWSPAPERS

The principal's relationship to the school newspaper should be worked out early in the year to avoid embarrassment and misunderstanding. The principal should advise the paper, but neither he nor any faculty member should ever censor or alter the newspaper. Rather, also early in the year, the student staff should establish guidelines under which they will print articles. (These should probably deal with the areas of obscenities and libelous statements). It is recommended that a "Principal's Column" be included in the paper, to allow him to communicate his feelings on any and all areas of school concern. By this column a principal may communicate to the students on specific situations which warrant concern (congratulations to successful school groups, clarification of misunderstandings, and comments on future activities). This column should in no way limit the principal's concern with and practice of other forms of communication, but should be yet another avenue towards complete communication.

<u>Increasing the Student Council's Role</u>

A. The "Student Council" concept of student representation should be changed. Presently, the Council acts as a

link of communication between the administration and the student body. This, however, is only a theory, for in practice the Student Council does not truly carry communications, for the students do not feel compelled to support an organization which can do little more than run social events and help with announcements before school. The Student Council should become a Student Government, capable of making final decisions on many student policies. Matters which are not so large as to require the principal, by law, to act, should be handled by the Student Government, with the final decisions resting with the students, without being subject to veto by the administration. Certainly matters such as hall monitors and school dress codes are areas which students could and should deal with, while disciplinary action should be ultimately decided by the administrator. Even in the area of discipline, however, advisory boards of students and student guidelines will encourage greater' awareness, responsibility, and involvement on the part of the student.

B. In line with the "Student Government" form of Student Council, election procedures should be altered so as to gain optimum representation of all student groups. Because homerooms should be a mixture of all types of students, the homeroom is increasingly becoming inadequate as a voting district. Because most Student Councils or Student Representatives are chosen from homerooms, many students have little chance of getting involved. As we are well aware, homeroom representatives are usually chosen on a popularity basis. Hence, a means of election reflecting more responsibility is necessary. Although there may be several methods, below is a suggested revision in voting procedures.

1. Voting shall be done on a precinct or ward basis, utilizing the existing adult municipal/county

voting precinct or ward construction. In rural areas, these precincts or wards may have to be drawn by an impartial body of administrators, teachers, and students. By this method one capitalizes on housing patterns, social, and economic backgrounds to gain students truly representative of their voting district.

2. Students should file or run for office in his or her voting district only. Each student should vote on candidates from his or her voting district only. No qualifications should be required of a student beyond his being a registered student in the school. No requirements should be made concerning grades, club activities, activities outside of school, or previous conduct. In this manner all students are eligible to run for office, thus eliminating all concerns about a "prestructured" Student Council or "discrimination" by qualifications. The reasoning that more activities reduces one's effectiveness should be applied on an individual basis, not for the group at large. Each Student Council should be responsible for helping its members maintain his or her ability to be responsible and representative.

3. Students running for office should be encouraged to formulate platforms or statements of goals to be pursued during the next school year. In this manner popularity would hopefully stand second to issues. Campaign speeches and debates should be encouraged during lunch and activity times, as well as at scheduled convocation or assembly appearances, to gain maximum awareness and responsibility before and after the election.

4. At-large candidates may be utilized but it is recommended that these be few in number (no more than 10 per cent of total representation on Student Council) and they should be voted on by the entire student body.

5. Election of major officers (including president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer) should be by a vote of the entire student body.

6. Procedures should be designed before election time to deal with all possible situations (i.e., write-in ballots, defaced ballots, incorrect voting methods). These procedures should be made known to the entire student body before election day.

C. The Student Council, in its "Student Government sense," should be prepared to meet, develop, and solve student needs. Hence, it should create only such committees and groups as are really necessary and desirable. Rather than a "Welcome Committee" or similar group that functions only on the whim of the chairman, viable and dynamic groups which would catch student interest and meet student problems should be organized. A good example is a Human Relations or Student Relations Council, which could deal with problems resulting from racial, economic, or social differences in understanding and cooperation.

D. Student Councils and the administration, to effect greater positive student involvement, should identify and utilize the "transitional leaders" within the student body. That is, the students that can relate to the "apathetic," disinterested student, to the "militant" teenager (black or white), and to the "middle-of-the-road" student. While relating to these various segments of the school populance, these "transitional leaders" at the same time can relate to the "involved students" (i.e., Student Council) and the administration. By capitalizing on these groups of leaders, a principal and Student Council can spread awareness

and a sense of "everybody getting in on the action." These "transitional leaders" may not always be the top academic students; they may have poor conduct records. But by using their capabilities of leadership in their own groups, the principal and Student Council can help that individual and his group become more aware and involved. Appointment to special committees, responsibility for certain projects, and recognition of viewpoint at Student Council meetings are but a few ways to utilize the "transitional leader."

E. Student Council and the principal should recognize the differences in attitude and background of differing racial, economic, and social groups. Particularly, it is important to realize that black students often do not hold with the opinions of their parents, while in general white students still agree with their parents' viewpoint. Hence, various steps should be made to insure cognizance of all students' backgrounds. Far-ranging student attitudes should not be interpreted as impudence, but rather as an exploration for identity and accomplishment. Recognition of these factors can contribute to greater awareness and involvement of all segments of the student body.

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FIELDER, Marie. "A Diversified Team Approach to Conflict Intervention," EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP 27:15-18, October, 1969. Public school education can only lose if racial, cultural, social class, and age groups have no means to resolve problems. This article describes the diversified team approach used in Palm Springs where students and teachers worked with one another to keep the schools operational.

HOUSE, James E. "Can the Student Participate in His Own Destiny?" EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP 27:442-446, February, 1970. House is a firm believer in the ability of students to participate in educational decision making. Citing several examples of districts where students are involved in their education with positive results, he makes recommendations as to how it can be accomplished.

"How Student Involvement Pays Off," SCHOOL MANAGEMENT 14:29-32, March, 1970. School administrators across the land are finding new ways to meet student demands for greater involvement--ways which strengthen the administration's hand and improve communications with boards and community. This article demonstrates how "participatory democracy" abruptly reversed an antagonistic situation in the Niles Township, Illinois, high school.

INTEGRATED EDUCATION: A REPORT ON RACE AND SCHOOLS. Integrated Education Associates, 343 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

McGREW, Jean B. "Student Participation in Decision-Making," NASSP BULLETIN 54:124-134, March, 1970. It appears that a type of militancy and group polarization is something to be lived with for the foreseeable future. Educational change to be effective will require a lot of talking and planning. The McRel conference on "Student Participation in Decision-Making" discussed in this article is a positive step in that direction.

"POLICIES THAT CLARIFY STUDENT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES," A school board policy development kit. Educational Policies Service of the National School Boards Association, 1233 Central Street, Evanston, Illinois 60201. $2.00

WEINBERG, MEYER, COMPILER. THE EDUCATION OF THE MINORITY CHILD: A Comprehensive Bibliography of 10,000 Selected Entries. Integrated Education Associates, Chicago, Illinois. 1970.

WELLBORN, Susan. "High School Student Unrest: An Overview of Pertinent Reading". Research and Information Center, State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina. December, 1970.

WOODWARD, C. Vann. THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW. Boston: Galaxy Books, 1966. A brief and authoritative history of segregation in the southern states.

"YOUR SCHOOL'S DESEGREGATION-HOW REAL?" Integrated Education Associates, 343 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60604. Questions about your school which can help focus on answers in school desegregation situations related to: Community, instruction materials, teachers, and school practices. Bibliography, $1.00

Some of these listings and notes were taken from the "Bibliography" prepared for the Task Force on Student Involvement, North Carolina Department of Public Instruction and from the bibliography included in "Your School's Desegregation--How Real?" published by Integrated Education Associates.

City of Tampa

COMMISSION OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS
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YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Theme:

"YOUTH INTERPERSONAL APPROACH TO COMMUNITY PROBLEMS"

City of Tampa
COMMISSION OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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City of Tampa
COMMISSION OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

BACKGROUND-HISTORY

Upon recommendation of the Mayor's Bi-Racial Committee, which was appointed in 1959, the Commission of Community Relations was appointed as a full-time agency of City government in 1964. It is supported by the Mayor of Tampa, City Council and County Commissioners through appropriation of funds and endorsement of its goals and programs.

This commission is recognized as the authority on matters dealing with race relations and community relations. It is engaged in work throughout Hillsborough County.

The generally wholesome race relations enjoyed by the citizens of Tampa are due to the fact that leaders of both races have taken time out to sit around the "table of friendship" to formulate and implement policies for improvement of race relations.

The roles of the Commission of Community Relations include:

1. Keeps the lines of communication open between black and white communities.

2. Recognizes and assesses discontent in the black community and recommends corrections.

3. Mediates and promotes smooth transition of positive social, economical, civic, and educational changes within the community.

4. Relates to governmental and private agencies problems that cause racial tension and suggests ways of alleviating these situations.

5. Works with educational agencies in assisting minorities to better qualify for the world of work.

6. Works toward assuring equal opportunities and the elimination of discrimination in employment, education, government and other areas of past injustices. Checks into complaints of discrimination and through persuasion and otherwise attempts to correct these conditions.

The overall goal of the Commission is to improve the economical, educational, and civic opportunities of the disadvantaged segment of the community.

City of Tampa
COMMISSION OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

It has been the policy of the Commission of Community Relations to organize volunteer youth groups to seek the development of various skills, improvement of self image, the manifestation of community leadership, and to perpetuate the idea of YOUTH HELPING YOUTH.

HISTORY

Therefore, the Commission of Community Relations established the YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE with the cooperation of the public and private school principals. This Committee was composed of 76 students representing the 20 private and public high schools in Hillsborough County. Due to the initial limited time for establishing the Committee before school was out, the members were directly selected by the administrative staff of the schools, although they are actually selected representatives of their various peer groups within their schools. Future plans slate total school student selection or pure student choice.

PURPOSES

The Commission's purposes in establishing the YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE were:

1. To assist the City of Tampa Commission of Community Relations, its Youth Board, Hillsborough County Board of Public Instruction, and other community leaders in an understanding of the nature and causes of youth problems (to LISTEN to them);

2. To encourage and give youth an opportunity to participate in mitigating community problems--especially those that relate to youth (to LET THEM DECIDE ACTIONS); and

3. To improve race relations in schools and, at the same time, to foster community efforts in problem solving (to LET THEM DO THE WORK).

YOUTH OBJECTIVE

The objective the young people chose was: "To initiate within the school system a YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE to aid in improving race relations within the school, as well as the community; and to bridge the communication gap between student and administration."

YOUTH GOAL

Their goal: "It is our desire that through oral and physical persistance we shall arouse a better comprehension and empathy of each other as individuals and as fellow countrymen."

YOUTH PHILOSOPHY

Their philosophy: "To exist as the median between the student and the administration in the acknowledging and in the handling of problems concerning race relations, communications, and youth in order to alleviate any foreseeable difficulties, thus exchanging confusion and dismay for the reality of <u>true</u> understanding.

SYNOPSIS OF SUMMER WORKSHOPS OF YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE met every other Saturday morning beginning May 30, 1969, to consider facets of the theme, "YOUTH INTER-PERSONAL APPROACH TO COMMUNITY PROBLEMS."

THEY CAME....We were greatly impressed with the excellent cooperation received from the schools. Sixty of the 76 invited student representatives from 20 public and private county high schools were present at the first meeting. The average student attendace was about 30, the group average 45.

THEY SAW....They made a splendid response to the history-making initial meeting. This is the first time that a youth group has been officially recognized by a department of the city government and the Hillsborough County School System and has been given an opportunity to express significant ideas that will help influence the development of policies and programs for the youth in this county.

THEY CONQUERED...Exchanged views freely and frankly and remained friends...instilled a better comprehension and respect for the various cultures and differences in people..enlightened each other as to the problems of the other schools, to common problems, to schools who had problems different from their own...made county-wide student contacts.... helped each other see common home problems...and brought home to them personally: the extent of parental, environmental and personal prejudices; the inbred resistance to change in the status quo; the awareness that they were less set in their ways than their elders; the assurance that change is inevitable.

INTRODUCTORY MEETING HIGHLIGHTS included: "A TALE OF TWO CITIES," the Lane Bryant produced $1,000 award film, giving the gist of the work of the sponsoring Commission of Community Relations; "THE WALL," the WFLA-TV documentary, highlighting local Tampa bi-racial ghetto problems; a talk and question-answer period by Dr. Raymond O. Shelton, Superintendent of the Hillsborough County Board of Public Instruction, going into current and future school problems and their racial overtones; and a talk by Rev. Earl Hartman of the Mayor's Council on Youth Opportunity in which he outlined plans for the Mayor's Council and enlisted their participation in the JAMES BROWN BENEFIT SHOW for Tampa youth

by means of parking and hosting efforts.

Several sessions were devoted to identifying and defining basic PROBLEMS relating to race and integration, communication and understanding, and parental and administrative authority. In other words, problems that may be categorized into the areas of discipline and authority; instructional content or procedures; extra-curricular activities and representatives; or home-school cooperation.

Next we considered individual confrontation of priority problems to discuss UNDERLYING CAUSES and we came up with five: Those relating to methods of SELECTION; Unconscrious segregation; Technical Integration (because change is inevitable); Re-apportionment of the schools; and bridging GAPS.

SOLUTIONS to problems were introduced with a unique musical discussion showing the interchangeable cry of our youth as portrayed in current musical trends like: "If I Had A Choice of Color," "Cloud 9," "Runaway Child," and the emotional, social and beneficial influence of the evolution of television and screen from primitive stereotypes to the "Ivy League" jetset portrayed by "I Spy," "Mission Impossible," and "Julia." Also suggested were the opening of channels of communication among the administration, faculty, student body and home bi-racial discussions; coinciding with the development of mutual understanding and empathy through inter-participation in cultural, educational, social, and civic activities.

IMPLEMENTATION of the Youth Bi-Racial Advisory Committee's solutions to county-wide problems include:

1. Present progress report and outline future plans to administrative body of both public and private schools and seek their approval and cooperation.

2. Solicit the aid of elected officials (officers) and representatives (student council), club and organizational members of various peer groups; etc.

3. Form governing YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEES in each school, decide how peer-group representation and participation can best be achieved in each respective school, and formulate youth bi-racial guidelines, code or creed.

4. Involve student body by means of general assemblies, cultural exhibitions-demonstrations, seminars, discussion groups, etc.

5. Continue rapport-report with sponsoring City of Tampa Commission of Community Relations in county-wide organization, through monthly meetings, seminars, etc.

UNDERLYING CAUSES, PROBLEMS & POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

PROBLEMS relating to METHODS OF SELECTION:

Extra-curricular activities; cheerleaders, representatives on student council, service clubs, etc.

Possible solutions:

1. Presenting a PETITION to administration and student council to permit cheerleaders, representatives, activities, etc., being chosen by the majority of those affected.

2. Student Council should have more NEGOTIATING POWER with administration; be more of a go-between and not be expected to be a rubber stamp.

3. Members of the minority must PREPARE themselves to compete in their new environments and also they must be willing to try.

PROBLEMS relating to UNCONSCIOUS SEGREGATION:

Status quo; clinques; acceptance in but not out of school, phony friendships, etc.

Possible solutions:

1. Majority of students (black or white) in a school should welcome and be host to accept and understand minority (new) students coming to that school and to help them become involved in clubs, sports, other activities. HOWEVER, each student should make an effort to be friendly and cooperative regardless of this proportion or reception.

2. Discussion groups like those of the YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY Committee should be held in the various schools to allow for an even greater area of discussion of problems pertinent to the individual schools as well as to problems all schools have in common.

3. Teachers and students should treat each other with respect because of professional and polite standards (common courtesy) and not prejudge by sterotyping.

4. Codes of conduct and dress should be worked out cooperatively which should apply to all students.

5. Parent get-togethers are needed to communicate and exchange ideas to get to know each other better and so to want to understand and help each other.

Possible Goals:

1. The ROLE OF UNITING OUR PEOPLE AS AMERICANS is of primary importance. Many feel that integration is not wanted because of the number of black schools and the idea that integration only means mixed marriage. This mixing is of secondary importance.

2. Integration is partly wanted by both races but not in the old concept. Integration has an even BROADER MEANING: equality and opportunity as an individual; a feeling of dignity and control of one's own destiny.

PROBLEMS relating to TECHNICAL INTEGRATION:

Educational (curriculum content and procedures, commercial, communication media, etc.)

Possible Solutions:

A. Educational:

1. Replace, monitor or compensate for BIASED TEXTBOOKS to include more racial variety with particular emphasis on black culture in history, literature, science, politics, and the entire curriculum in all schools. Also more factually pertinent, up-to-date information should be discussed.

2. Also more rapport is needed between students and home: Students need to discuss matters with the home that pertain to school and vice versa.

3. More individual effort is needed and less resisting change of our status quo.

4. Curriculum and procedures should be oriented to the environmental and academic needs of students.

B. Communication media: TV, Newspapers, Magazines, etc.

1. More MULTI-RACIAL PARTICIPATION; stressing true statements and facts particularly by newspapers; more balanced coverage of newspapers to cover MULTI-RACIAL matters; social, cultural, economical, and less emphasis on sensational news.

PROBLEMS relating to RE-APPORTIONMENT:

Transportation; boundaries, pairing, public concept; preparation for and response of community.

Possible Solutions

1. BI-RACIAL SUPPLEMENT COMMITTEE to the elected school board (to give)

a cross-county representation).

2. Have black elected school board officials (register-vote-run).

3. Instead of "phasing out" black schools, integrate them with white students and UPDATE facilities and equipment. If a new school is needed and there is ample area to house the facility regardless of the predominant racial or economic background, building should be constructed. ALSO consider seriously the fact that individuals living or leasing business rental facilities do pay taxes on the rentals--thus earning the right to vote on school bond issues.

PROBLEMS relating to BRIDGING GAPS:

Between races; youth and adults; youth and administration; school and home and community; between cultures.

Possible Solutions:

1. Group discussions in the schools on problems facing that school such as integration, behavorial patterns (e.g. finance, dropouts, relationships with others); dress codes, discipline codes.

2. YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEES formed in each school to make the students aware of the problems facing them and other schools.

3. Panel discussions with teachers and students on the panels.

4. Joint seminars among the county schools.

5. Students attempt to make their parents get involved in school and community affairs. This could achieve more needed participation and allow the parents to gain vital information, for example, making them aware of laws, roles, codes, etc., dealing with their educational, social and economical welfare.

6. Request permission from the administration of the schools to have various groups or programs within the schools such as the panels, discussions, seminars, cultural exhibitions, etc.

7. Assign teachers on the basis of quality and quantity according to student needs academically, economically, socially, and inspirationally-not a good teacher for a mediocre one.

REQUEST FOR ADMINISTRATIVE ENDORSEMENT

This YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE brochure comes as an appeal

from the Commission and the youth of our county to peruse our accomplishments and aid our future plans by:

1. Ratification by your school of the YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE as the official city-sponsored, county-wide median in dealing with race relations, communications, and youth.

2. PERMISSION to organize and operate a YOUTH BI-RACIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE within your school structure by means of: assemblies, educational exhibitions, special cultural exchange, home room representaion, elections, and meetings.

3. ALLOCATION of school hours (scheduled) for monthly executive board meetings with sponsoring agency; off school premisis, at alternate schools, with rotating students.

4. FORMATION of PRINCIPAL-STUDENT BOARD that is county wide, has equal ratio of pupils and principals and to act as the intermediate agent between school board, principals, council, and individual schools.

File - Mr. Smith

October 14, 1965

Mr. Moreland G. Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Moreland:

It was good to talk with you yesterday and good of you to come over. I apologize again for the hectic pace around here.

There is one item that, on reflection, I feel I should have gone into more detail about. SRC's basic approach to all of its programming is "wholesale" as opposed to "retail." This is to say that we would like to develop program that will indirectly reach the greatest number of people, and which will have an impact on the full region. In your instance, as in others, we would have a highly specialized skill and would, of course, be delighted if it could be used substantially in very local situations. That is to say, nothing would be more appropriate than your consulting directly and at length with a given city planner to see that a bad situation in a city is either corrected or improved. On the other hand, if you never had such an opportunity, but through other programs could modify to any extent bad practices, thisstoo is good.

As you make your rounds I would be grateful if you investigate not only the possibilities to

influence individuals and individual cities, but to develop any idea, on any program, which would give region-wide significance. Perhaps we really talked about all this, but I wanted to be certain to get this before you.

Please tell Marjorie that if she likes such things, we have lots of sales. You can save money every day, if you want too.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Urban Renewal
Project

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA
February 21 and 22, 1966

Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director, Urban Planning Project

I visited the city at the invitation of Mr. James Hibben, Urban Renewal Agency, to consult with him about two different urban renewal plans presently under consideration by the city government.

Impressions on walking tour:

All the homes in the Negro neighborhood have poor drainage and depressing views. Even the best Negro homes are adjacent to the incinerator or city dumps. The housing construction is poor, and for the most part the homes are built of highly inflammable wood construction. (Florida pine has an excessive amount of sap; when this dries, the wood is almost explosive.) There would be complete loss in case of fire. Insurance companies refuse to insure Negro frame dwellings because of this hazard.

Throughout the Negro neighborhood except in the areas of higher value homes, I observed many "winos." Many dives for wine, beer and games of chance were evident, and there was indication of an appreciable per cent of dope addiction.

There seems to be very little dynamic Negro leadership. With the physical environment, if the people ever wake up from their coma brought on by dope and alcohol, this section could ignite into a southern Watts. This is true even if the city urban renewal authority succeeds in putting over their plan which means minimum neighborhood improvement.

Prospects for urban renewal:

Mr. James Hibben, Executive Director of the Urban Renewal Agency, is a young man in his late thirties with two children. He came to

Fort Lauderdale last year from Chicago and has a two-year contract. He seems sincere in his desire to make changes which would better conditions in the Negro community and perhaps lead to some integration. Whether he will be able to accomplish any of his plans remains to be seen. He must persuade the city officials and gain support from the Negro community. He feels he needs pressure from Negroes to help him make his point to the city. This is one of the new Southern cities where the leadership is "business conservative" and therefore will go to lengths to preserve a good "image" nationally for inspection by prospective new businesses. If the Negro community applies pressure, Hibben thinks he would be enabled to make changes.

At present Hibben is considering two schemes for urban renewal. Either would be superior to what the Negro community has now as far as environment. Naturally the better one costs more.

1. "Dry Scheme" - the less expensive plan; has the advantage of being close to the city and less expensive.
2. "Canal Scheme" - more advantages and amenities, the chief advantage being that the fill from the canal would be used for elevation and to improve drainage for the Negro homes. This is the better plan of the two, and more expensive. Unfortunately, the improvements are "structural" and therefore do not show up easily to taxpayers or to the disadvantaged Negro community which would hope for more physically impressive improvements.

Neither scheme would affect more than a small percentage of the substandard dwellings nor does either try to strike at the root of the problem. Both are simply attempts to placate the disadvantaged,

inarticulate and generally ignored Negroes in the hope that city government and white citizens can buy several more years of blissful unconcern with this festering sore in the body politic.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION: A PROGRAM

NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION:

A PROGRAM

February, 1966

With the aid of recent legislation, increasing education, and greater financial security Negro Americans are restive at being confined to areas of old and poor housing. Negroes are moving more frequently into formerly all-white neighborhoods or using their newly-found political power to demand municipal services and aid in upgrading their present dwellings. Community groups formed to articulate these demands or to resist exploitation by unscrupulous real estate speculators have become units with great political potential. So the pressure by Negroes for better housing may lead to a real revitalization in America of local democratic processes as an extremely important by-product.

All over the country newspapers are reporting the effects of local initiative on communities, local governments and federal agencies. This country's social development has been based on action by concerned and dedicated local citizens. Even as recently as the turn of the century there were numerous groups in our cities applying the fabled American organizing genius to social justice causes. And in the last decade the same energy has been expended imaginatively in cities and towns, north and south, in the campaign for recognition of equal rights for all Americans.

An organized local group can make its case known to the public and become the basic unit in instituting, directing and implementing public policy. With cohesiveness, effort and dedication, such groups exert pressure on lawmakers

and law enforcers, who, yielding to this expression of grass roots wishes, support those measures advocated by them. This interplay can continue in such a way as to make the democratic process a reality in a populous and highly technical country.

Neighborhoods are particularly apt units in which to foster a strong community voice; common problems create common bonds. Neighborhood associations have developed in neighborhoods facing the fact or possibility of their first Negro family; neighborhoods which have been short-changed or ignored by city governments or federal agencies; neighborhoods which want to expand equal opportunity to include housing in their own areas.

. . . . .

Suppose we examine a neighborhood where a strong neighborhood association will be a necessity if the neighborhood is to survive. In an older section of town, rather near the city's center, stand pleasant, spacious single-family dwellings. The average age of the owners is about 55; these have been family homes and the children have grown up, moved away and established themselves in other cities or other neighborhoods. There are some new families moving in, but property taxes are high, and the down payment required to buy a house here is more than most young families feel they can afford. But the community has many advantages - wide, quiet streets lined with tall trees, houses with large, high-ceilinged rooms, proximity to activities in the city, better

public transportation facilities and shorter commuting time for the wage earner. The neighborhood is near a cramped area inhabited by Negro citizens, cramped because the city's lack of fair housing laws has allowed housing discrimination to operate for years offering Negroes little possibility of escape into more comfortable, less crowded sections of the city.

This neighborhood with its many advantages is marked. Real estate dealers view it as speculative property; they hope to buy very low and sell high. And they will accomplish their ends if the neighborhood isn't careful. A middle-income Negro family perhaps will purchase one of the houses owned by an old resident who wants to move to an apartment. When this occurs, or simply by suggesting it might occur, real estate speculators "block bust"; they attempt by scare tactics, constant harassment and circulation of rumors to frighten other residents into selling fast before property values decline drastically. So a house properly assessed at $20,000 may be sold for $14,000. This house will be resold at $25,000 to a Negro family desperate for housing. If the residents don't scare easily then the speculator may sell a house to a Negro with low income and convince him that he can make the payments of several hundred dollars a month by turning the property into a rooming house for other Negro families. Thus, the speculator makes his profit and assures neighborhood devaluation by changing in this manner the character of the neighborhood from single-family, owner-occupied property

to multiple-resident rooming houses. But the realtor probably won't have to resort to this system, for white residents have been told for years that Negroes cause property decline,[1] that Negro residents won't take care of their homes,[2] that schools cannot maintain standards with many Negro children enrolled.[3] These are all myths, but unless facts are forcefully presented to old residents they will be victims of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" - people will act in a manner to assure their prediction will come true. The panicky owners throw their houses on the market at the same time, the sudden oversupply naturally depresses prices, and therefore, it is shown once again that the entrance of Negroes into a community lowers housing values. Negroes? White property owners have managed to cheat themselves by their fright and foolishness. And neither does this aid Negroes, for they are victimized by realtors. All that is produced is another "instant ghetto." Everyone loses except the speculators.

This is the picture, as dark as it can be made. There is hope - but only if the community will take action itself. No one else is going to save it; no one else is directly concerned about stabilizing the neighborhood. What can be done must be done quickly. It is practically impossible to halt

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1 See Luigi Laurenti's study Property Values and Race: Studies in Seven Cities, University of California Press.

2 Fair Housing Handbook, p. 27; Richard Margolis, "Integration - the Problems Nobody Talks About," Redbook Magazine, April, 1965, p. 138.

3 Neighbors, Inc., Washington, D. C., Fifth Annual Report, 1963.

neighborhood decline after the panicky rush to sell is well along.

Pioneering has been done by a number of communities. Their experiences, varying in success, furnish encouragement and guides to those who would emulate them. There is now a literature on neighborhood reclamation and a great deal of interest by individuals, groups, foundations and government in local efforts at stabilization. No community need feel they stand alone even though the will and effort must be theirs. A formula for self-help follows.

. . . . .

ORGANIZE

If the area has an old neighborhood association, reactivate it to form the basis of organization for the new fight. If there is none, then find among various acquaintances those people in the community interested enough in their homes and neighborhood to make the long, tedious and sometimes unpleasant struggle required. These willing, dedicated and persistent ones are the core of the resistance. If there is one such person for each block or two blocks, he can talk with others in the block to find out what their feelings are without arousing distrust and suspicion. Block by block, person by person, is the best way to confront and confound the

rumors and myths. Here is where the worker can point out that it is not a scientific fact that Negroes depress housing values, but that the opposite appears to be the case from the data.[4] At the same time people can be located who are thinking of moving for reasons other than racial prejudice, whose homes are too large now with family grown, who have been transferred out of the area, or who genuinely want to move into a suburb. If these residents are responsive to arguments of self-interest, ask them to be careful in placing their homes on the market and to do so when they can obtain a fair price. Finally, those who will allow racial prejudice to defeat every argument can also be identified and thenceforth avoided.

MOBILIZE

The next step will be to increase the cadre with all who want to be part of the neighborhood stabilization action. Notify residents by circulars or letters of the purposes of the

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[4] See Laurenti, Property Values and Race. After an investigation of 10,000 real estate transactions in seven cities, the Commission on Race and Housing reported that in 85% of the cases, prices in areas entered by non-whites kept up with or exceeded those in all-white areas. In 15% of the cases, there were declines of from 5 to 9% which were usually short term and followed by rises to or above former prices.

neighborhood action and when meetings will be held. Put all volunteers to work - there will be plenty to do. Every successful neighborhood organization has stressed this point. They emphatically say an unused volunteer is a lost volunteer.

COMMERCIALIZE

To stabilize the neighborhood new white buyers must move into the area while older residents stand pat. All over the country in case after case, once a Negro has moved into a formerly all-white neighborhood, this community has been written off as being of no interest to whites.[5] In most cities realtors have refused to review their decisions. This means that although the neighborhood is the same as before Negro families moved in, and the advantages it offers are identical, no new white family will be shown it. In the South it may even be listed for "colored only" if the local newspapers still allow such classifications. Other neighborhoods have faced this

[5] MacGregor Estates, Houston, Texas; Hyde Park-Kenwood, Chicago, Illinois.

same problem, and a few have found after long canvassing a few realtors who would show to Negro and white homeseekers. If such men can be found, urge residents who must move to list their homes with these real estate agents. In most cases, however, the neighborhoods themselves have had to set up their own realty offices with listings of neighborhood property for sale on an equal opportunity basis. These offices usually have been non-profit and operated by volunteers.

UNIFY

Prospective buyers respond to confident neighborhoods where old residents are determined to remain and aren't abandoning their homes to move to lily-white suburbs which will themselves be integrated inevitably. With great success several besieged neighborhoods urged residents to place signs in their front yards declaring THIS PROPERTY IS NOT FOR SALE.

PUBLICIZE

To lure stable buyers into the area the neighborhood association must see that the neighborhood receives favorable publicity.

Often newspapers have been prevailed upon to write complimentary stories on the community and its activities. Other ways neighborhoods have gained valuable exposure are through art and book fairs, open houses and garden tours, and the distribution of their own literature to universities, government agencies and other groups to whom they felt their neighborhood might appeal.

CAPITALIZE

Once interested persons are ready to buy in the area, another hurdle is reached. In city after city where associations fought to revitalize their neighborhoods, they have found homes in the area could not get mortgages nor would bankers lend for buying or housing improvements in the newly integrated community. The only recourse has been to pressure bankers and savings and loan people until one or two agreed to finance homes.

. . . . .

In our example we find our neighborhood is determined to resist exploitation. A local housewife is the first to become aware of real estate speculation, and she determines to do something about it. Over coffee with several friends from

near-by streets she decides to organize the neighborhood by blocks and to question people about their feelings toward the five or six new Negro families resident in the community. The group finds that most home owners do not object to the new neighbors but are frightened by the old myths and the scare propaganda of the real estate men. At block meetings these fears are dispelled by facts, and literature about neighborhoods successful at stabilization is distributed (neighborhoods like Hyde Park-Kenwood in Chicago and MacGregor Estates in Houston). The few who evidence real racial prejudice are not argued with but ignored.

The neighborhood begins to feel that it too can save itself. The people make plans to show their renewed confidence in their community as an exceptional place to live. A publicity group is formed which produces a clever brochure advertising the many advantages of their neighborhood, and this is distributed to local colleges, universities and businesses. The neighborhood association which now numbers 200 families holds a spring home and garden tour to entice people into the neighborhood to look at the houses and community. This gains favorable publicity in the local newspapers.

New white families begin to take an interest in the area. They contact the non-profit real estate office operated by the neighborhood association, and several eventually find houses that fit their needs. After some difficulties the first family receives financing for their house, but the

families who follow have less trouble. Financing institutions begin to realize that our community still has plenty of appeal to whites as well as to Negroes, and that such a vital neighborhood is not going to die. Gradually the neighborhood regains its confidence and relaxes. Panic is no longer the reaction when a resident must move, for the neighborhood feels sure that whether a white family or a Negro family decides to purchase the vacated house the neighborhood will be able to assimilate the newcomers and give them welcome.

. . . . .

Communities which have succeeded in stabilization efforts emphasize the need to sell to white families. At first glance this may seem discriminatory in emphasis if not in fact - for each neighborhood sold willingly to Negro families. The truth is that until there is a fair housing law in each city and each state, Negroes locked into restricted areas will be forced by severe need to take advantage of any additional housing. If whites abandon a neighborhood because one or two Negro families have bought there, then, of course, that neighborhood will become just another all-Negro block in the Negro section. If all areas were equally open to occupancy for all with the means and desire to live there, then no one area would be under more or less pressure than the next. Until that time, however, communities seeking to remain stable and integrated must exert extra effort to maintain racial balance; that is, they <u>must</u> interest new white families in living there. If

they do not, then realtors will continue to list or show for colored only, and mortgages and loans will be ever more difficult to obtain. This emphasis on the necessity of new white home owners may sound harsh, but the reality of the situation is too obvious to be denied - ask neighborhoods in Chicago, Denver, Washington, Philadelphia, Baltimore or Houston.

With all the plans, suggestions and work, the prime ingredient for neighborhood stabilization is dedicated, tireless, committed people. Leaders will arise and be worn out in the struggle, but new leaders must be ready to take their places. Sometimes leadership has been entirely voluntary from the beginning through many years. Some communities hired a professional worker after local initiative organized and began the association. One association with its permanent salaried employee has expanded activities to include many useful community and educational functions, creating a real "esprit de corps," a sense of pride and unity, in the neighborhood.

One point is very certain; there is no one simple formula for all beleaguered neighborhoods. Each must adapt from previous efforts those methods which appeal to it and which will fit the community, and each must use imagination and ingenuity to solve its own problems in its own way. But the hope is this general outline first may awaken neighborhoods to the need for stabilization and secondly show them that with honest effort and hard work it can be done for it has been done.

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See SRC Urban Planning Project

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA
March 3, 1966

Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director, Urban Planning Project

I went to Charlotte to meet with city officials and let them know of the SRC Urban Planning Project and our services. Dr. Ray Wheeler arranged the meeting with the mayor, city manager and their staff. Mr. John Wheeler joined us for the day, and Mr. Fred Alexander, Charlotte alderman who is on our board, met with us.

After introductions, I reviewed SRC's new Urban Planning Project, telling of its intent and the services which might be of interest to Charlotte. These officials were reluctant to discuss Charlotte openly and freely, and their attitude was hostile. The city government appeared to have strong reservations about SRC and the project and to be sceptical as to any value Charlotte could derive from interchange and informal association. Shortly before the meeting ended I mentioned that were I to review their urban renewal plans as an informed third party SRC's opinion might have weight with the federal government in its assessment of Charlotte's compliance with federal directives on urban planning. This would mean that an impartial review, if affirmative, might help Charlotte when applying for more federal funds. At this point in the conversation the four of us encountered a sudden and marked change in attitude by the city officials. All at once they couldn't give us enough information; they instructed one another to send this or that semi-confidential report to me in Atlanta. (None of this material has yet arrived as of March 10, 1966.)

At lunch Dr. Wheeler, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Alexander and I discussed this baffling change in atmosphere. All of us felt it, but none of us could spot exactly what made the difference. As far as I can tell

it appeared at the point where the mayor, et al, realized they would have nothing to lose and much to gain, including a better position for federal funding. And the whole service would cost them nothing more than the postage to send their information and plans to Atlanta for review.

I found a high degree of intelligence in the city government; it is confident, self-centered, aware, motivated by self-interest but willing to listen. My only criticism would be their attitude and outlook on regional planning.

Charlotte's importance is primarily that of a transportation center for its area, and regional planning is most pertinent for the continuing growth of the community in the future. Because it is a distribution point it draws people in a 60 or 70 mile radius into the city for services and goods. But there was no awareness on the part of the city government of any need for regional planning. Their attitude was that they had too many problems in the city to worry about without trying to develop a comprehensive plan for the entire region. Actually Charlotte and Durham-Chapel Hill-Raleigh are interdependent, and these cities need to realize this now and begin a far-sighted examination of how to solve their mutual problems and plan for their mutual growth. As yet this awareness is lacking; so are the federal incentives for such planning.

The mayor has an unusual understanding of business, commerce and the financial needs for the city. He is strongly influenced, however, by Arthur G. Odell, Jr., FAIA, Charlotte architect. Odell, while highly intelligent, is a pompous ass interested only in what will glorify Odell.

I was highly impressed and pleasantly surprised at the quality of the city manager and the other staff members I met.

Fred Alexander is a very able Negro; he is not looking out after self but has a broad and unselfish view. Alexander is faced with the problem of conflict and jealousy in his own community and among his own people. He told me that when he first became an alderman he was hostile and suspicious of all whites, including other aldermen, and their motives. After examining his attitude he realized that he was just as prejudiced as he accused them of being. With that insight he was able to destroy his own prejudice and in so doing has been able to work more effectively in the city government and make more gains for his constituents.

I took a tour of the Negro community. Some of Charlotte's slums are as bad as the worst in the South, but they are smaller in area and fewer in number of dilapidated dwellings. The better Negro homes were better than in other cities I've examined, and there was a large quantity of nice middle-income Negro housing. The middle-income housing was the typical type of developer sub-division housing financed under FHA and VA. This housing has only been available in the last four or five years. The physical facilities of the schools in this area were way above average for the South both school building structure and grounds.

It is interesting to note that there have been a number of improvements in conditions and services for the Negro community since the election of a Negro alderman. For instance, the Negro cemetery now has a fence around it like the white one and the interior roads there have recently

been paved. Streets in the poorest Negro sections have now been repaired.

I asked the city officials about the possibility of passing a fair housing law in Charlotte and was told it was very unlikely. The only housing integration in the private sector is along fringe areas where whites are moving out at the border of the Negro section and Negroes are occupying the newly available dwellings. The public sector is little better. Public housing has been built along this Negro-white border, and those units immediately adjacent to the Negro side are integrated while the other units are all=white.

MEMO to PAUL ANTHONY

FOR YOUR REVIEW AND FILING IN YOUR CENTRAL FILES.

MORELAND GRIFFITH SMITH

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REGARDING

copies of Ulmer's SLUM report and Smith's NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION report.

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File SRC Projects - Urban Planning

ACTIVITIES OF THE URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

January 1 - March 31, 1966

Consultation Trips:

Washington, D. C., February 7 & 8, 1966. Through the Democratic National Committee and the good offices of Cliff Carter and Louis Martin I talked with a number of people who have the ear of the Administration. I told Douglass Cater, White House Aide, of SRC's project and through him I am attempting to gain an outlet which might allow SRC to influence the formulation of executive policy on housing and urban development. After consulting with the U. S. Civil Rights Commission (William Taylor, Carl Holman and Samuel Simmons) they gave consent to working with the Urban Planning Project on an informal basis to encourage compliance with federal laws and executive directives against discrimination in housing. I talked with various members of the Department of Housing and Urban Development about the Southern Regional Council's Urban Planning Project with the object of acquainting HUD with our plans and projections and of discovering in what ways we might implement HUD's directives and objectives as we understood them. This trip was of a preparative nature to establish contacts with the new HUD Department in hopes that informal lines of communication might be established which would allow us to have an intimate knowledge of their policy and changes in policy. From this contact it is hoped that a conference with Secretary Weaver will develop. Mr. John Wheeler is using his influence to further this aim.

Fort Lauderdale, Florida, February 21 & 22, 1966.
I was consulted by James Hibben, Executive Director, Urban Renewal Agency, about the problems of housing segregation and slums in Fort Lauderdale. Mr. Hibben appears to want to make changes in the Fort Lauderdale community; he just does not believe that many are possible without pressure on the present power structure. He hoped not only for our advice but also to use us as intermediaries between his office and the Negro community in order to inform the Negro community of the two urban renewal plans under consideration. From this contact he would like an expression of opinions and desires from Fort Lauderdale Negroes, believing that if he had pressure from them he would be able to arouse support for at least some urban renewal by the city government and perhaps to expand his plans. We will try to establish this contact and to motivate Negro local leaders to press for a voice in determining their community destiny.

Fort Lauderdale, Florida, March 29 & 30, 1966. At the invitation of the Fort Lauderdale NAACP I talked with their Board about the two urban renewal plans under consideration by the city. We talked with candor about the pros and cons of the plans and about the possibility of the city's carrying through on any urban renewal at all. I told them that they should make a careful documentation, first of the conditions in the Negro section as proof of the need for action, and second of the fight to persuade the city government to undertake rehabilitation

and renewal in the Negro section. This documentation, if the effort is successful, could serve as guide and encouragement to other cities which have similarly conservative leadership. If the pressure for urban renewal is unsuccessful, the documentation would be part of our contention to the federal government that the matter of housing cannot be left in the hands of local officials and implemented according to the whim of local city government in the South. I believe I established some rapport and trust with the Fort Lauderdale NAACP. I hope this will be the basis for working successfully together.

Charlotte, North Carolina, March 3 &4, 1966. I talked with the Mayor and City Manager about urban renewal plans in Charlotte and the problems engendered by rapid growth. After initial hostility the city government warmed to the suggestion that I could assess their plans as an impartial third party and give my opinion as to whether or not they were planning for an open city. Such analysis, if affirmative, might be of help to them when they applied for additional federal funding. Mr. Fred Alexander, a member of our Board and a Charlotte Alderman, spoke at some length to me about Charlotte's problems. I took a tour of the Negro section of that city and found it much better than most. I am awaiting material from the city government in order to begin my analysis.

Atlanta Study:

As part of a study of four cities prepared for the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, the Southern Regional Council was asked to undertake a survey of the availability of sales and rental housing in predominately white areas of Atlanta. The purpose of the NCDH study is to establish the need, availability and climate for acceptance for integrated housing in American cities in general and in the four study cities of Rochester, Denver, Providence and Atlanta in particular. The study will be the basis of a proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity for funding of projects to implement housing integration and dispersal of non-whites throughout the city (similar to Operation Open City in New York). Miss Josephine Wilkins alerted us to the study and told NCDH about SRC's interest in urban planning. Without Miss Wilkins' interest and intervention the survey would have been made without SRC's knowledge or involvement. Mr. Sam Adams, Director of Research, compiled statistics and composed the report on availability in Atlanta. We had several meetings with Harry Adley, city planner and coordinator of the Atlanta section of the report. Adley has expressed a willingness and desire to assist the Urban Planning Project through his professional insight into planning problems and by putting us in touch with people who would have intimate knowledge of various Southern cities.

Resource Function:

"Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program" was a pamphlet prepared by the Urban Planning Project on neighborhood stabilization which was distributed to certain SRC mailing catagories and sent to those communities which requested such information. The pamphlet was distributed along with Al Ulmer's "A City Slum - Poor People and Problems." This pamphlet will be revised according to suggestions and criticism received after distribution.

There have been a number of inquiries about the problems of housing in Southern communities generally and in relation to specific problems in certain cities such as Virginia Beach, Virginia, and Jacksonville, Florida. These inquiries have been both by letter and in person. As yet we have not had any response from our suggestions, and it is too early to determine whether these inquiries need to be followed up.

A particularly exciting and unexpected aspect of the Urban Planning Project has been the response of young planners and architects around the country. Mr. Smith is engaged in a continuing dialogue with a number of young men about the problems and basic philosophy in urban planning. Such interest could be the basis for a summer project utilizing these young men and their training either for survey and analysis of particular cities or for creating bold and innovative schemes to establish equal opportunity in housing in the South.

File: Urban Planning Proj

REGIONAL COUNCIL ADDS ARCHITECT

Southern Integration Group Gets City Planning Aide

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 2—Southerners who have followed the work of the Southern Regional Council in its 22-year campaign for improved race relations were surprised recently when it added an architect to its staff of human relations counselors.

Somehow this did not fit with the image of an organization that has devoted much of its effort toward paving the way for peaceful acceptance of racial integration.

The council quickly explained that it was becoming concerned over the tendency of Southern cities to develop "Northern style ghettos" for Negroes. So, it was dispatching an architect around the South to argue, with alternate plans, that low income Federal housing and other projects should be dispersed throughout a city.

With this sort of approach, the council is taking a position of leadership among human relations and civil rights organizations in adjusting to the "new phase" of race relations in the South.

Foundations Give Help

It is being aided in the adjustment by national foundations that once were reluctant to finance race relations programs. And largely as a result of the new foundation aid, the organization's annual budget is being revised upward this week to $125,000 — or about four times the amount of las year's expenditures.

"We're on the new frontier of race relations," said Paul Anthony, director of the council, which was organized in 1944 by such Southerners as Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina and Ralph McGill, publisher of The Atlanta Constitution. "Until recently the problem was how do you keep law and order while transferring eight or nine Negro students to a white school.

Now, however, the problem as the council sees it is one of unemployment, preventing ghettos, improving the administration of justice and the caliber of prisons, and seeing that the drive towards integration does not lag.

The council is becoming increasingly interested in cooperatives and when, for example, a group of unemployed Negro women in Selma, Ala., recently formed a quilting cooperative the council arranged for technical assistance in production and marketing.

It is also:

¶Trying to mobilize women in the South to inspect jails and demand prison reforms and rehabilitation programs, and is in the process of hiring a penologist to work with Southern states and cities in upgrading the caliber of their penal institutions.

¶Increasing the staffs of its network of human relations councils, which have been mainly active in urban areas, to include full-time workers to assist small towns and rural communities in adjusting to social change.

¶Establishing a team of consultants to help local organizations and governmental units in seeking Federal antipoverty assistance.

¶Organizing still another team of consultants to assist Negroes and whites in forming community action organizations for "self - improvement" in city slums and rural areas.

Since establishing the number of projects it undertakes, Mr. Anthony said, the council has found it easier to get funds from the Ford Foundation and similar organizations, but it is still searching for long term sources of revenue from within the region.

"The foundations are interested mainly in specific short range programs," said Mr. Anthony. "Not in long term assistance."

Despite it's new foundation-backed activities, however, the organization still devotes a major part of its effort to long-established interests such as it's state human relations councils, voter registration drives, and the dissemination of information to the Federal Government and to Southerners on racial problems.

From 1961 through 1963, the council helped register 700,000 Negroes in 11 states and recently started another voter registration project aimed at the more than 2 million adult Negroes still unregistered in the South.

"The new voting rights act made registration possible," said one council worker, "but it doesn't put Negroes on the registration books. It takes registration drives to do that."

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SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION: A PROGRAM

NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION:

A PROGRAM

May, 1966
Revised

With the aid of recent legislation, increasing education and greater financial security Negro Americans are restive at being confined to areas of old and poor housing. Negroes are moving more frequently into formerly all-white neighborhoods or using their newly-found political power to demand municipal services and aid in upgrading their present dwellings. Community groups formed to articulate these demands or to resist exploitation by unscrupulous real estate speculators have become units with great political potential. So the pressure by Negroes for better housing may lead to a real revitalization in America of local democratic processes as an extremely important by-product.

All over the country newspapers are reporting the effects of local initiative on communities, local governments and federal agencies. This country's social development has been based on action by concerned and dedicated local citizens. At the turn of the century there were numerous groups in our cities applying the fabled American organizing genius to social justice causes. In the last decade this same energy has been expended imaginatively in cities and towns, north and south, in the campaign for recognition of equal rights for all Americans.

An organized local group can make its case known to the public and become the basic unit in instituting, directing and implementing public policy. With cohesiveness, effort and dedication, such groups exert pressure on lawmakers

and law enforcers, who, yielding to this expression of grass roots wishes, support those measures advocated by them. This interplay can continue in such a way as to make the democratic process a reality in a populous and highly technical country.

Neighborhoods are particularly apt units in which to foster a strong community voice; common problems create common bonds. Neighborhood associations have developed in neighborhoods facing the fact or possibility of their first Negro family; neighborhoods which have been short-changed or ignored by city governments or federal agencies; neighborhoods which want to expand equal opportunity to include housing in their own areas.

. . . . .

Suppose we examine a neighborhood where a strong neighborhood association will be a necessity if the neighborhood is to survive. In an older section of town, rather near the city's center, stand pleasant, spacious single-family dwellings. The average age of the owners is about 55; these have been family homes and the children have grown up, moved away and established themselves in other cities or other neighborhoods. There are some new families moving in, but property taxes are high, and the down payment required to buy a house here is more than most young families feel they can afford. But the community has many advantages - wide, quiet streets lined with tall trees, houses with large, high-ceilinged rooms, proximity to activities in the city, better

public transportation facilities and shorter commuting time for the wage earner. The neighborhood is near a cramped area inhabited by Negro citizens, cramped because the city's lack of fair housing laws combined with prejudice or governmental inertia has allowed housing discrimination to operate for years offering Negroes little possibility of escape into more comfortable, less crowded sections of the city.

This neighborhood with its many advantages is marked. Real estate dealers view it as speculative property; they hope to buy very low and sell high. And they will accomplish their ends if the neighborhood isn't careful. A middle-income Negro family perhaps will purchase one of the houses owned by an old resident who wants to move to an apartment. When this occurs, or simply by suggesting it might occur, real estate speculators "block bust"; they attempt by scare tactics, constant harassment and circulation of rumors about property value decline to frighten other residents into selling fast. Their aim is to change a block from Negro to white within a few weeks and to realize a large profit from the rapid change. So a house properly assessed at $20,000 may be sold for $14,000. This house will be resold at $25,000 to a Negro family desperate for housing. If the residents don't scare easily then the speculator may sell a house to a Negro with low income and convince him that he can make the payments of several hundred dollars a month by turning the property into a rooming house for other Negro families. Thus, the speculator makes his profit and assures neighborhood devaluation by changing in this

manner the character of the neighborhood from single-family, owner-occupied property to multiple-resident rooming houses. But the realtor probably won't have to resort to this system, for white residents have been told for years that Negroes cause property decline,[1] that Negro residents won't take care of their homes,[2] that schools cannot maintain standards with many Negro children enrolled.[3] These are all myths, but unless facts are forcefully presented to old residents they will be victims of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" - people will act in a manner to assure that their prediction will come true. All the panicky owners throw their houses on the market at the same time, this sudden oversupply naturally depresses prices, and therefore, it is apparently shown once again that the entrance of Negroes into a community lowers housing values. Negroes? White property owners have managed to cheat themselves by their fright and foolishness. And neither does this aid Negroes, for they are victimized by the real estate brokers. All that is produced is another "instant ghetto." Everyone loses except the speculators.

This is the picture, as dark as it can be made. There is hope - but only if the community will take action itself. No one else is going to save it; no one else is directly concerned about stabilizing the neighborhood. What can be done must be

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1 See Luigi Laurenti's study Property Values and Race: Studies in Seven Cities, University of California Press.

2 Fair Housing Handbook, p. 27; Richard Margolis, "Integration - the Problems Nobody Talks About," Redbook Magazine, April, 1965, p. 138.

3 Neighbors, Inc., Washington, D. C., Fifth Annual Report, 1963.

done quickly. It is extremely difficult to organize against neighborhood self-destruction once the panicky rush to sell is well along.

Pioneering has been done by a number of communities. Their experiences, varying in success, furnish encouragement and guides to those who would emulate them. There is now a literature on neighborhood reclamation and a great deal of interest by individuals, groups, foundations and government in local efforts at stabilization. No community need feel they stand alone even though the will and effort must be theirs. A formula for self-help follows.

. . . . .

ORGANIZE

If the area has an old neighborhood association, reactivate it if possible to form the basis of organization for the new fight. Contact the local clergy; they can supply great support and sustaining moral force. Find among various acquaintances those people in the community interested enough in their homes and neighborhood to make the long, tedious and sometimes unpleasant struggle required. These willing, dedicated and persistent ones are the core of the resistance. If there is one such person for each block or two blocks, he can talk with others in the block to find out what their feelings are without

arousing distrust and suspicion. Block by block, person by person, is the best way to confront and confound the rumors and myths. Here is where the worker can point out that Negroes do not depress housing values, but that the opposite appears to be true from the data.[4] At the same time people can be located who are thinking of moving for reasons other than racial prejudice, whose homes are too large now with family grown, who have been transferred out of the area or who genuinely want to move into a suburb. If these residents are responsive to arguments of self-interest, ask them to be careful in placing their homes on the market and to do so when they can obtain a fair price. Finally, those who will allow racial prejudice to defeat every argument can also be identified and thenceforth avoided.

MOBILIZE

The next step will be to increase the cadre with all who want to be part of the neighborhood stabilization action. Notify residents by

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[4] See Laurenti, Property Values and Race. After an investigation of 10,000 real estate transactions in seven cities, the Commission on Race and Housing reported that in 85% of the cases, prices in areas entered by non-whites kept up with or exceeded those in all-white areas. In 15% of the cases, there were declines of from 5 to 9% which were usually short term and followed by rises to or above former prices.

circulars or letters of the purposes of the neighborhood action and when meetings will be held. Put all volunteers to work - there will be plenty to do. Every successful neighborhood organization has stressed this point. They emphatically say an unused volunteer is a lost volunteer.

STABILIZE

To stabilize the neighborhood new white buyers must move into the area while older residents stand pat. All over the country in case after case, once a Negro has moved into a formerly all-white neighborhood, this community has been written off as being of no interest to whites.[5] In most cities real estate agents have refused to review their decisions. This means that although the neighborhood is the same as before Negro families moved in, and the advantages it offers are identical, no new white family will be shown it. In the South it may even be listed for "colored only" if the local newspapers still allow such classifications. Other neighborhoods have faced this same problem, and a few have

[5] MacGregor Estates, Houston, Texas; Hyde Park-Kenwood, Chicago, Illinois.

found after long canvassing a few agents who would show to Negro and white home-seekers. If such men can be found, urge residents who must move to list their homes with these real estate agents. In most cases, however, the neighborhoods themselves have had to set up their own offices with lists of neighborhood property available for sale on an equal opportunity basis. These offices usually have been non-profit and operated by volunteers.

UNIFY

Prospective buyers respond to confident neighborhoods where old residents are determined to remain and aren't abandoning their homes to move to lily-white suburbs which will themselves be integrated inevitably. Groups emphasized their faith in their neighborhood and determination to remain there in various ways. With great success several besieged neighborhoods urged residents to place signs in their front yards declaring THIS PROPERTY IS NOT FOR SALE.

PUBLICIZE

To lure stable buyers into the area the neighborhood association must see that the

neighborhood receives favorable publicity. Often newspapers have been prevailed upon to write complimentary stories on the community and its activities. Other ways neighborhoods have gained valuable exposure are through art and book fairs, open houses and garden tours, and the distribution of their own literature to universities, government agencies and other groups to whom they felt their neighborhood might appeal.

FINANCE

Once interested persons are ready to buy in the area, another hurdle is reached. In city after city where associations fought to revitalize their neighborhoods, they have found homes in the area could not get mortgages nor would bankers lend for buying or housing improvements in the newly integrated community. The only recourse has been to pressure bankers and savings and loan people until one or two agreed to finance homes.

. . . . .

In our example we find our neighborhood is determined to resist exploitation. A local housewife is the first to become aware of real estate speculation, and she determines to do something about it. Over coffee with several friends from

near-by streets she decides to organize the neighborhood by blocks and to question people about their feelings toward the five or six new Negro families resident in the community. The group finds that most home owners do not object to the new neighbors but are frightened by the old myths and the scare propaganda of the real estate men. At block meetings these fears are dispelled by facts, and literature about neighborhoods successful at stabilization is distributed (neighborhoods like Hyde Park-Kenwood in Chicago, Neighbors, Inc. in Washington, D. C., and MacGregor Estates in Houston). The few who evidence real racial prejudice are not argued with but ignored.

The neighborhood begins to feel that it too can save itself. The people make plans to show their renewed confidence in their community as an exceptional place to live. A publicity group is formed which produces an attractive brochure advertising the many advantages of their neighborhood, and this is distributed to local colleges, universities and businesses. The neighborhood association which now numbers 200 families holds a spring home and garden tour to entice people into the neighborhood to look at the houses and community. This gains favorable publicity in the local newspapers.

New white families begin to take an interest in the area. They contact the non-profit brokerage office operated by the neighborhood association, and several eventually find houses that fit their needs. After some difficulties the first family receives financing for their house, but the

families who follow have less trouble. Financing institutions begin to realize that our community still has plenty of appeal to whites as well as to Negroes, and that such a vital neighborhood is not going to die. Gradually the neighborhood regains its confidence and relaxes. Panic is no longer the reaction when a resident must move, for the neighborhood feels sure that whether a white family or a Negro family decides to purchase the vacated house the neighborhood will be able to assimilate the newcomers and give them welcome.

. . . . .

Communities which have succeeded in stabilization efforts emphasize the need to sell to white families. At first glance this may seem discriminatory in emphasis if not in fact, for each neighborhood sold willingly to Negro families. The truth is that until open occupancy is a reality in each city and each state, Negroes locked into restricted areas will be forced by severe need to take advantage of any additional housing. If whites abandon a neighborhood because one or two Negro families have bought there, then, of course, that neighborhood will become just another all-Negro block in the Negro section. If all areas were equally open to occupancy for all with the means and desire to live there, then no one area would be under more or less pressure than the next. Until that time, however, communities seeking to remain stable and integrated must exert extra effort to maintain racial balance; that is, they <u>must</u> interest new white families in living there. If

they do not, then brokerage agents will continue to list or show for colored only, and mortgages and loans will be ever more difficult to obtain. This emphasis on the necessity of new white home owners may sound harsh, but the reality of the situation is too obvious to be denied - ask neighborhoods in Chicago, Denver, Washington, Philadelphia, Baltimore or Houston.

With all the plans, suggestions and work, the prime ingredient for neighborhood stabilization is dedicated, tireless, committed people. Leaders will arise and be worn out in the struggle, but new leaders must be ready to take their places. Sometimes leadership has been entirely voluntary from the beginning through many years. Some communities hired a professional worker after local initiative organized and began the association. One association with its permanent salaried employee has expanded activities to include many useful community and educational functions, creating a real "esprit de corps," a sense of pride and unity, in the neighborhood.

One point is very certain; there is no one simple formula for all beleaguered neighborhoods. Each must adapt from previous efforts those methods which appeal to it and which will fit the community, and each must use imagination and ingenuity to solve its own problems in its own way. But the hope is this general outline first may awaken neighborhoods to the need for stabilization and secondly show them that with honest effort and hard work it can be done for it has been done.

EPILOGUE

This pamphlet really treats only some symptoms of the larger problem of minority housing. One cannot escape the fact that the overwhelming factor that creates the problem is discrimination. Thus, even if meaningful efforts are undertaken at stabilization in one or two neighborhoods in a city, they can only be effective to the extent that the whole market or increasing elements of that market are open to non-whites. The point is that a stabilization program must be tied, hand-in-glove, with metropolitan-wide efforts to establish equal opportunity in housing. In order to create neighborhood stability, the non-white demand must be dispersed over a wider geographic area. Without activity to establish this condition neighborhood stabilization efforts can only be delaying actions, slowing down the rate of change or creating relatively stable but isolated integrated islands within the city.

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MJ

URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

QUARTERLY REPORT - APRIL 1-JUNE 15, 1966

Consultation Trips: Washington, D. C., April 4-April 14

The primary purpose of this trip was to talk with Secretary Robert C. Weaver, Department of Housing and Urban Development. Mr. John H. Wheeler was instrumental in arranging this meeting which allowed me to explain to Dr. Weaver the purposes and plans of the Southern Regional Council's Urban Planning Project and to ask him how we might work with HUD in an informal manner to further equal opportunity in housing and equal treatment in urban facilities for all people. Our discussion was cordial and, I believe, meaningful. Afterwards I spoke with others at HUD and was impressed with their interest in and openness toward our project.

While in Washington I contacted other groups which have programs related to our interests. Among these organizations were Urban America, Inc., the American Institute of Planners, the American Institute of Architects, and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

In pursuit of further information on the workings of successful neighborhood organizations whose aims have included the stabilization of integrated or integrating

neighborhoods, I spoke with Mrs. Margery Ware of Washington Neighbors, Inc., Mr. Edward Holmgren of Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc., and Mrs. Ruth Steele of West Mt. Airy Neighbors, Inc., Philadelphia. Each of these groups represents a different type of organization with individual goals and programs to realize them. It is my hope that we may draw together the experiences of these three organizations and publish their stories in three separate pamphlets which could be distributed together. Mr. Bob Anderson has asked Mr. Holmgren to write an article on housing in Baltimore for an issue of the New South.

Continuing Activities: Fort Lauderdale, Florida

The Urban Planning Project is acting as silent partner to the NAACP group studying the various urban renewal plans in Fort Lauderdale. Mr. James Hibben, Fort Lauderdale Urban Renewal Agency Director, has kept me constantly informed of the progress and difficulties as he views them from his position. Fort Lauderdale will be a test case for SRC-UPP involvement in a specific way with local urban planning problems.

Department of Housing and Urban Development:

A great part of my time has been spent in orienting the UPP toward co-operation with HUD. This seems to be reasonably successful. I have felt immediate and warm response to my overtures, and several Region III HUD officials have been particularly helpful in suggesting ways which might increase the effectiveness of the UPP. Three suggestions have been as follow:

1. Request a group of top men from different academic disciplines and business and professional areas to serve as advisors and consult on various urban problems in the South. With this in mind, I will meet with Dr. Constantinos Doxiadis, internationally renowned urban planner, in Aspen Colorado, the last of July. Dr. Doxiadis will be in Aspen to receive the Aspen Award for achievement in the humanities.
2. Document the ways communities are using federal funds to buttress segregated housing with the idea of writing future legislation.
3. Select carefully four Southern cities to

approach as "demonstration cities" with the hope of working with the city governments and minority groups for open housing and involvement of the disadvantaged in planning similar to the Fort Lauderdale project.

At the present time we are in the midst of pursuing these suggestions.

Consultations:

Noyes Collinson, American Friends Service Committee - neighborhood stabilization and the Urban Planning Project.

Miss Eleanor Lord, graduate student in the social sciences at Emory University - neighborhood stabilization with emphasis on Atlanta and Stone Mountain.

DeKalb County residents - neighborhood stabilization.

Lewis Black - Urban Planning Project

Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity - Urban Planning Project

Nicholas Read - utilization of visual aids and community

participation.

Dr. Addison Duval - psychiatry, community participation, and work on community action in mental health.

Publications:

Reprinting of "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program" after some revision resulting from criticism by various people with special interest in this area. We hope to publish a trilogy of experience papers on housing in integrated neighborhoods in Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia.

Education:

I have continued probing discussions with members of institutions of higher learning regarding a new orientation for the indoctrination of planners so that they would be planning with the high ethical concept of responsibility to the total community.

Personnel:

Miss Judy Randall, a student at Kalamazoo College who worked with SRC for the past three months, rendered effective service to the UPP during her

stay in this office. She undertook willingly and enthusiastically the task of indexing those parts of publications by conservative business groups which might help us make our case for an open economy in urban development to the governments of Southern cities.

Miss Susan Bresler will be added to our staff as of July 5, 1966. Miss Bresler is trained in urban planning, having received her B.S. degree in city planning from the University of Illinois and with a graduate seminar in the political aspects of planning. She received her degree in 1965. Miss Bresler worked this past year in the position of Community Planner with the Alabama Planning and Industrial Development Board, Community Planning Division. In addition, during the summers while in college she worked with the following groups: Summer Intern, Comprehensive Planning Department, Moline, Illinois; part-time Planning Intern, Planning Department, Champaign, Illinois; and Summer Intern, Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission. She will aid and assist me in all

technical and creative areas of my work. With her training and experience as a professional I anticipate that she will be able to undertake and direct her own special projects as well as help me in carrying out the programs presently underway. I hope that she will be composing and editing the various publications, research papers, and resource documents in our publication plans. Although her appointment is only temporary, from three to six months, I am confident that the Urban Planning Project will be able to put her considerable talents to good use.

During the summer I will be replacing my typist who is moving from Atlanta and who will leave SRC approximately August 15.

Projections:

During the summer we will be continuing our present programs. With the consultation of various impartial observors, such as Dr. Doxiadis, I hope to evaluate our gains and successes and to analyze our failures and difficulties in order to formulate our future plans.

An informal conference on urban problems in the South for SRC staff and others who share our interests might be the most economical and effective way to confront action with reflection and theoretical solutions with actual problems.

File
See projects -
Urban - Planning

MJ

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Telephone 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: STAFF

FROM: MORELAND GRIFFITH SMITH, FAIA

DATE: JUNE 23, 1966

Attached is a rough draft of an outline for a pamphlet on which we would like to get your frank reaction.

Would a short "How to Build or Buy" be of value to the people SRC is interested in?

If so, what other information should we include?

Your reactions will be most helpful.

LET'S BUY A HOUSE

I. Should we buy or rent?

A. We should buy because -

1. We'll get more living area for our money.
2. We'll have increased privacy in our own home.
3. Besides I would like to have a lawn so I can grow radishes and roses.
4. It's time we established roots; the house will give us some permanency.
5. And buying a house is an investment; we'll be building up equity.
6. It will help us establish a good credit rating, and that in turn, may help us at some later time.

B. But we should consider the disadvantages -

1. After all, we probably won't be here the rest of our lives; if we move in a couple of years we may have a hard time selling.

2. If we stay in an apartment we don't have to bother with real estate taxes or with painting the building.

C. What sort of house could we afford to buy - and can we afford to buy?

Compare total income with total expenses and obligations which one would have with a house (housing expenses + living expenses + fixed obligations). [from Philadelphia Council on Human Relations pamphlet]

D. I've heard that the cost of a house is more than downpayment and monthly installments. What are these other expenses we ought to consider?

1. Interest on the loan
2. Taxes - city and county
3. Maintenance - For the house what are the estimated maintenance costs including painting, repairs, etc.?
4. Insurance - necessary to cover the amount of the loan and advisable for the full house investment which would also cover owner's equity.
5. Closing costs - including registration fees, transfer fees, title search, survey, etc. and which must be paid at the time of paper signing.

E. Where will we get the money?

1. FHA
2. VA
3. Conventional loan

II. I think we can afford it. Let's look for a house!

A. What should we look for in a house?

1. Location - neighborhood, nearness to work, good schools close by, conveniently located shopping areas, good transportation facilities and recreation areas
2. Physical properties - floor plan that conforms to family activities, adequate plumbing, electrical system capable of handling appliances and electrical load, sound roof, proper drainage of land, dry basement, sound floors, convenient arrangement of kitchen
3. Room for future growth of family; can a room or so be added?

B. Perhaps we should build -

1. Plans - architect drawn or stock plans from government agencies, home and garden magazines, building material supply houses, financial institutions, builders' magazines
2. Specifications - if FHA or VA financed the house must conform to certain specifications
3. Inspection - for FHA and VA homes an inspector will check periodically to see if plans and materials are the same as those approved by the government agency.

III. We think we've found OUR house, now what do we do?

Precautions before signing the mortgage -

A. Title search - check to see that there are no liens or taxes due on the property and that the buyer would have a clear title.
B. Property survey - to see what the property lines are and to make sure that you are buying what you think you are.
C. Use of services of an assessor to look at the house and give the buyer an appraisal of what the house is worth on the present market and what its general condition appears to be.
D. In case of questions about particular aspects of the building it may be necessary to con on an expert for advice - in roofing, heating, termite inspection.
E. Use of services of a lawyer to check papers, particularly the mortgage <u>before</u> signing!
F. Inquire about city services and regulations

1. Property taxes and whether increases are planned
2. Zoning regulations to see whether the property is protected from industrial or commercial use if this is important to the buyer and to see if any contemplated subsidiary use of the house is forbidden, such as using a room as an office
3. Garbage pick up, sewage service, street lighting, fire and police protection, gas, electricity and water rates
4. Whether the neighborhood might be destined for an urban renewal project or freeway construction
5. Fire and theft insurance rates

G. Take care to read the mortgage terms and specifications

IV. But will we have trouble in buying or building in a neighborhood predominately of another race? We're Negro.

A. Some houses are required to be sold on an equal opportunity basis - FHA and VA financed, FHA and VA repossessed. Prospective buyers can obtain a list of the repossessed houses through _____.

B. Color tax and proof of discrimination. Work through the councils on human relations or fair housing groups, using a white couple to follow up to see that terms and prices are the same for white and Negro.

C. If the builder and/or seller is found to discriminate, and if there is a legal basis to sustain the complaint, write to _____

D. If the Negro home seeker feels that the neighborhood in which he is interested may be hostile to his residence there, some precautions he might consider are -

1. Making a brief and apparently uninterested inspection of the house, then sending an appraiser or friend to make a careful inspection
2. Engaging a lawyer to make sure that the sale and mortgage is in proper order and that the title is clear
3. If the house is not in the equal opportunity group it may be necessary to use the services of a white friend to act as decoy buyer
4. Once the house is bought, notify the law enforcement agencies so that they may provide proper protection of property and life.
5. When moving day comes, move quickly, put up curtains first, then continue activities.

V. Appendix

A. Helpful telephone number and some blanks (to be filled in in part by the local council on human relations)

B. Sources of information about houses, finances, selection and details - a bibliography of pamphlets and books.

MEMORANDUM June 27, 1966

To: THE STAFF

From: Paul Anthony

Re: Requests for Checks and Other Payments

-:-

When Ruth Alexander receives requests for payment, the forms should be complete, including the necessary approvals or designations as to accounts from which the funds are to be paid. Please see that such matters as my approval or that of Ed Lewis's is done before Ruth receives the request(s). Ruth is being asked to return any requests that are not completed to the person making them.

The time demands and the greatly expanded duties of the Secretary-Treasurer make this necessary, and it is hoped that we make as few demands on Ruth as possible.

-:-

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JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
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See Projects - "Urban Planning"

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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: STAFF

FROM: MORELAND GRIFFITH SMITH, FAIA

DATE: June 30, 1966

RE: MEMO ON HOUSE BUYING

Reference is made to my previous memo and the enclosure on house buying. I would like to have everyone meet for a short time at 10:00 Friday, July 1, to discuss this idea. We would like your candid comments and criticisms. I hope we will have a stimulating discussion.

File Projects Sec "Urban planning"

July 6, 1966
Susan Bresler

File JB for info

Review*
Charlotte, North Carolina

Metropolitan Charlotte
Annexation Plan
Next Twenty Years
Master Highway Transportation Plan
Residential Blight in Charlotte
Review of Community Facilities

The above planning publications say that Charlotte has 210,000 people; more than one in five of them live in blighted housing. Three-fourths of the blighted housing could be brought up to par through code enforcement and neighborhood improvements. The rest of the housing isn't fit to repair, the reports say.

There are neighborhood improvement groups in Charlotte. There is also the Mayor's Citizens Committee for Urban Renewal. The information we have doesn't tell specifically what these groups are doing.

The rest of the information in the planning reports is technical and quatntitative: how many streets needed to serve the expected traffic volume, how many community facilities needed to serve the new population, and how much new retail trade the city can expect.

The planning reports don't tell how people play a part in deciding where they need streets, schools, and libraries. Instead, the reports use only such quantitative, technical criteria as number of people to be served by the fire station, number of cars travelling across town on the streets, and number of houses that aren't fit to repair. The reprts don't tell how people can take part in the planning decisions of Charlotte. So the planning studies aren't very useful for the Urban Planning Project.

Brooklyn Area is the only urban renewal project in Charlotte now. The project was under way in 1962 and set out to clear 238 acres over the next ten years.

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg (County) Planning Commission studied

*Information supplied by William E. McIntyre, Planning Director, Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Commission

at least four more possible renewal areas in the city. An area that is two-thirds blighted, lies in the path of needed street improvements, is a good place to put in public housing, is a good place to attract private investors, and has public investments that the city can use as credits toward its 1/3 share of a Federally aided urban renewal project--this is the type of area the planning commission recommends to the City Council for renewal.

Whether the people living in the renewal areas have a voice in renewal plans is something you can't tell from the information we have.

File
Src project
"Urban Planning"

July 8, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Moreland Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

While I believe you have already done the work and the material you have forwarded me, particularly your quarterly report April 1 - June 15, and your earlier one, I would like to have a report for the first six months of the year by July 15, if possible. This will be submitted to Ford and others, and will probably be mailed to all of the Membership. It certainly will go to the Executive Committee. If you can combine your two quarterly reports and delete anything possible in the interest of space, I would appreciate it.

MT file Sre Projects copy (1)

SRC -- HUD Conferences on the six cities in the Urban Planning Project
July 8, 1966

SRC: Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director, Urban Planning Project

Susan Bresler, Urban Planner
Urban Planning Project

HUD: Les Persells
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Sam Agee
Mr. Jacobson
Mr. Patterson and Mr. Watts
Mr. Vernon Plaisted
Mr. Jim Mills

copy

CONFERENCES WITH H.U.D. PEOPLE (~~10~~ 8)
July 8, 1966

(Miss) Susan Bresler, Urban Planner
Urban Planning Project

1. Mr. Les Persells. Mr. Persells struck me as an optomistic bureaucrat: like his agency is taking care of everything.

I learned that urban renewal staffs now have a social services coordinator. On a large staff, this person would be a social worker. The social services coordinator sees that the residents of the project area get the social (welfare) services they need. I still don't think HUD is organizing the people in the project area. But at least the urban renewal staffs deal more with the individual problems of people in the project area than in the past.

The Community Action Programs (CAP) may do more than HUD to promote community organization. The CAP's make diagnostic surveys of an area to identify the "socioeconomic problems" of the residents, whatever that means. Still doesn't sound like giving the poor a voice in actual planning. But CAP's do inventory existing organizations in the neighborhood and may even form block clubs. I don't know. See "Interim Guidelines for Encouraging LPA Coordination with Local Anti-Poverty Programs."

Mr. Persells admitted roundabout that planners don't figure the needs of minority groups into their plans. Rather, planners make plans on the basis of 1) good land use-traffic planning and 2) getting the plan carried out (implemented).

So, a minority group could influence planners by helping solve land use-traffic problems and by helping carry out plans.

But who could help the minority groups understand the plans?

2. Mr. Hoffman. Mr. Hoffman felt that localities need their own coordinator for Federal programs.

Paris has a revenue problem. The wealthy people living in the city own large horse farms in the county. City and county governments don't cooperate.

Paris is 30% Negro; its depressed areas are predominantly Negro. The proposed renewal project will rennovate an entire area and provide needed public housing.

Mr. Hoffman described Mayor Rains as "a nice old gentleman." The Mayor's efforts include building codes and high school expansion.

The newspaper is cooperative with urban renewal. It is not racist.

The Citizen's Advisory Committee, which can be a very effective tool to infuluence the city, is inactive.

Mr. James S. Wilson tries to get money for the city; Frazier Haddix, Director of Urban Renewal knows the most about Paris; Judge Leer and Mr. Saunders, head of the Housing Authority, are influential in Paris. Paris trained a good building inspector by sending him to Lexington for a month to work with the inspector there.

3. Mr. Agee. Mr. Agee had an interesting argument to sell renewal to the city: Do you want the people your children go to achool with to come from substandard housing?

Louisville is 60 % Negro. The city's new leadership is interested in renewal. The city has one large slum and other spotty areas.

Judge Abbot controls the bank. He helps people in the community apply for Farm Home Administration loans to improve their homes. The loans are for low-cost housing.

Louisville has some strain in race relations, but the people are trying to do something about it, Mr. Agee said.

The city has trouble enforcing zoning. The main barrier to renewal in Louisville is the cost. Louisville participates in the Central Savanna River Area Planning and Development Commission (whew).

Mr. Agee seemed spirited and very eager to help small communities.

4. Mr. Jacobson . Mr. Jacobson was the only Urban Renewal Representative I talked to today who empahsized the social service function of renewal. In fact, it was practically all he talked about: heart-rending stories of individuals in the project.

Macon has both a social service manager and a field worker. A man named Dave Lucas, a former high school coach, gives adult education classes. Macon's Community Action Program is examining neighborhood facilities for the project area.

In the last five years, Macon has become a very dynamic community and has a big public works program.

B.F. Merritt is a strong full-time mayor. Doug Feagin is Director of the Urban Renewal Program. The city itself is the

local public agency (LPA) rather than a separate renewal agency. Macon has its own city-county planning commission and also takes part in a five-county regional planning commission.

5.& 6. Mr. Patterson and Mr. Watts. These gentlemen used to work with Birmingham and Corinth respectively. The present Urban Renewal representatives for these cities are now McGill and Grouby.

About the only significant thing that came out of the discussion (I was getting tired by then) was that HUD has no record of Negro developers.

7. Mr. Vernon Plaisted. Unfortunately, Mr. Plaisted won't have Ashville any more. The new man is Gibbons. Mr. Plaisted says the Urban Renewal program would be a lot easier to administer and a lot more fair to cities with little money if the non-cash grant-in-aid were eliminated and the Federal share of renewal costs upgraded to something like 90%, like it is with the highway program. The way it is now, localities choose their projects on the basis of these credits. Otherwise, the cities couldn't raise enough money to pay their local one-third share.

Mr. Plaisted pointed out that social services in rehabilitation areas, as opposed to clearance areas, can begin as soon as the application for renewal goes into HUD.

8. Mr. Jim Mills. Mr. Mills caught us by the coattail to tell us why he selected Corinth and Birmingham. He says Corinth

has solved many of its problems. A publication telling the story is coming out soon. Birmingham, by contrast, still has many problems that need solving. For one thing, Birmingham doesn't have the focal of minority group leadership that Corinth has. The two cities should make an interesting contrast.

Mr. Smith. During the conferences Mr. Smith explained how the Urban Planning Project is one part of a five part grant from the Ford Foundation. The other parts are prisoner rehabilitation, voter education, community organization, and labor relations.

What the Southern Regional Council wants to know from its Urban Planning Project is how equal opportunity can become more a fact than a principal, for this affects urban planning. Open housing means not just integration but equal availability of housing as well.

Mr. Smith emphasized the lack of economy in a split system of facilities for whites and Negroes. The planning of these facilities has important effects on the economy.

Federal funds support racial equality. The Southern Regional Council can deal with people HUD can't reach and, in this way, help carry out the intent of the Federal law.

Mr. Smith suggested worksheets for the disadvantaged people to survey their own neighborhoods and an outside advisor to help work with the city government.

copy

2

Conference with Dennis Carr, Community Organization Officer
Urban Renewal Division, HUD
July ~~22~~ 15, 1966

(Miss) Susan Brenler, Urban Planner
Urban Planning Project

Met briefly with Dennis Carr. He told me about the current Manpower Task Force that can be called in to prevent a "long hot summer" situation. The task force consists of representatives from OEO, Department of Labor, and HEW. The task force analyzes the racial situation and may speed up a pending Federal program, if this would help the situation. Or the task force may decide to shelve a program.

Dennis also told me about the Federal executive board here in Atlanta. This board now has a technical board to coordinate anti-poverty programs with the other Federal agencies.

Dennis says the Community Action Programs have helped pursuade welfare agencies of the effectiveness of dispersing their services in order to reach the poor. CAP's also encourage other services that can prevent the need for welfare services; for example, home management courses. CAP's have had to hire some social workers of their own because of the failure of welfare agencies to reach the very people they are intended to serve. Dennis wonders why the Federal government doesn't require welfare agencies to disperse their services. The Federal government does require, after all, professional qualifications for social workers. Why not also require dispersed locations for welfare offices?

CAP's have a referral service for the poor. "Referral" should, at the very least, mean taking the client over to the agency that can help him. At best, "referral" should mean providing the needed service right there in the neighborhood center. Referral should not mean sending the client across town to another office. The client may not even be able to afford the bus fare.

CAP's organize block groups and neighborhood councils. These groups meet at the neighborhood center to discuss what't wrong and to decide what <u>they</u> need. The purpose of the Community Action Program is twofold: 1) to organize the poor, so that they can express their needs, and 2) to bring the needed to services to the neighborhood center where they will be available to the poor.

Cities (and counties) should recognize that they can save money in the long run through the preventive effects of dispersed services. This will be true even while the proportion of Federal funds to CAP's will get lower in future years.

URBAN PLANNING

DEFINITION: Urban planning constitutes any pre-arranged land use and development for the benefit of all citizens. This includes, but is not limited to, facilities for communication, shelter, health, education, and welfare, whether private or public.

The face of our cities is being changed in many ways. Highway construction and urban renewal projects are two of the attempts being made to deal with some of the problems of our exploding metropolitan areas. The whole concept of the city is undergoing a re-evaluation.

More than ever, people are becoming conscious of the needs of the disadvantaged. The blight of the slums on the landscape and its dehumanizing effect on the inhabitants call for a concerted effort on the part of our nation to rehabilitate these people so that they will become useful citizens. The Executive branch of our Government through speeches by the President and the Legislative branch in the Civil Rights Laws have increasingly made clear their position by directives and laws. Many civic associations and neighborhood groups have manifested their concern. However individual planners may differ in their ethical outlook, the profession as a whole is beginning to recognize the social problems and to commit itself to a solution.

Much of the urban renewal already accomplished has brought forth charges that the really poor do not benefit, that new slums arise where they are forced to crowd, that segregation and discrimination in facilities are increased rather than lessened.

The assumption that we must or always will have slums or dehumanizing mass planning is erroneous. As a matter of fact, an open and free economy is synonymous with an open and flexible urban and regional plan, and the SRC is committed to working toward this end.

The SRC Urban Planning Project is designed to promote dialogue and teamwork between Federal agencies, civic groups, planners, concerned citizens, and the disadvantaged themselves. The multiplicity of intervening agencies and the normal problems in technically oriented communication make cooperation difficult. SRC can be an effective resource by assembling data, documenting the available Federal potential, citing examples of successful local action by citizens, as well as evidence of discrimination. Possibly SRC's most important role will come in pinpointing and spot-lightingany impediment within the Federal structure which tends to impede the Federal Policy of Equal Opportunity. SRC can work directly with the disadvantaged themselves, helping them with evaluation of their needs on a priority basis. Because the disadvantaged have more deficiencies in urban services it is logical to assume that accelerated action would hasten the time when the maximum national productivity of all citizens is made available in order to ensure the survival of the nation. SRC sees its role as being tried, that of research and resource in assembling data and making it available as needed, second that of a catalytic agent in spurring communities into assessing their problems and needs and working to provide for their disadvantaged citizens. And third, that of spurring on Federal employees to implement their work making it effective for all. To the degree that effective dialogue and teamwork is established Urban Planning for all citizens will result.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

file
Pubs. + Materials
"Slum Report"

Km - Mailed to Chamber of Commerce Ext.

Enclosed is a brief Special Report prepared by The Southern Regional Council on a self-help program that has been attempted in Vine City, one of Atlanta's slum areas. In light of the current attention being given to some of these areas, we thought you might find this of interest.

MEMO

TO: Miss Bressler

FROM: MGS

SUBJECT: Program of Work

File
Sec Projects
Urban Planning

For Info MS file

for routing
circulate
answer
return
destroy
to files

This is to tentatively project an outline for your work while at SRC. Your main responsibility will be to analyze the 6 Cities composing the SRC - Urban Studies (HUD). After you have had a little time to get oriented and to think this through I would like your recommendation on proceedures for research or analysis and methods for presenting and proposing to HUD and/or the cities involved. It would be presumed that we would vary any approach to suit each case

Because we are quite tardy in returning the data on Charlotte I would like to get this material reviewed and a memorandum prepared for the files reviewing this in a consise manner.

Our action on contact towns other than the HUD selection, namely: Athens, Georgia; Charlotte, N.C.; Chapel Hill-Durham-Raleigh, N.C; Ft. Lauderdale, Florida ; Houston, Texas ; Little Rock, Arkansas are to be used as fillers (other than the Charlotte materials review.)

Please let me know when you are ready to review the above.

SHERLOCK, SMITH & ADAMS
ARCHITECTS & ENGINEERS
SS&A 105-A (LONG)

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

A report on an attempt to build a community organization around local self-interest issues in a southern city.

A CITY SLUM - POOR PEOPLE and PROBLEMS

A report on an attempt to build a community organization around local self-interest issues in a southern city.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION - Vine City

Vine City is a slum in Atlanta, Georgia. Approximately 1550 families live in the six by four block area bounded by Northside Drive, Simpson Street, Sunset and Hunter Avenues. The residents live in a variety of dwellings, many of which were formerly one-family homes but are now multiple family units. Ten or fifteen people crowd into these three or four room apartments. Often a toilet is shared by all. Many of the streets are unpaved in Vine City. When it rains the water washes dirt and cans and bottles into the sewers, clogging them. At times like this the trash floats about, wine bottles nodding like swans.

A random survey of 10% of the families reveals that over half the houses need painting, almost half have walls in need of repair, and an equal number have ceilings either buckling or cracking. Screen doors, good floors, adequate electric wiring and sanitary plumbing are all luxuries in Vine City. Approximately 80% of the residents rent the houses in which they live -- houses similar to the ones just described. They pay rents which in one year equal the tax assessed value of the houses. A house assessed at $750 often rents for $60 per month.

The people of Vine City are more difficult to describe. John Henry is an eight-year-old, sitting on a porch with a homemade checkerboard on his knees. He quietly describes the knifing he saw the night before, adding in detail how the cop clubbed the fighters to their knees and then dragged them into his car with its siren wailing.

Mrs. Johnson has lived in Vine City all her life. She is almost seventy. Her ankles are swollen double with arthritis. She is paid $71.55 a month social security. She says that "things gotta get better, 'cause God didn't mean for no peoples to live like this."

A middle-aged man, Mr. Williams, pulled the biceps muscle out of his shoulder on the job a year ago. He didn't know about workman's compensation, and his employer forgot to tell him about it. When he did find out about it, an operation was made possible but compensation has been held up until a hearing is scheduled. He waited too long to file, the agency told him.

Philip is nine years old and in the fifth grade. He can't spell his name but he has never failed a grade. On and on and on ...

Do What The People Want

Six people -- four Negroes and two whites -- met in late January of 1965 to discuss ways of working in Vine City. One of the Negroes was from Vine City. He spoke of the people and their problems. He told the group that the recent civil rights law meant nothing to the average Vine City resident. He criticized the new War on Poverty for not doing what was really needed. It was not bettering houses, jobs, streets, nor increasing welfare benefits; it was only attempting to help a small percentage of people overcome some personal inadequacies. He said the group needed to try to mobilize the people of Vine City into doing something about the conditions that caused personal shortcomings.

There were hours of talk of techniques, tactics, and philosophy. Was it possible to form loose coalitions with existing church, social and civic groups in the neighborhood? Should they try to organize around specific issues in the manner used so effectively by Saul Alinsky in northern slums? (The Alinsky method, as stated by Alinsky, is: "The community organizer digs into a morass of resignation, hopelessness and despair and works with the local people in articulating, 'rubbing raw,' their resentments. He must agitate to the point of conflict.") Were there enough dissatisfaction and

anger in the community for the Alinsky method to succeed? To the greatest extent possible the manipulation of people would be kept to a minimum.

The six decided to attempt a very simple-sounding plan. The group would offer to do what the people of the community wanted to do. The group of six did not know what needed to be done, therefore, they would ask. No one knew how to solve the problems even after they were identified, but they thought that enough people working together might be able to come up with a plan of action. They hoped they could fall back upon honesty and truthfulness when the inevitable mistakes began happening.

The question now was: How do you find out what the people want?

A very simple questionnaire was written. A sample of it follows:

_____ (address - street and number)

Surveyor _____

Date _____

Family Name _____

Does the occupant own the house? Yes _____ No _____

Who is the realtor? _____

How much is the rent? _____

Number of rooms in the dwelling _____

Number of residents in the dwelling _____

Approximate income per month _____

Space for general comments: _____

Person's estimate of the condition of the house:

The problems of most concern to the renter or owner (if the owner):

With this questionnaire, the group began the slow street-by-street, house-by-house survey, hoping that some general consensus on the most important problem would show through the response to the questionnaire.

The interviews were done slowly, usually in bi-racial teams, the interviewers asking a few questions and then sitting back to listen -- answering the questions on the questionnaire just by listening closely. At no time did an interviewing team merely go into a house and read off questions. Sometimes they spent two hours with a single family. Because of the amount of time necessary to cover a block, the group-of-six recruited volunteers from the city's campuses. The next Saturday, fifty students arrived ready for work. The leader of the group described the project and the idea behind the questionnaire. Two Saturdays later they had covered the area.

Now began the reading of the questionnaires. Again and again, interest in the young people of Vine City appeared

uppermost in the minds of the people. "Our children have no place to play"; "they play in the streets where cars hit them"; "there are no playgrounds." Other problems which received considerable mention were: police brutality, insurance collectors, landlords who refused to repair their buildings yet charged high rents, unpaved streets, lack of cultural opportunities, poor jobs, or no jobs at all.

Using the questionnaire as the basis for deciding which problem would be initially tackled, the group-of-six resolved somehow to get a playground in Vine City.

The Playground

They began a search for a lot that could be cleared and made into a playground. Several times it appeared that they had one, then either the landlord lived in Florida or an option to buy had been in force for the last three years. Finally a lot was located behind a store. The owners consented to the use of it as a play area, if it could be cleared and if they could remove themselves from liability.

Saturday after Saturday for seven or eight weeks, college students met at the small A.M.E. church for a brief orientation, and then walked to the lot to begin work. On the first day they found a bulldozer to do the heaviest work

and soon leveled the lot. All that remained was to build a wall in order to keep the playground from washing back into the street. Each Saturday, and many evenings during the week, one, two, sometimes four people met to work. Within moments fifteen or twenty young Negro children, ranging in age from three to fifteen years, would join them. Each workday older people of the area came by, stopped, and watched awhile, and then picked up a shovel.

Soon the playground would be finished. What then? From the beginning, the group-of-six had realized that Vine City people had to become involved so that one day they would take over the planning and work of the project and go on to work on more difficult problems. Door-to-door talk sessions began again. And, an advisory committee, made up of Vine City residents, was formed to advise the students and the original group-of-six.

The First Big Problem

The change of a dump-lot into a playground aroused an enthusiasm which forced the first problem into being. The group-of-six decided to rent an old house as a community center. Without asking for advice from the advisory committee, they did so. At an ensuing meeting of this committee, questions were asked about the house. Who was responsible for renting the

house? Where did the money come from? Who was going to pay the rent, and could the house meet building inspection?

Some personality problems had already risen, and now a definite split separated the advisory group and several members of the group-of-six. Looking back, it appears that perhaps the split was unavoidable. (It came about with questions of authority and money.)

The Vine City advisory group decided to take over direct control of the organization. It approved the renting of the house and the completion of the lot. A date for a mass meeting was set for later in the month. Mimeographed announcements of the meeting were passed out throughout the community under the name of the Vine City Improvement Association. The meeting was called to discuss the many different problems of Vine City, and to elect officers for the organization. Approximately 120 people came, some interested, some there just for something to do. Problems were discussed and officers elected, but no program of action was set forth.

The role of the group-of-six changed after the Improvement Association came into existence. The six were now the technicians for the Improvement Association, supplying information, suggesting plans of action, following the directions of the Association. No longer could the group-of-six set the

course of the Vine City Project by themselves with the occasional advice of the community people. Now instead, community people, though only loosely organized into an association, were running the project. This change in who was leading whom had happened very soon ---- perhaps too soon.

The Second Mass Meeting and a Carnival

Basic improvements were begun on the Community Center and a library was started. The officers of the Improvement Association decided to hold a street carnival, blocking off the street where the center and playground had been started. They borrowed one hundred dollars and bought chicken, for barbecue; chance games, ice cream, hot dogs, loud speakers, and records. The carnival was a great success. Over a thousand people crowded into the street outside of the center. People signed up with the Association and vowed to come to the next meeting. By dark the Association had made twenty dollars.

A second mass meeting was called attracting about 100 people. Committees on Housing, Streets, Recreation, Youth, Cultural Activities, Law Enforcement and Education were appointed. This designation of committees was perhaps a mistake. It later presented an excuse for not attending general meetings and idleness of committees when chairmen

failed to call meetings, or when the members did not attend.

It was now evident that there was a nucleus of about fifteen people who would work on committees, come to meetings, and actually act, if and when a situation called for action. As the group-of-six had already initiated work involving housing, this was given priority along with the completion of the community center. By using the former questionnaires and city tax records, owners of the Vine City Community property were identified and their addresses located. Names of the fifteen largest slum owners were pin-pointed, in the event that dissatisfaction with housing ever came to a protest action stage.

Weekly meetings continued, discussing what should be done, what little had been done, and why weren't more people at the meetings. Generally six or seven people would come to a meeting, sometimes two hours late. If a move was decided upon and actually carried through, it was not unusual for the committee's authority to be questioned later by a member who had been absent.

Several Small Successes

The Recreation Committee took an interest in the playground lot. A student ascertained dates of the aldermanic

committee meetings responsible for parks and recreation facilities. Twelve men and women from Vine City went to the aldermanic committee meeting and proposed that they furnish equipment for the playground and make immediate plans for a park in Vine City. The people then stopped by the mayor's office and paid their respects. This was the organization's first encounter with city authorities. Within two weeks the city sent a man to inspect the lot. Also, a lawyer drew up lease agreements and began title searches on areas for a park site. This was the Association's first success and a better political education experience could not have been. Vine City people discovered they did have some power to do things.

The Housing Committee has had several small achievements. It distributed one thousand summaries of the housing code in the community and plans an open hearing on housing. A petition was to be sent throughout Vine City for signatures of people whose houses do not come up to minimum standards. Housing inspectors, urban renewal people, poverty war people, the press, and hopefully, the mayor would be invited. Members from another organization across town who have threatened a rent strike were asked to participate as well as the state legislators from the area.

Two VISTA volunteers are now working at the Community Center. A teen-age youth group successfully sponsored three

Saturday night dances, inviting grown-ups to come and join them if they so desired. The local War on Poverty unit donated a swing set, but it is the backyard type and is not strong enough for a playground. It lies in a storage room.

Other Problems

Personality differences have plagued the project from the beginning. The group found that running a democratic meeting can turn into a nightmare of threats, insinuations, and chaos. Discussion of a project can be waylaid simply because some people who might not even understand the project, only that a certain individual has suggested it, therefore feel the project must be attacked.

Money has caused difficulties also. Who gave it? Why did they give it? How was it spent? Who decided to spend it on that?

The Association has not kept good books. A financial statement distributed monthly answering such questions would have alleviated many hassles.

Although the Improvement Association has only handled a total of 350 dollars, money occasioned a general distrust on several occasions threatening the entire program. On these occasions it was necessary to begin almost all over again, to gradually work back to a point where trust could be established before the next catastrophe happened. The

importance of money cannot be exaggerated. A man or woman living on $60 a month, not knowing if he or she can stretch this amount over food, clothing, and housing, puts a much higher value on $350 than do students who pay that amount each semester for tuition.

Recognition has also led to serious problems. The project, though small, poorly organized, and part-time staffed, excited considerable interest in the city. Newspapers have commended it several times. It is regrettable that on two occasions either a picture of one person or a mention that the project came into being because of one person caused divisions in the organization. Recognition and credit should be showered over the entire organization, emphasizing that such achievement would have been impossible without the cooperation of a large number of people.

Poor understanding of the function of various organizations or people in the project has caused difficulty. A self-help project should not be the work of one specific organization, but should be the project of the people who are banded together to do something for themselves. If they want help they should get it by asking other people, or an organization, to do a certain thing, to carry out a specific task, or to provide a service. Of course, many fruitful ideas originate from outside. But it is necessary that the self-help group make outside suggestions their own ideas through

sitting on them for a short time, or by reworking the ideas to suit themselves and their situation.

Full-time door-to-door work is still desperately needed. At no time has there been a full-time person doing this type of work. The project has full-time staff now, but they are occupied with improvement projects such as nursery schools, tutors, typing classes, and counseling, rather than as organizers. The project is almost trapped in the self-improvement cycle. This is to say that while pre-school nurseries, tutorials and secretarial training classes are important they are concerned with individual, not community, improvement. The slum child who benefits from a pre-school experience is still destined for a slum school elementary education. After the tutoring session the high school student continues to return to a tenement where the upstairs toilet leaks into his mother's sink. The fear of self-improvement programs is that they often place the cause of poverty on the individual's inadequacies, rather than on the surroundings that made him inadequate.

Whether you approach the individual person living in a slum with pity or the profit-making slum with anger is the difference. Self-improvement can become a forever and ever process of helping a few people overcome the slum. The alternative is community organization for the purpose of obtaining power, power enough to do away with the slum.

The appointment of committees was a mistake, as has been said. The need of planning for small achievement -- anything that could be construed to be an accomplishment -- was not given enough attention. Constant contact with the people about what is going on, what they think is important, the putting of information into their hands, detailing work to be done -- all need thorough planning. Meeting when there is no need to meet is a mistake. The only reason to have a mass meeting is to report to the whole community what has been accomplished and to bring information to the group. If there were enough weekly progress on an issue of importance (or if there were conflict with the powers that be), than a mass meeting could be planned once a week. The important thing is for leaders to have something to present at the meeting.

Prospects For The Future

The Association needs a paid organizer. The community is aroused and interested but the organization thus far has been a paper one; two or three active people have carried the burden of the work. More people must participate in the decision-making. Yet, for all the lack of organization, all the personality clashes, all the mistakes, and all the lack of people involved, the people of Vine City have started to

get together to help themselves.

Another group, The Vine City Council, started by people who grew disenchanted with the original handling by the group-of-six, has begun issuing a newspaper which reports Vine City happenings and prints pieces written by people from Vine City. It has been well received. This group has also started a thrift shop where used clothing is sold, the profits going into a fund for emergency loans to community people. It is hoped that eventually the two groups will work together on several issues and forget personal differences. Several members of the Improvement Association attend the meetings of the other group and the two factions have established a working relationship on one or two issues.

The possibility of creating small businesses which would help people to more financial independence, and/or which would be operated as cooperatives, has been discussed. A sewing cooperative has been successful in Mississippi and Vine City people have read with interest the plans and methods used there. Other interesting ideas which have been entertained are:

> Contracting with small farmers outside of town to sell their fruits and vegetables in Vine City. Another plan would include buying the vegetables at a farmer's market and then distributing them in the community.

Several white farmers are presently selling their produce in the area. The group-of-six feels confident that the people would buy from a Vine City enterprise (of a cooperative nature) rather than from the white farmers, if it offered the same quality produce.

Refinishing of furniture, hand-laundered shirt service, making rugs from rug samples, production of novelties such as arts and crafts kits for children with how-to-do-it instruction, the selling of homemade preserves and canned goods, sandwich making, preparation and delivery of hot meals to neighborhood businesses, all offer possibilities of employing one, two, or more people in a money-making business. Hopefully, the profits, or a percentage of them, would go into a "cushion" fund to begin a credit union -- an idea the group has discussed with interest.

Several groups have approached the Association about the possibility of tutoring children in Vine City. Arrangements are being made to begin this within the next two or three weeks.

The Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta has started an information and assistance bureau at the Center, which offers a reliable channel of communication for people who are faced daily with a maze of bureaucratic detail. Information about social security, medicare, workman's compensation, employment opportunities, low rent housing, loan facilities, and more, is available.

An ex-Peace Corps volunteer has offered her services for a year. She is organizing a pre-school program to begin as soon as she finds means to heat the Community House. She will also teach typing to anyone who wants it.

The Vine City Council and the Vine City Improvement Association recently cooperated in picketing a slum house and its owner's home across town. About fifty people carried signs protesting the condition of the house: no fire escape, high rent, ($71.50 per month for 3 rooms), rotted floors, dangerous electrical equipment, all criticized by the community people.

Reaction to the direct action varied --

-- "They shouldn't have picketed a Negro landlord," said one person.

-- "The group should have negotiated first," said another.

-- "We gonna write all those landlords a letter now,

sayin, fix up your trash-pile, brother, or you gonna look out your pretty picture window and see signs, and us, come next Sunday!" said the captain of one of the picket lines.

-- The landlord withdrew two eviction orders, changed realtors, reduced back rents owed by two families and hired a repairman.

Another house, a basement apartment, where four families share one toilet has been tentatively selected as the next target by the two organizations.

The Chance of Doing it All Over

Not much has changed in Vine City. No real organization has been formed. The people have started, however, and some learned something. Perhaps others can profit from the experiences of the people of Vine City.

Outsiders going into a community with the idea of helping to organize people to solve some of their own problems should find a way to let the people know that they are there to organize -- to work for changes in the community. Don't ask the people to trust you -- do things in such a way as to earn their trust. Questions of why outsiders are in a community are natural and should be expected. Answers of the "we-are-here-to-help-you" type sometimes lead to more questions concerning motivation. As an organizer a person can also remain on the

outside of the inevitable personality differences that will arise, perhaps using his role to reunite the group toward its goal after such differences come up.

The young people who decided to try to work in Vine City used a housing survey questionnaire to gain entry into the community. Perhaps it would have been better to have been invited into the community. If an organization or a church, or several churches and organizations, can together invite you, the initial period of distrust might be shorter, or eliminated.

The raising and spending of money demands accuracy and good bookkeeping from the beginning. Decisions of whether you will accept outside funds (which of course put some restrictions on an organization) or will try and raise all your funds from within the community should be made early in your effort. When you use money it is urgent to mimeograph financial reports and distribute them to the members of the organization. Co-signed checks are a must.

Should praise and credit come to a community organization, as many people as possible should be included in pictures and through quotes. The more an organization is referred to as a group of people working together to change their situation, the stronger it seems to become. Two or three people receiving all the praise or blame can split your organization.

The delegation of authority in an organization is very important to the growth and participation of the people. The organizer must realize that once an organization comes into being he then must respect its wishes and work with it, not lead it.

The beginning stages of the organization call for accomplishments at regular intervals. These gains hearten and reinforce the idea of cooperative effort as a means for accomplishment, and make it possible to try for larger achievements. If there are past accomplishments to report, future accomplishments are easier to envisage. There is really no need for meetings unless the people have something to say.

The selection of a primary issue for action is important, especially at the beginning. Committees have a way of dividing a group rather than uniting one. Delegation of problems, distrust of what others are doing, spending of funds, recognition, all enter when committees are formed.

A number of factors are demonstrated by the attempt at starting a community organization in Vine City:

-- Poor people know what the problems are. This idea assumes that people know that unlivable housing, over-crowded schools, and low-paying jobs or no jobs at all, are responsible for

their personal conditions. Poor people also realize their own inadequacies, such as lack of education or job skills.

-- Community action is possible in low-income communities. (Perhaps poor people are not as apathetic as they are said to be if they have alternatives on which to take action.)

-- Community organization does not require huge amounts of money. In fact, it can be quite inexpensive.

-- Leadership is relatively easy to find in low-income communities.

SUMMARY

Frank Reisman says that social action is becoming the fashion in America. Community organization projects by Saul Alinsky, the Students for a Democratic Society, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have received nation-wide attention.

The South, as usual, has been slow to respond. Very few community organization efforts have been attempted in the urban South. We have much to learn.

-- What are the best techniques?

-- What methods do poor people respond to most favorably?

-- How do you know when a community is organized?

-- What is the ultimate goal of community organization?

-- Are there issues larger than local self-interest that could unite diverse local groups after they are organized?

-- Should self-improvement programs, such as tutorials which don't face the central problem of inferior schools, be included in community organization efforts?

-- Should efforts which only make slums slightly more comfortable be discouraged, in hopes

that larger issues involving real inequalities can be used for organization purposes?

-- How much emphasis should the organizer put on the necessity for conflict if the group is to realize the power it possesses?

-- Are coalitions between the poor, the civil rights movement, and/or the labor movement possible?

These questions perhaps are unanswerable at the present time. The Vine City Project certainly doesn't answer all of them. It does make a try in the only possible way, including the making of mistakes.

# # # #

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WORKSHOP

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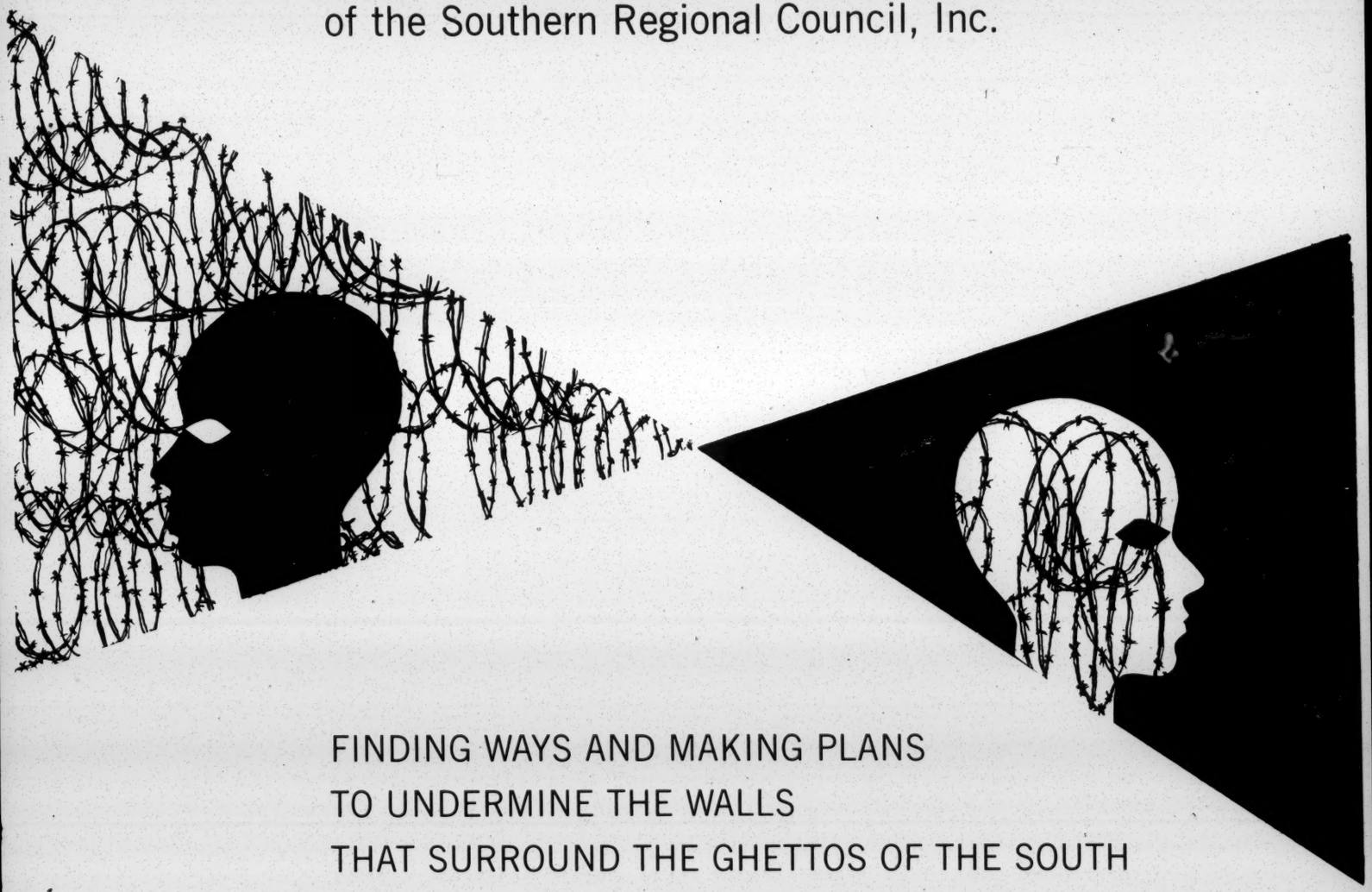

FINDING WAYS AND MAKING PLANS
TO UNDERMINE THE WALLS
THAT SURROUND THE GHETTOS OF THE SOUTH

. . . IN THE WHITE MAN'S MIND
. . . IN THE NEGRO'S WORLD

Peachtree Manor Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia November 3-4, 1965

I HAVE NOT ENDED the story for there is no end. This Movement is alive, it is growing, it has already become a part of our life as Americans; it is joyous, still a singing movement, still one full of compassion and love; and being so, it is flexible, amenable to the best our minds and hearts can offer it. Amenable also to the worst we offer it. A brave vigorous movement that is here to stay: rich with infinite creative possibilities, potent--and dangerous, for the potential good can be distorted and lost by the despairing restlessness of those from the ghettos who have no hope, and who are too uninformed historically, too unsure emotionally to analyze current conditions or forsee the consequence of their acts. We, as a people, could be confronted soon by a series of catastrophes. Whether this happens depends on the wisdom of responsible Negroes but more, much more on what every responsible white American does next. One thing is certain in a plexus of uncertainties and that is, our encounter with the future cannot be evaded, it must be met by both the artist and the scientist in us, by our deep intuitions and our rigorously proved knowledge--and by the human being in us, too, that creature who knows the power of compassion, the potency of a strange love that keeps reaching out to bind one man to another.

--LILLIAN SMITH, Our Faces, Our Words
(W. W. Norton, 1964)

November 3, 1965

10:00 A.M. - 12:30 P.M.

SONG - "We Gather Together" -- Led by Dr. Cecilia Sheppard

SCRIPTURE - (In Unison)

And the Lord saw it, and it displeased him that there was no justice. (Isaiah 59:15)

God is no respecter of persons. (Acts 10:34)

"All men are dear to the heart of God, and therefore they must be dear to us." (R. W. Dale)

"Let us no more be true to boasted race and clan, but to our highest dream, the brotherhood of man."

(Thomas Curtis Clark)

PRAYER - The Reverend Dwight Nysewander

GREETINGS - Mr. Paul Anthony

INTRODUCTIONS - Who Are We?

PURPOSE - Why We Are Gathered Together -- Mrs. M. E. Tilly

REPORT - Surveys of Southern Cities -- Miss Thelma Stevens

ADDRESSES - "The History and Analysis of the Civil Rights Movement"

-- Mr. Ralph McGill

"The Humanizing of Race Relations"

-- Dr. Herman Long

LUNCH - 12:30 - 2:00 P.M. - (On Your Own)

Peachtree Manor Coffee Shop

Davis Cafeteria - 5th Street & West Peachtree

Jay's - 800 Peachtree Building

Sprayberry's Cafeteria - Peachtree Street & 7th. (Government Building)

AFTERNOON SESSION

2:00 P. M.

PANEL - The Reverend Donald Sneller
Miss Thelma Stevens
Mr. Charles Wittenstein

(Translating the two morning speeches into community action)

DISCUSSION GROUPS -

Leader	Resource	Reporter
Dr. Clayton Calhoun	Mr. Sam Adams	Mr. Nat Welch
Mrs. Betty Cantor	Sen. Leroy Johnson Miss Peggy Billings	Mrs. Howard Anderson
Mr. Theodore Freedman	Mr. Lloyd Elliott	Mrs. Stanley Rawn
Mrs. Ruby Hurley	Rev. Austin Ford	Mrs. Phil Narmore
Mr. Don McEvoy	Mr. Robert Dobbs	Mrs. Paul Pfeutze
Rev. Henry Steines	Mr. Vernon Jordan	Mrs. Newton Fowler
Mrs. J. G. Walsh	Mrs. Frances Pauley	Miss Hazeletta Harris
Mrs. Robert Wilcox	Mr. Pat Watters	Mrs. Eva Parks

EVENING SESSION

6:00 P.M. DINNER (Terrace Room)

REPORT - Vine City Self-help Project
--Mrs. Sylvia Cochrane
--Mrs. Elizabeth Harvey
--Mr. David Burney

ADDRESS - "Operation: Southern Justice" -- Mr. Charles Morgan

DISCUSSION GROUPS -

November 4, 1965

9:00 A. M.

PLAY - "Some of My Best Friends"

Miss Brianne Beesley, Cross Keys High School
Miss Sally Cantor, Grady High School
Miss Joni Price, Murphy High School
Mr. Patrick Tracy, North Fulton High School
Mr. James Price, Murphy High School

Cast from "Operation Understanding"
Young Women's Christian Association

ECUMENICITY in Athens, Georgia -- Mrs. John Boyce, Jr.
-- Reverend John J. Mulroy

WHAT HAVE WE BEEN DOING -

United Church Women of the National Council of Churches
--Miss Eleanor French

B'nai B'rith -- Mrs. Howard Adler

Council of Catholic Women -- Mrs. Raymond Norton

Council of Jewish Women -- Mrs. Walter Bunzl

United Church Women of Georgia -- Mrs. Walter Thomas

REPORT OF DISCUSSION GROUPS -- Miss Eleanor French

SUMMARY -

CLOSING MESSAGE - Dr. Roy Delmotte

WHO'S WHO

Mrs. Howard Anderson, Secretary of Christian Social Relations
Florida Conference of W.S.C.S.

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Mrs. John Boyce, Jr., President, United Church Women of Athens, Ga.

Dr. Clayton Calhoun, President, Paine College, Augusta, Ga.

Mrs. Betty Cantor, Community Consultant, Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith

Mr. Robert Dobbs, Boys Worker, Bethlehem Community Center

Mr. Theodore Freedman, Southern Director, Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith

Miss Eleanor French, Director, Christian Social Relations
United Church Women
National Council of Churches of Christ

The Reverend Austin Ford, St. Bartholomew Episcopal Church
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Newton Fowler, Secretary, N. W. District of Woman's Christian
Fellowship of The Christian Church

Miss Hazeletta Harris, Director, Bethlehem Community Center

Miss Ruby Hurley, Executive Director, Southeastern Division NAACP

The Honorable Leroy Johnson, Senator in the Georgia Legislature

Mr. Vernon Jordan, Area Coordinator, Region 3, Community Action
Programs

Mr. Donald McEvoy, Georgia Director, National Conference of
Christians and Jews

Dr. Herman Long, President, Talledega College, Talledega, Alabama

Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher, The Atlanta Constitution

Mr. Charles Morgan, Director, Southern Office, American Civil
Liberties Union

The Reverend John Mulroy, St. Joseph's Church, Athens, Georgia

Mrs. Phil Narmore, United Church Women of Georgia

WHO'S WHO Cont'd

The Reverend Dwight Nysawander, Pastor, Haygood Memorial Methodist Church

Mrs. Eva Parks, President, Bethlehem Community Center

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director, Georgia Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Stanley Rawn - B'nai B'rith, ADL Committee

Dr. Cecilia Sheppard, Professor, Paine College, Augusta, Georgia

The Reverend Donald Sneller, Methodist Minister to the Inner City

The Reverend Henry Steines, Director of Field Service
Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Miss Thelma Stevens, Assistant Secretary, Department of Christian Social Relations, The Methodist Church

Mrs. J. G. Walsh, Director, Christian Community Action
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.

Mr. Nat Welch, Federal Representative, Southeastern Region Nuclear Board

Mrs. Robert Wilcox, Member of General Board, Christian Social Concerns, The Methodist Church

Mr. Charles Wittenstein, Director, American Jewish Committee Atlanta Area Office

From the Staff of the Southern Regional Council

Mr. Sam Adams, Director of Research

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director

Mr. Lloyd Elliott, Staff Economist

Mrs. Ruth Howard, Secretary, Woman's Work

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Woman's Work

Mr. Pat Watters, Director of Information

CITY SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What groups or agencies are <u>seriously</u> at work on Civil Rights issues in your community?

2. What are the <u>two or more</u> major points of racial tensions in your community? (e.g. voting, schools, public facilities, housing, courts, employment, etc.)

3. What steps or plans are underway to resolve these points of tensions?

4. What steps have been taken to implement the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in respect to public facilities, education, employment?

5. How would you evaluate the role of religious bodies and leaders in the community?

6. What the "blocs" to progress in your community?
   (Can you interview a cross section of people to get their response to this question?)

7. What do you think should be the next steps toward the solution of the most important issue in your community, and what help would you like on this issue from the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned?

October, 1965

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Paul Anthony, Executive Director John H. Wheeler, President

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama
539-4277 (205)
Exec. Dir.: Edwin Stanfield
Chmn.: Nat Welch

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas
FRanklin 4-4521 (501)
Exec. Dir.: Nathaniel Griswold
Assoc. Dir.: Ozell Sutton
Chmn.: Walter B. Clancy

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
356 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida
255-5881 (305)
Exec. Dir.: Edwyn E. Lewis, Jr.
Chmn.: Dr. H. Franklin Williams

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
525-6468 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Frances Pauley
Assoc. Dir.: Oliver Holmes
Chmn.: Dr. Joe Hendricks

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Chmn.: Dr. James R. Oliver
P. O. Box 2992
Lafayette, La. 70501

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
306 First Federal Building
Capitol at State Street
Jackson, Mississippi
948-0878, 948-0879 (601)
Exec. Dir.: Kenneth Dean
Chmn.: Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 E. Third Street, Room 301
Charlotte, North Carolina
FRanklin 6-6833 (704)
No director at present
Chmn.: Dr. T. Franklin Williams

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina
ALpine 6-8808 (803)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Alice Spearman
Chmn.: Rev. Fred Reese

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1106 - 19th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee
297-6568 (615)
Exec. Dir.: Baxton Bryant
Assoc. Dir.: Katherine Jones
Chmn.: Martha Ragland

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 East Cary Street
Richmond 19, Virginia
648-4445 (703)
Exec. Dir.: Robert L. Combs
Chmn.: David Scull

Local Councils with Professional Staff:

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth St., N.W., Room 207
Atlanta, Georgia
523-1581 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Eliza Paschall

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas
JA. 6-1829 (713)
Exec. Dir.: Robert R. Alexander
Chmn.: G. E. Dodd

--From Pope Paul VI Speech
to the United Nations
October 4, 1965

You proclaim here the fundamental rights and duties of man, his dignity, his freedom--and above all this religious freedom.

We feel that you thus interpret the highest sphere of human wisdom and, we might add, its sacred character.

For you deal here above all with human life; and the life of man is sacred; no one may dare offend it.

Rec'd 4/1/66
Fwd to Concerned Off.
Cy. ref League of Women Voters

MJ - file

March 30, 1966

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

As I promised you last week I now want to explain just what the League of Women Voters of the United States can do in relation to the program of observers in the courts in southern states.

You will remember I explained at the meeting that the national President (nor anyone representing her) cannot endorse any effort which commits the attention or the time of the League unless it falls within one of the areas the membership has adopted at a Convention for study and action. Neither can the national Board do anything which commits any state League to work on a particular matter which is of state concern.

Within this framework it is not appropriate to have my name, as representing the League, attached in any way to the Statement of Concern which was drawn up by the women meeting in Atlanta last week.

Having said what we cannot do, let me now explain what we can do. There is no reason you cannot mail the information about the workshops to the state League presidents in the states where the workshops will be held. You already have this list. It is then their responsibility to decide if and how they can cooperate. Some may offer resource services in the technique of observer programs or supplying factual information they may have on the functioning of certain courts. Others may decide they will only be able to pass the information about the workshops on to individual members, some of whom may wish to participate in the project as individuals. Since many of our members are also active in at least one of the groups represented in Atlanta, we feel sure they will be hearing about your efforts through other channels.

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

3-30-66

I am working on an adaptation of our guidelines for observers which will be helpful as this project gets underway. I will send it on in a few days.

We are sorry it is not possible for us to be more involved. As you know the strength of the League has always been the fact that Program is chosen by the members and that at a given time we work on only a few issues. While our actual involvement in the project has to be limited and will be determined by each state, we do want to express our good wishes for positive results from it.

It was a pleasure for me to meet and work with the other women in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Caroline D. Wood

Mrs. William H. Wood
First Vice President

CW:bf

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

file X Fofc - file

~~Report of Director of~~ Woman's Work (Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Dir.)
Southern Regional Council
January 1 - March 31, 1966

These ninety days have been busy days, teaching and speaking to local groups, attending the Governor's Legislative Forums on Tuesday's during the session of the Legislature, serving on the boards of United Church Women of Georgia, and the Bethlehem Community Center (a Negro institution in a poverty section of Atlanta).

Prepared and directed our city's annual Brotherhood Day program held at the Catholic Cathedral of Christ the King.

Early in January was called to Washington to meet with the National Woman's Committee which really developed into a four-way trip--spent some time with the Board Meeting of Americans for Democratic Action, had a conference with the National leaders of the League of Women Voters and the Council of Catholic Women, and secured the promise that both would send someone to the conference on what was happening in Southern Courts.

In February attended the Board of American Civil Liberties Union in New York and while there contacted and secured support for the conference on Southern Courts from the United Church Women of the National Council of Churches and the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church.

At the last executive meeting, you gave sanction to a conference on the Southern Courts that would involve bringing together leaders of national women's organizations.

This came to be here in Atlanta on March 24-25 -- and the national leaders came, at their own expense. (See attached list.)

At the first session facts were presented to them by four able lawyers: Mr. Charles Morgan of A.C.L.U., Judge Dorothy Kenyon of New York--who had been with Mr. Morgan in courts in Alabama--Mr. Horace Ward, ~~a Negro lawyer~~ an attorney from Atlanta, and Judge Osgood Williams of Fulton County Superior Court.

After that the meeting was completely in the hands of our National women. Out of their concern they asked that state workshops be held in eleven southern states.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

ATTACHMENT 1

National Women's Organizations represented at the "Conference on Courts," March 24-25, 1966, Atlanta, Georgia

United Church Women of the National Council of Churches
Mrs. Stuart E. Sinclair, President
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y.

National Council of Negro Women
Miss Dorothy Height, President
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

National Council of Jewish Women
Mrs. Max Goldstein, Representative
One West 47th Street
New York, N. Y.

National Council of Catholic Women
Mrs. George Gunning, Representative
1312 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D. C.

League of Women Voters of the U. S.
Mrs. William H. Wood, First Vice President
1200 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

National Board of the Y.W.C.A.
Mrs. A. L. Cram, Jr., Vice President
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10022

B'nai B'rith Women
Mrs. Michael Shapiro, First Vice President
1640 Rhode Island Avenue
Washington, D. C. 10036

Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation
Mrs. George E. Kimball, Vice President
25 Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108

Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Woman's Missionary Council
Mrs. Benjamin Mays, Representative
1152 Landsdowne Boulevard
Youngstown, Ohio 44505

Disciples of Christ
International Christian Women's Fellowship
Mrs. O. Ivan Cole, President
222 S. Downey Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society
Mrs. Rose Anna Nelson, First Vice President
301 N. Cool Springs Street
Fayetteville, North Carolina

Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Board of Woman's Work
Miss Evelyn Green, Executive Secretary
2115 Monroe Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30306

The Methodist Church, Board of Missions
Woman's Society of Christian Service
Mrs. Niles C. Clark, Representative
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y. 10027

United Church of Christ
Council of Lay Life and Work
Mrs. Edward M. Brown, Representative
297 Park Avenue, South
New York, N. Y. 10010

See Fellowship of the Concerned

April 4, 1966

Mrs. William H. Wood
First Vice President
League of Women Voters of the United States
1200 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mrs. Wood:

It was good having the opportunity to meet you last week, and I very much enjoyed the visit we had together following the conference.

I have a copy of your letter outlining the involvement and the limitations on the League's participation in the program. We shall certainly respect that.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(2)

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF THE UNITED STATES

1200 SEVENTEENTH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036 TEL. 296-1770
Mrs. Robert J. Stuart, President

OFFICERS
First Vice President
Mrs. William H. Wood
Bladensburg, Maryland
Second Vice President
Mrs. William S. Morgan
Norman, Oklahoma
Secretary
Mrs. Tyler Shinn
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Washington, D.C.
Mrs. Vernon C. Stoneman
Belmont, Massachusetts
Mrs. John F. Toomey
Narragansett, Rhode Island
Mrs. Robert Zurbach
Pasadena, California

March 21, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On March 24 and 25 I expect to be in Atlanta attending the Conference on the Courts set up by Mrs. Tilly.

I would very much like to talk with you about work of our local Leagues in registration and voter education and possible areas of cooperation between our organizations. Would you be able to see me some time on Friday afternoon? The Conference is to be over at noon on Friday and my plane does not leave until about six.

Since there will not be time for a reply by mail would you have a message for me at the Atlantan where I will be staying?

Sincerely,

Caroline D. Wood

Mrs. William H. Wood
First Vice President

CDW:hsh

You don't know what she's saying - but they do!

Rec'd 5/26/66

See projects file → Fellowship of the Concerned

✓ BA

May 24, 1966

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Enclosed are suggested guidelines which I promised to send to you for use in the court observers program. These have been adapted from the ones the League uses in its observers program. Observing in a courtroom during a trial presents some circumstances not present when observing a City Council or a Board of Education meeting. I have used, therefore, some of the guidelines Judge Kenyon pointed out.

Please feel free to adapt these in any way you see fit.

I hope you are recovering satisfactorily from your fall and broken wrist.

Sincerely,

Mrs. William H. Wood
Director

CDW:gr

cc: State LWV
Mrs. Law

See ~~[illegible]~~ SRC Projects Women's Work

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

FROM: Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Enclosed is the material that the national presidents of women's organizations, meeting in Atlanta, March 24-25, directed the Southern Regional Council to prepare in preparation for state workshops on "Courts."

Extra copies are available upon request.

When the date has been set for the workshop in your state we hope you will copperate in notifying and encouraging your people to attend.

DUAL JUSTICE IN THE COURTS--
UNCONCERNED COMMUNITY

Justice is turned back,
and righteousness stands afar off;
for truth has fallen in the public squares,
and uprightness cannot enter . . .
The Lord saw it, and it displeased Him
that there was no justice. Isaiah 59:15-15

"Dual justice takes many forms, some merely disgusting and others so quietly terrifying that they balk the scrutiny of rational men."

The answer — A concerned community
The ultimate responsibility is with the people.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

From the discussion groups of the 1965 workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, came an urgent request that the Fellowship of the Concerned launch a campaign of women visiting the courts -- showing their interest and concern in what is happening.

What has been done thus far:

1. The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council gave the program their hearty approval.

2. The State Councils on Human Relations will be partners with us in this program.

3. A call went out to the presidents of national women's organizations asking them to come to Atlanta for two day's of discussion. The response was most gratifying.

The morning session of the first day was spent listening to a group of lawyers discussing for us the problems we had to meet and answering their questions. The remainder of the time was in the hands of these national women who divided themselves into several committees.

Mrs. Stuart Sinclair, President, United Church Women, National Council of Churches

Miss Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women

Mrs. Max Goldstein, National Board, National Council of Jewish Women

Mrs. George Gunning, National Board, National Council of Catholic Women

Mrs. A. L. Cram, Jr., Vice President, National Board Y.W.C.A.

Mrs. Michael Shapiro, First Vice President, B'nai B'rith Women

Mrs. George E. Kimball, Vice President, Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation

Mrs. Benjamin Mays, Representing Woman's Missionary Council, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

Mrs. O. Ivan Cole, President, International Christian Women's Fellowship, Disciples of Christ

Mrs. Rose Anna Nelson, First Vice President, Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

Miss Evelyn Green, Executive Secretary, Board of Woman's Work, The Presbyterian Church in the U. S.

Mrs. Niles C. Clark, Representing Woman's Society of Christian Service, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church

Mrs. Edward M. Brown, Representing Council of Lay Life and Work, United Church of Christ.

The following is their report:

A. Issued the following statement.

"We, as members of national women's organizations, believe that the freedom, dignity, and security of the individual are basic to American democracy.

"Since it is the nature of women to be a civilizing influence we are particularly concerned about the treatment of people in our democracy today.

"As women citizens of this nation we feel a moral responsibility for the administration of justice in the courts.

"This requires knowledge, personal commitment, and united action."

B. Directed the Southern Regional Council to prepare material on the discrimination in jury selection and the dual justice in the courts -- one for Negroes, one for whites.

C. Asked that workshops on the courts be held in each of our eleven Southern States -- and that visits to the courts be made beforehand in preparation for the state workshops. (One of the lawyers who spoke to the group said, "If women would visit the courts regularly it would revolutionize the courts.")

(Please study the attached "Observer Guidelines" prepared for us by Mrs. William Wood, First Vice President, League of Women Voters of the United States.)

WORKSHOP ON COURTS

Prepared by Mrs. Wm. Wood, Vice President,
League of Women Voters of the United States

Observers Program

Some selective process should be used in recruiting observers. Personal appearance and demeanor are important. Those willing to participate should --

1) Conduct themselves in a polite, well-mannered way.

2) Be willing to sit through proceedings and refrain from making remarks or engaging in conversation with those nearby while the Court is in session.

3) Act like a fair-minded person.

It is wise for observers to work in teams of two. This makes it possible to check with one another when any report is written.

When observing in the Courts the following should be kept in mind:

1) Trials are open. However, any judge has power to exclude the public and to have part of the hearing in private.

2) Know the procedures in the Court to be visited. Attorneys can be helpful in briefings on this.

3) Know the Court schedule -- what cases are coming up, the time the Court opens, etc.

4) Many Courtrooms have limited space. Get there in time to get a seat near the front so you can hear. Do not expect special favors in having a seat saved. If offered, do not accept a Judge's invitation to sit on the bench.

5) Areas of interest:
   a. Judge's demeanor toward the person before the Court.
   b. Bail
   c. Legal Counsel.
   d. Jury selection.
   e. Sentencing, fines, etc.

6) Observe several times with the same judge presiding.

7) Observe procedures under more than one judge.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE:

THE PROBLEM

Much has been written on the South's dual system of justice -- one brand for the white man -- yet another for the Negro. Legislation is even now being debated which hopefully will bring about change. But it will take more than new laws to rectify the abuses of generations. The vigilance of dedicated citizens willing to spend time and patience sitting in courtrooms and observing, willing to inquire, to ask the hard questions about long established procedures can be quietly effective. A coalition of women's organizations acting on local levels can fill this need. When lynch law was prevalent in the South, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was formed and over the years contributed hugely toward eliminating mob rule in the South. The same spirit of that earlier organization is now needed as the South faces up to the new challenge of Jim Crow justice.

Let's look just briefly at the overall situation, for basic to any meaningful action is an understanding of the directions one is trying to move.

The double standard of justice in the South is most obvious in the record on civil rights cases.

From 1960 through mid-1965 at least twenty-six Negroes and white civil rights workers were slain. Only one assailant was sentenced -- to ten years in prison.

Toward the end of 1965, however, the three men accused of murdering Mrs. Viola Liuzzo were convicted of "conspiracy to violate her civil rights" and were sentenced. This was after one of them had been acquitted of the charge of murder. The next day Damon Strange was convicted of manslaughter in a night-rider slaying in Anniston, Alabama.

If the double standard of justice were limited to civil rights cases, one might find reason for optimism -- however slight -- in these recent convictions. But the problem goes much deeper.

The double standard of justice looms constantly over the daily life of every Negro in the South. In ordinary contacts with police, in traffic courts, in civil procedures, and in criminal cases the dual standard is a standing abuse to all Negroes.

Capital Cases

Despite the fact that more than half of all convicted rapists are white, 87 per cent of all the persons executed for rape between 1930 and 1963 were Negroes convicted and sentenced by southern courts.

Between 1930 and 1961, 34 people were executed for the capital offense of night-time burglary. Twenty-nine of them were Negroes and all but one were put to death in a southern or border state.

Studies have shown that a Negro murderer is likely to get the maximum penalty if his victim is a white person, while

southern courts are inclined to be lenient if the victim is another Negro. A white person is more likely to receive the maximum penalty for killing another white person than for killing a Negro.

Minor Offenses

Negroes suffer from what has been described as "cash register justice." Suppose a judge gives two men, one a Negro and one white, the same sentence for drunk driving: $150 fine or twelve months in jail. If the Negro is a laborer at $1.25 per hour (when he can find work) and the white man earns $250 a week, the sentence is not really the same because a fine of three days' pay for the white man is an impossible sum for the Negro.

To be sure, "cash register justice" victimizes the poor of both races, but the Negro, being poorest, suffers most frequently. In a 12-month period ending in June of 1962, 2,341 persons served terms in Georgia's state prison system for their inability to pay small fines. Seventy-five per cent of these were Negroes.

The same result is obtained in the setting of bail: the impoverished sometimes must await trial in jail because they cannot raise the amount which allows the well-off offender to be free.

Experts in criminal correction have long argued that an effort should be made to determine the offender's ability to

pay before imposing the penalty. So far the argument has had little effect in the South.

Legal Counsel

An indigent Negro accused of a major crime often must accept a court-appointed white attorney who has little enthusiasm for his case. But even if they have money, Negroes may find it difficult to get an attorney, and in the Deep South, white attorneys are reluctant to accept controversial cases. To do so can cost an attorney his practice and may even result in ostracism by his community. There have been several examples of this in recent years.

Jury Selection

A southern Negro charged with a crime has little chance of being tried by "a jury of his peers." Actually, methods of jury selection work against poor whites as much as against Negroes, and they are unjust in other parts of the United States as in the South. But the record of southern juries in racial cases is a striking and depressing result of the pre-judicial systems of jury selection which prevail.

All-White Justice

Exclusion from juries is not the only way in which Negroes are denied participation in the administration of justice. Only recently have southern cities and states hired a token number of Negro police officers; often their duties are almost entirely confined to Negro neighborhoods.

Very few officers of the southern courts are Negroes. This is as true of southern federal courts as of state and municipal courts. A recent report of the Southern Regional Council included the following statistics:

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICERS AND PERSONNEL
IN SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO
Circuit Court Judges	12*	12	0
District Court Judges	65	65	0
Referees in Bankruptcy	55	55	0
U. S. Commissioners	253	253	0
U. S. Clerks	28	28	0
Deputy U.S. Clerks	321	321	0
U. S. Attorneys	29	29	0
Assistant U.S. Attorneys	158	153	5
Jury Commissioners	109	109	0
U. S. Marshals	29	29	0
Deputy U. S. Marshals	165	156	9
Secretarial and Clerical	364	**	**

*This is the number of judges of southern residence now serving on the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Circuits. The numbers respectively are three, seven, one, and one.

**Exact number of Negroes not ascertainable. The number from observation is quite small.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

Jury Selection

In a suit attacking the jury system of Jefferson County, Alabama, Charles Morgan, attorney-at-law, noted that selection techniques "differ from state to state and within states from court to court. The federal system differs from state systems. Qualifications differ from state to state. Federal qualifications differ from state qualifications." Some jury commissioners, Morgan pointed out, compile jury lists from telephone books; others use city directories, voter registration lists, the rolls of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, church membership lists, lists of school teachers, automobile owners, American Legion members, property tax payers. The result of such methods is that no real balance of the population is achieved. Jury lists become heavily laden with middle and upper class citizens. The poor, both Negro and white, are automatically excluded and since residential segregation is a fact of life in the South, jury commissioners can even effectively screen out middle class Negroes by close scrunity of their addresses.

The first step in a program of reform should be for local groups to determine how jury panels are chosen in their particular localities. But it isn't enough simply to pressure for change. An alternative should be presented. How can a true cross-section of the population be achieved, as called for in the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966? Mr. Morgan advances a surer means than is

currently in practice. This is the so-called Kraft method and is, in effect, the methods of opinion research analysts. (John F. Kraft, from whom the name is taken, is president of an opinion and market research firm. He has worked for many years both in the Elmo Roper firm and in the Lou Harris firm.) To select jury panels under this system would be a simple matter of choosing at random a specified number of residential blocks in a given city and from every fifth household making a random selection of citizens eligible to serve on juries -- men and women over 21, upper income and lower income people, white and Negroes. The whole focus of the approach, Mr. Kraft explains, "would be to remove human discretion from scientific sampling, to remove the possibility of bias in selecting the sample."

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

Courtroom Practice -- What Can Be Done

The county courthouse in the South is the last remaining stronghold of publicly sanctioned segregation. Not even the federal government has yet penetrated it. Beyond calling for elimination of discriminatory jury selection methods in state courts, the proposed Civil Rights Bill will not greatly affect accepted practices and procedures at the county courthouse. It will, apparently, be only through local citizen action that change can be brought about. This could be a long and frustrating process. The South has demonstrated its unwillingness to abandon segregation voluntarily and those who take upon themselves the task of reform should be prepared to face a good deal of resistance -- as well as local hostility directed against them. Yet the effort must be made. And it may well be that church women can here be more effective than the more direct action groups. Courts are peculiarly sensitive to any act that might remotely be interpreted as contemptuous. The authority of county judges in contempt cases is very broad. However, local women's organizations, sitting quietly in a courtroom, observing what goes on and later working for reform through community action could hardly be felonious.

Points that observers should be alert for are, of course, evidences of segregation. Such evidence probably won't be hard to find. Negroes may, as a matter of course, automatically sit

on the back row or in the gallery or they may be directed to sit in segregated seats by the court. Water fountains in some county courthouses may still be segregated as may restrooms.

Negroes in southern courts traditionally have been denied normal courtesy titles. Few southern judges or lawyers address Negro witnesses by any other than first names. Listings of witnesses in records of trial sometimes do not include "Mr." or "Mrs." titles for Negroes. Negro attorneys are frequently addressed as "Colonel," "Captain," "Preacher," by the court to avoid the use of "Mister."

Another project of the group could be analysis of cases where a Negro and a white man are accused of comparable crimes. The group could sit in on the entire proceedings first of one and then the other. Notes could be kept on how both proceedings were handled, with special attention to the court's attitude toward the defendant, the comparative energies of white defense attorneys on their client's behalf, interrogation of Negro and white witnesses -- and jury panel selection. If both defendants were convicted, a comparison could also be made of the sentences given; follow-through could be made of jail and prison conditions.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

The Various Courts

Normally one thinks of only two types of courts -- state and federal. While this is, of course, basically the case, state courts are broken down into many categories.

Descriptive names vary from state to state but basically a state court system works this way. Superior courts (or district courts, circuit courts -- depending on the title used within the states) normally will have original and concurrent jurisdiction in all civil and criminal causes -- with the exception of administration of estates which would be under the jurisdiction of probate or ordinary courts. In some states superior courts also have jurisdiction in equity cases (those where injunctive relief is sought) while other states have separate equity (or chancery) courts. Divorce cases and cases involving titles to real estate will also normally fall under the jurisdiction of superior courts -- though some states again have separate court divisions for handling such cases.

Subordinate to the superior courts are the various municipal and county courts which have been created to take the heavy burden of minor civil and criminal cases from the higher court. Some of these include: police or recorder's courts used primarily for the disposition of minor offenses -- such as traffic violations -- and the binding over of greater offenders to higher courts; criminal courts which will handle misdemeanors; county civil courts which will have jurisdiction over civil cases where the sum involved is comparatively small. This sum may vary from state to state, but rarely is over $500.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

The Rights of Individuals in the Hands of Police

Negro distrust of white policemen is widespread both in rural areas and in the cities; both North and South. Such suspicion is not unjustified. For too long the white policeman has been the secular arm of segregation and racial discrimination and his methods have been no credit to his community or to his profession. Despite efforts of progressive city and county administrations in recent years to eliminate not only police brutality but police violation of individual and human rights, a great deal more effort needs to be made. Citizens groups thus should familiarize themselves with the rights of individuals in the hands of police. The following is a summation of those rights: (Source: Criminal Law and Punishment, P. J. FitzGerald, Oxford University Press, 1962; pp. 175-180.)

1. Search and entry -- no one must submit to being searched unless he is a suspect who has been arrested.
2. Arrest -- police cannot detain a subject for questioning without a warrant;
   Police cannot make an arrest without a warrant unless he reasonably suspects a felony having been committed;
   Arresting officer must bring an accused person (if arrested without a warrant) before a judge as soon as possible. Superior officer in charge must inquire into case and may release the accused on bail if the case is not serious. He must release him if accused does not come before a judge within 24 hours;
   When brought before a judge, the prisoner has

the right to demand bail; if refused, he can appeal to higher court. Bail must not be excessive;

The remedy for a person wrongfully detained is to apply for a writ of Habeus Corpus to a judge, requiring accuser and accused to go before a judge where cause of arrest is to be stated. If court is not satisfied that a valid reason exists for detaining the accused, the prisoner is to be instantly released.

A decision of the U. S. Supreme Court handed down June 13, 1966, directly affects the rights of individuals in the hands of police. The ruling holds:

1) that an individual must be warned prior to questioning that he has the right to remain silent;
2) that he must be warned that any statement he makes may be used against him in court;
3) that officials must inform him of his right to have legal counsel present at the time he is questioned;
4) that he must be told by authorities that if he does not have money enough to employ an attorney, he has the right to have one appointed by the court to represent him; to consult with him before making any statement; and to have him present while he is making a statement;
5) that if an accused person requests legal representation no questions will be asked him until an attorney is present.

TITLE I - FEDERAL JURIES

From the proposed

"Civil Rights Act of 1966"

The present statutes reflect the will of Congress that federal juries be composed of a cross-section of the community. But these laws do not provide sufficient guidance to jury commissions across the nation as to how they shall carry out this Congressional purpose. The result has been the use of varying sources of names of prospective jurors, differing systems of selection and diverse tests of qualification. While this uncertain system appears not to have operated unconstitutionally, in some districts Negro representation on juries has been substantially less than the proportion of Negroes in the community, and other classes have sometimes been inadequately represented on juries. In any event, the system used in many districts is an imperfect means of insuring that the will of Congress is carried out, and carried out uniformly.

Title I of the "Civil Rights Act of 1966" is drawn to eliminate uncertainty and make clear beyond dispute that each judicial district or division is fulfilling its constitutional and statutory obligations in selection and assignment of jurors. It sets forth the sources from which potential jurors are to be drawn and the procedures to be followed in selecting jurors and testing their qualifications.

Title I declares it to be the policy of the United States that all qualified persons shall have the opportunity to serve on grand and petit juries in federal courts and shall have an obligation to serve when summoned. It prohibits discrimination in the selection of federal jurors on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status.

The bill requires that the names of prospective jurors be taken at random from the voter registration rolls, which are defined to include lists of eligible voters prepared by federal examiners under the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The voter rolls are considered to be the best universally available source of names substantially reflecting a full and fair cross-section of the community. Where, however, the judicial council of the circuit determines that use of the voter rolls as the exclusive source of names would not be consistent with the prohibition of discriminatory selection, the council would be required to prescribe other sources of names in addition to the voter rolls. It is anticipated that it will be necessary to prescribe additional sources of names for use in some districts where Negroes are at present not fairly represented on the voting rolls.

The qualifications for jury service prescribed by existing law are retained, but it is provided that all persons found in accordance with objective criteria to possess such qualifications are to be

deemed qualified as jurors. Under the present law, the statutory qualifications may have been regarded as establishing the minimum to be required, leaving the courts and jury commissions free to impose more stringent qualifications. The bill makes clear that the qualifications set a ceiling, that requirments beyond those listed may not be imposed.

Title I also provides a ready means for challenging jury selection in criminal and civil cases on grounds that the procedures established by the bill have not been followed. This challenge procedure is made available prospectively, and should be a major guarantee of the equal rights which are the objective of the legislation.

TITLE II - STATE JURIES

Title II of the "Civil Rights Act of 1966" is based on the power of Congress to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment by "appropriate legislation" and is designed to eliminate unconstitutional discrimination in the selection of grand and petit juries in State courts. This title provides that no persons shall be denied the right to serve on State juries on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status. In areas in which such discrimination is not practiced, existing jury selection procedures would not be upset. Where discrimination still exists, this title provides the means to eliminate it.

Title II has two principal features. First, it authorizes the Attorney General to bring civil actions in the federal courts for injunctive relief against discriminatory practices in State court jury selection. Under existing law, the Attorney General has no authority to initiate jury discrimination suits but may only intervene (under Title IX of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) in private suits. The authority vested in him by this title would be similar to the authority the Attorney General now has to seek injunctions against discrimination in voting, public accommodations and employment and, under Title III of this bill, against discrimination in public schools and facilities.

Upon a finding of discrimination, the court is expressly authorized to grant specified kinds of effective relief, including a decree which would, (1) prohibit the use of any qualification or ground of exclusion, exemption or excuse which has been administered in a discriminatory manner or which lends itself to such abuse; (2) require the use of objective criteria in determining qualifications, exclusion, exemptions, or excuses; (3) require maintenance of such records as may be necessary to show, in the future, whether discrimination is being practiced; and (4) appoint a master to perform the duties of the State jury officials. In addition, the court may grant other appropriate relief under general equitable principles.

The second principal feature of this title deals with the need for disclosure and development of information relevant to the question whether discrimination results from the system for selecting jurors. This objective is accomplished by a challenge procedure which may be used by the Attorney General in a suit under this title, private litigants residing in the area who seek to enforce the prohibition against discrimination by a civil action under 42 U.S.C. 1983, or a defendant in a criminal case or convicted person attacking collaterally a criminal conviction.

Upon the filing of an allegation of discrimination, appropriate State officials are required to furnish a "written statement of jury selection information." This statement is to describe in detail the procedures followed by the State jury officials in selecting jurors--including the sources of names of prospective jurors, the criteria used in determining qualifications for jury service, and the methods used for summoning jurors and assigning them to jury panels. The complaining party may cross-examine jury officials and introduce any other relevant evidence that may be available in support of the challenge. If, at that point, there is some evidence of discrimination, the complaining party is given access to any other relevant records of jury selection which are not otherwise publicly available and these may be introduced in support of the challenge. If the court then determines that there is probable cause to believe that discrimination has occurred, it is the responsibility of the State to produce additional evidence demonstrating that the alleged discrimination did not occur.

This provision meets twin considerations. It affords interested parties and the court access to the relevant records of jury selection needed to permit a fair determination whether discrimination has occurred or may occur. In addition, it assures that records may be kept confidential except as necessary to the court proceeding. Use of this challenge procedure in collateral attacks upon criminal convictions is available only with respect to judgments of conviction entered after the effective date of the title.

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"That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."

—Lord Alfred Tennyson

"We would remind ourselves that the future of our nation rests upon the character, the vision, the high principle of our people. Democracy, brotherhood, human rights—these are practical expressions of the eternal worth of every child of God. With His guidance and help we can move forward toward a nobler social order in which there will be equal opportunity for all."

—"To Secure These Rights"
The Report of the President's
Committee on Civil Rights

File Women's Work

August 10, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Mrs. M. E. Tilly

FROM: Ed Lewis

The Atlanta Hotel has reserved for your meeting on September 7th the large conference room on their top floor.

As luncheon will not be served and few, if any, of the ladies will be spending the night in the hotel, we will have to pay for this service. The charge will depend on the number of people present and I suggested that we would call the hotel no later than August 22nd giving them some idea of the number of people in attendance. Please ask Ruth Howard to call Mr. Flippin or Mr. Waite at 524-6461 with that information.

EL/km

cc: Ruth Howard

File
Women's Work

August 10, 1966

Mr. Waite
Atlantan Hotel
111 Luckie Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Waite:

This will confirm our verbal arrangements for the large conference room on your top floor for Wednesday, September 7. As per our discussion, our office will call you the week of August 18th with an approximate count on the number of people present so that you may give us a firm price on the cost of the room.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

MT

CONCERN

Official Magazine, United Presbyterian Women

Room 401, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027 · ~~RI 9-2280~~ 870-2661

SARAH CUNNINGHAM, *Editor*

Paul — Recently Howard handled this for us. MT

August 16, 1966

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Attention: Mr. Paul Anthony

Dear Sirs:

I will be flying to Atlanta, Georgia on August 25 to interview Mrs. M. E. Tilly for an article for The Church Woman, the official magazine of United Church Women.

I was told that you might be able to furnish me interesting background information about her -- perhaps based on clippings from releases or printed items produced by the Southern Regional Council. I wonder also if you might have photos of her available.

If this letter reaches you in time for you to reply before I go to Atlanta, I would appreciate hearing from you. If not, perhaps I can call you once I get to Atlanta on the twenty-fifth. I have a number for you: Jackson 2-8763. Is this correct?

Cordially,

Sarah Cunningham

Sarah Cunningham
Editor, CONCERN

SC:R

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SRC
Spec. file

File
Projects
Fellowship of the
Cancer
Women's Work

Southern Regional Council Director Urges State Women to Visit Courts

Some people believe that the only thing that holds a city together is its sewer system, said Mrs. M. E. Tilly, director of Women's Work of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta. But if anyone will take the time, he can go to the courts and see that there are other ties.

Mrs. Tilly, a fragile, tiny lady of 83, came to Little Rock Tuesday to encourage a group of women church leaders to take the lead in encouraging just that — visiting the courts.

She participated with others in a meeting on "Dual Justice in the Courts — Unconcerned Community" at Second Presbyterian Church. About 30 women church leaders attended and were to spread the message to the small towns and rural counties of Arkansas.

And what benefit does visiting a court entail?

"Sometimes just the presence of the women helps," Mrs. Tilly explained. With women in the courtroom, judges have been known to forego using "boy" in addressing Negro defendants or "colonel" in addressing their Negro attorneys, which they would normally call them to avoid use of "misters."

Statistically, there seems little doubt that there is a dual system of justice in Southern courts, and Mrs. Tilly cites chapter and verse for proof. For example, she said, from 1960 through 1965, 26 white and Negro civil rights workers were killed in the Southern states and only one conviction was obtained — resulting in a 10-year sentence.

Mrs. Tilly's — and the Council's — concern, while with civil rights, is not wholly of a racial nature. She said she had found "heartbreaking" some of the things that are allowed to happen to children. A Norfolk, Va., child in a correctional home was stripped of his clothing, put in solitary confinement and given only bread and water. He ripped a strip of cloth from his bedding and hanged himself.

—Staff Photo.

MRS. M. E. TILLY

Another juvenile, caught siphoning gasoline from a Georgia county truck, was placed in a vermin-infested jail and would have remained there for months, awaiting trial, had his father not intervened by letter from Vietnam to the governor, who had the youth removed to better quarters.

Mrs. Tilly's crusade to encourage women to visit jails could bear other fruit, she said. Women who become concerned enough could see that persons charged with minor offenses were provided bail, to keep them from serving unnecessarily long confinements awaiting trial. Or they could look to the welfare of children of prisoners separated from their families.

Mrs. Tilly has had an active concern for civil rights almost since she was graduated with honors from Wesleyan College at Macon, Ga., at the age of 16. The "know your courts" project began, she said, "when things got so bad in the courts I couldn't take it any longer."

She sat down and wrote to the heads of a dozen or so national women's church and ethnic groups and invited them to Atlanta for a meeting — at their own expense. Many of them came and in two days planned the court visitation program.

Mrs. Tilly said her organization also succeeded in three years in having state legislatures pass laws prohibiting members of the Ky Klux Klan from wearing face masks.

She has served or is serving now in a civil rights advisory capacity Presidents Truman, Kennedy and Johnson.

The meeting Tuesday also dealt with penal correction, a subject on which William Farmer, assistant to the director of the Southern Regional Council's Crime Delinquency and Prison Reform Project spoke.

"A Charge To Keep We Have"

WORKBOOK ON WHAT TRANSPIRED
MARCH 22-23, 1967

The Workshop of The Fellowship of The Concerned

The Charge To Us From The President of Our Country:

It is the citizen who will finally determine whether the agencies of law enforcement and criminal justice are staffed and nourished by first-rate skills and modern equipment.

It is the citizen who maintains and enlarges respect for law and order.
It is the interaction of the citizen and the community — their common dedication to public order — which is the most powerful deterrent of crime.

It is the citizen who will determine whether streets will be safe to walk, whether homes will be secure, whether property rights will be respected, whether integrity and honest dealing will govern relationships between men.
We can control crime if we will.

We must act boldly, now, to treat ancient evils and to insure the public safety.

—From Message to Congress
"Safe Streets and Crime Control"

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Miss Thelma Stevens, Assistant Secretary
Section of Christian Social Relations
Board of Missions, The Methodist Church

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"A CHARGE TO KEEP WE HAVE"

By Thelma Stevens

(A Message to Participants in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.)

"To be a troubler in Israel" is the calling of every person concerned with the wellbeing of God's children. A "troubler" in Isarel is not afraid to undertake the difficult, the unpopular and whay may seem too frequently to be impossible. Throughout history there have been concerned women whose courage, sensitivity, knowledge of the facts and understanding of the needs moved the world forward.

Mrs. Tilly, herself, with her own indomitable courage, her great knowledge and understanding of the injustices that beset our land, and her fearless creative effective involvement where suffering is greatest, illustrates in action today God's calling to be a "troubler in Israel!" She must have had something extra special in mind for all of us, when she said: "I want you to help us all see our responsibility and define our duty, as church women, to know what is happening in the courts." I doubt if I would have been presumptuous enough to say yes to such a mandate if any one except Mrs. Tilly had asked me!

Let me try to be as specific as I know how to be in trying to put in words a mandate to action that every person present understands or we would not have come to the meeting. We are all concerned with justice in the courts because the meaning of democracy is at stake. But even much more important, we are concerned with justice in the courts because we believe that God's children of every color and creed, of every station in life, have the right to equal protection under the law without fear of injustice and violence.

Citizens have a responsibility! Some one has said that "Responsibility that's real is duty." The Fellowship of the Concerned has functioned over the years because concerned committed women translated their duty as citizens into compassionate fearless bold action to effect change wherever injustices and violations of human dignity existed.

The primary focus of our concern in this conference is not necessarily with crime in general as important as that is. This concern must be focused by sheer necessity specifically on justice in the courts as the issues concern race and human freedom with dignity in the south today. The flagrant violations of the rights

of persons of color and their supporters in courts is a travesty of justice, a blot on our much boasted democracy, and in total conflict with every worthy and relevant religious principle in which our faith is rooted. We have no recourse but to act if there is integrity in our witness.

The idea of justice in the courts started the ball rolling some fifteen years ago when "The Fellowship of the Concerned" was born. But 1967 is different! The whole world is watching us! The revolution among us in the U.S.A. has gathered momentum that will grow in its demand for freedom, justice and equality for all the people. Every part of our behaviour is on trial. Nothing less than full opportunity to walk and work and live in dignity and freedom will ever be accepted by the participants in the revolution.

March 21st, 1967 was designated by the U.N. General Assembly as world-wide "Eliminate Discrimination Day." This means in the U.S.A. too! More than fifty new nations have gained independent statehood in the last 20 years. These nations and some fifty or sixty other nations in the U.N. (total membership in 1967 is 121) will observe in 1968 the 20th Anniversary of the Adoption by the U. N. of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As our own nation participates there hopefully will grow new understanding of our responsibility in the world community where the achievement of human dignity is the chief cornerstone of peace.

"Injustice" in the Courts, in some parts of the south, has become a devastating symbol of U.S.A. across the world. Punishment of murderers has in some instances become a farce. Not enough citizens have become "troublers in Israel!"

In the U.S.A. and across the world the demand for freedom and power has become a slogan of destiny for many, with a time schedule that turns upside down "long range plans" that have characterized the postponement tactics of the traditional past. "Freedom - Now" means justice before the law or else there is no freedom. In the face of such fear ravaged change we have increasingly moved into a climate where violence beyond anything this nation has known has become a ground swell across the nation. Some parts of the south are more devastated because there the "law of the land" is being flouted by law enforcement power in the states.

In the face of this kind of challenge let me list a few premises:

1 - Law is neither enacted nor enforced unless the voting citizens demand it.

2 - Community organization to achieve power for the dispossessed needs the full support of concerned courageous citizens in thousands of local communities.

3 - The middle class power structure is scared to death, and this fear finds one of its most overt expressions in law enforcement and court decisions.

4 - Law enforcement and court integrity are the most crucial, the most difficult, and the most urgent issues or questions before us as concerned church women seek ways of witnessing as <u>responsible citizens.</u>

5 - The united voices calling to action and the visible presence of women of all faiths and races in the courts and wherever the law is flouted will go far toward determining just and fair procedures by the powers that seem to prevail.

In summary we may well ask <u>how can we act effectively in 1967 and in the crisis years immediately ahead</u>?

Even as <u>we</u> move <u>now</u> we must <u>prepare ourselves</u> and <u>enlist other concerned women</u>:

---To know the facts and understand them.

---To develop the skills of effective participation. Experience is often a great teacher.

---To enlist the community power structures for justice.

---To influence state political power. Women are voters with power!

---To make our voices heard in Washington on issues such as civil rights, law enforcement, and anti-poverty programs.

To be a "troubler in Israel" means working to break the old patterns that all too often have become the walled-in symbols of "our (so called) American Way of Life". It means <u>acting</u> with integrity to make real the religious faith we profess! This "Charge To Keep We Have" ever before us!

RECOMMENDATIONS

Voted by The Fellowship of the Concerned, March 23, 1967

Thus we "charged" ourselves to a big task.

1. It is recommended that the Fellowship of the Concerned encourage women in every state to safeguard the legal services available and that guidelines for action be gotten from the Civil Liberties Union, and N. A. A. C. P.

2. To have the women's groups in every community, to become alert about the qualifications of their judges and to, observe the process of justice in their courts.

3. Find out what kind of facilities exist in our respective states for taking care of problem children--children who go through the courts. Find out what steps can be taken to alleviate these situations.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. To provide a simple handbook of orientation and procedures for effective court action, with a training film strip, if possible.

2. That refresher periods be planned when we can come together to check up on what we have done and get further direction for future action.

TO REDEEM THE WORST, TO BETTER THE BEST

IN two messages to Congress last week, President Johnson put before the country major measures involving the youth of America. His proposals to combat crime ranged far beyond the problems of youth to consider curbs on all manner of violence in American society, but they vitally concerned the young because so large a proportion of crime is committed by them. His message on youth itself discussed how to nourish achievement, open opportunities and channel youthful energies into law-abiding pursuits. The gist of the President's messages:

CRIME

The "Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967" would give the Federal Government little new authority and not even the germ of a national police force. But it would provide the funds ($350 million in the next two years) to induce city and state police forces, courts and correctional agencies to come to grips with the problem. Washington would give 90% of the money needed to finance modernization plans, foot 60% of the bill for crime-deterrent innovations, some of the more interesting of which have been suggested by Los Angeles' new police chief, Thomas J. Reddin (*see* THE LAW). It would also provide 50% of the construction cost of crime laboratories, community correction centers and police academies.

One innovation, said L.B.J., might be the appointment of community "service officers," who would know and maintain close relations with people in neighborhoods. With their contacts in the slums, they could alert authorities to trouble, help stave off riots. Juvenile delinquents might also be rehabilitated more successfully in their home communities than in reform schools; a five-year California experiment along this line, said the President, has shown "dramatically impressive" success in turning errant youths from all-too-promising careers in crime.

Startling Facts. The President relied heavily on data accumulated during an 18-month study that is to be published later this week by the National Crime Commission headed by Under Secretary of State (and former Attorney General) Nicholas deB. Katzenbach. As summarized in his message, the report presented some startling new facts about crime. Some of them:

▶ Fifteen-year-olds commit more serious crimes than those in any other age group, with 16-year-olds close behind. Youths under 18 account for more than half of all burglary arrests.

▶ Relatively few major crimes are interracial. For the most part, criminals prey upon their own race and economic group.

▶ The cost of white-collar crime, such as embezzlement, consumer frauds and petty theft from businesses, "dwarfs" that of all crimes of violence. Property losses from both kinds of crime total more than $3 billion a year.

▶ More than 7,000,000 people come into contact with some agency of criminal justice each year. More than 400,000 are behind bars in any one day.

▶ At least half of the aggravated assaults, burglaries and larcenies are probably never reported. In some communities, only one-tenth may show up on police records.

▶ One-third of all arrests—2,000,000 a year—are for drunkenness. If it were treated as a social problem, suggested Johnson, rather than a crime, the criminal enforcement apparatus would be relieved of a huge burden, leaving more time for more serious concerns.

The drive on crime would be left largely to the states and cities, but the President did ask Congress once again for passage of a firearms-control act, which would be one of the cheapest, yet probably one of the most effective crime-fighting tools. "Further delay," he said, "is unconscionable." And along with new guarantees of personal safety, he asked for a guarantee of personal privacy in a bill aimed at outlawing all wiretapping and electronic bugging, both private and public, except when national security is involved. In this request, the President is at odds with some important members of Congress, who favor limited wiretapping and bugging privileges for police forces.

YOUTH

Yet hitting at crime from above, said Johnson, is not enough. "To speak of crime," he said, quoting the Crime Commission, "only in terms of the work of the police, the courts and the correctional apparatus alone is to refuse to face the fact that widespread crime implies a widespread failure by society as a whole." A much broader assault must be directed at the underground causes, and L.B.J. outlined such an assault in his youth message. For crime is often one visible effect of poverty, and economic deprivation in youth sows a huge harvest of blighted promise and lost opportunity.

Johnson's list of the country's neglect of its youth was exhaustive. Some 14.5 million young under 17 live in families too poor to feed and house them adequately. One million will drop out of school this year, most to join the ranks of the unemployed. More than 3.5 million poor children who need medical help do not receive it and nearly two-thirds of all poor children have never visited a dentist. At least ten nations have lower infant mortality rates than the U.S.; if the U.S.'s rate were as low as Sweden's, 40,000 babies that now die each year would be saved.

The President noted nonetheless that the U.S. has sharply stepped up its aid to the young in recent years, from $3.5 billion for all federal programs benefiting young people in 1960 to more than $11.5 billion in the budget now before Congress. Much more, he said, needs to be done. Head Start, the intensive educational program for poor pre-schoolers, should be widened so that it can help more very young children (three-year-olds) and older children, who often lose momentum when they enter regular classrooms. A not unimportant side benefit of Head Start gives medical and dental care to many children who otherwise would never see the inside of a doctor's or dentist's office. "In short," said L.B.J., "for poor children and their parents, Head Start has replaced the conviction of failure with the hope of success." Under Johnson's proposal, $135 million would be added to the $337 million already budgeted in the next fiscal year for the program, probably the most popular that the "War on Poverty" has introduced, and a particular Johnson favorite.

Pilot Program. The President urged that payments to the three million children who now receive social security —because the family breadwinner has died, retired or is disabled—be increased by an average 15%, at a cost of $350 million. Average benefits now, he noted, are only $52 a month. He also proposed a pilot program to ensure that 100,000 children in poverty areas can visit a dentist and 500,000 be examined by a doctor in the next year. To take care of the babies that are yet to be born, Johnson asked for legislation authorizing ten pilot centers to train health workers, look into the problems of child health, and provide care for 180,000 needy children and 10,000 mothers. There are in the U.S. today, he pointed out, only 12,000 trained pediatricians and 13,000 obstetricians, "far too few to provide adequate medical care."

The total cost of all his proposals would be $650 million. But in a number of them, some small and experimental, Johnson was clearly pointing the way to bigger programs he hopes to initiate in post-Viet Nam years, when there will be more room in the budget for the new social-welfare measures that he longs to add to those already under the umbrella of the Great Society. Meanwhile, in both its youth and its crime programs, the Johnson Administration aims to redeem the worst and to better the best.

Courtesy Time The Weekly Newsmagazine; Copyright Time Inc., 1967

REPORT of Discussion Groups

"BEHOLD THE TURTLE, HE MAKES PROGRESS ONLY WHEN HE STICKS HIS NECK OUT."

It was interesting to find this on Dorothy Tilly's program. I have known two other women who dared to use the Turtle: Mrs. C. N. Richardson from Florida usually wears a Turtle pin on her dress and can tell some tall tales about turtles. Margaret Applegarth, used to spend some time in Georgia, which she did right after finishing her book "Moment by Moment" and you may remember in this book she has a chapter headed "A TENDER TURTLE IS A TENDER TURTLE". She quotes St. Augustine when he said: "They that sit at rest while others take pains are tender turtles, and buy their quiet with disgrace." After reading the five reports and talking with the reporters I am sure that we are not "Tender Turtles." The question of the day was: How many have visited the jails? Not as many as might have been expected but more jails will be visited. Mrs. Donohoo told of a plan that the women of the Christian Church had to visit the jails the first of October. This is a set time with something definite for the women to look forward too. She hoped that all women would join in this effort so that it might become a Church Women project -- think what it could mean for an army of women to visit the jails at the same time!

WHAT POSITIVE THINGS CAN WE DO?:

Work together with groups of similar interest in writing letters to the editor and public officials. Arousing interest by visiting "Child Centered Agencies." (Florida Church Women United worked with all groups to ban the sale of alcohol on beaches during the influx of Easter students.) Visit children's Court with personal followup of the offender. Serve on the Jury. Look into the Jury. Get a list of the Jury. Make a court survey. See the records--although it will not be easy in many cases. Work hard for Legal Service Clinics. Each person must go home with a real concern to take definite action. Begin with May Fellowship Day--when we are thinking of "Community Concerns and How all can Share."

(Do not obey because it is the Law--But obey because it is Right. Remember, Mr. Durr Said: "This is the Law--can we say--This is right.")

The Church is very respectable--some want to keep it so. Will we be the "Tender Turtle" and let it remain just a respectable church? Nightclubs, ball games, etc. are integrated -- Look at your own church--see the respectability.

Proper desegregation comes from working together--not just talking together.

Flash radio and tv comments are needed--these will do a great deal for the prisons and courts--and to change ATTITUDES--ATTITUDES are important and often need CHANGING.

INFORMATION--coming from the leaders here--needs to come back to Mrs. Tilly.

INFORMATION--about the conditions in your local communities. NOTHING IS WORTH MUCH UNTIL IT IS LOCAL.

"BEHOLD THE TURTLE, HE MAKES PROGRESS ONLY WHEN HE STICKS HIS NECK OUT"

We need to go back into our communities--committed to the task of doing something about the evils all around us. Let us remember St. Augustine:

"THEY THAT SIT AT REST WHILE OTHERS TAKE PAINS ARE TENDER TURTLES, AND BUY THEIR QUIET WITH DISGRACE."

The recommendations from one of the groups seem to give us the tool with which we need to work. (See Recommendations)

Mrs. John Patton
Reporter for Discussion Groups

OPPORTUNITIES FOR SERVICE
IN
THE PROCESS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Several weeks ago, the Project on Crime & Corrections of the Southern Regional Council proposed to enlist the cooperation of the Fellowship of the Concerned - United Churchwomen - to prepare a booklet based on a survey of arrest and detention procedures in the Southern Region as they bear on misdemeanant offenders.

After a preview of the national survey of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice was reviewed, more attention was focused on the very poor provisions for the administration of criminal justice (law enforcement, probation and parole, and corrections) in the South. (Some of the data abstracted from the survey, and some of the more than 200 recommendations, are attached).

We realized that we were asking the Fellowship to venture out into unknown territory because few persons, lay or professional, are able to acquaint themselves fully with the arrest, judicial and correctional processes. Therefore, we secured the services of a member of the California Bar, Mr. Ronald Sievers, who is a VISTA Volunteer, to organize a pilot experience so that you would have some understanding of the problems that you will encounter in the study process.

After two meetings with some of the members of local religious organizations, the following women either visited local institutions or gathered as much data as possible from jail and court records. Some of these participants will apprise you of their experiences.

Mrs. John Golden
Mrs. Byron Kirkland
Mrs. Jack Patterson
Mrs. James Leak
Mrs. Marshall Solomon
Mrs. Herbert Slotin
Mrs. Jane Scherago
Mrs. Philip Shulhafer

Perhaps the worst problem encountered was the nature and variety of the records and the limited data that are available. Also, most apparent were the attitudes of suspicion that had to be overcome.

We were interested in the types of misdemeanors committed; the age, sex and race of the defendant; geographic distribution; the use of bail, detention or release on own recognizance; sentences, and time between arrest and disposition. (A copy of the schedule that we used in collecting the data is attached).

We ran into a number of problems, and we made mistakes. However, we learned that such a study is possible, with group understanding and conviction to see it through.

PROBLEMS:

1. Often, the Police Department would not cooperate and open records to use despite the fact that in Georgia, by law, these records are open to inspection by the public. Thus, it appears that a group undertaking the survey would have to invest a lot of know-how, pressure and influence in gaining access to "public records."

2. Lack of time of volunteers. The work probably would be done by volunteers. The work can be tedious as it is mainly a job of copying from records. Moreover, because of the poor methods of record-keeping sometimes used, the work can be very time-consuming.

3. Orientation was also a problem. Before the project is initiated in any particular area, the volunteers should be fully orientated to the job. The volunteers should be given a clear definition of the types of crimes they are interested in (this will vary by state) plus a questionnaire should be provided which will correspond to the records available to the volunteers. The volunteers would need professional guidance from a judge, attorney, police official or other person who is familiar with a particular agency of department.

4. It was found that the records kept are often incomplete. However, the effort would be worthwhile if it were only able to expose such situations.

A study similar to this (The Westchester Misdemeanant Survey), was published by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency in 1966. The data were collected by women volunteers.

The Westchester Survey was a first step toward bringing light into the darkness that now obscures most of American crime. Misdemeanor, as a legal term, covers the vast catalogue of criminal violations punishable by a fine or imprisonment in a local

jail or other institution as against the more serious violations, felonies, punishable by death or confinement in a state prison. The latter are studied and debated, but very little data are available to show how misdemeanants are dealt with, although they account for at least 9 out of every 10 arrests.

To find out what happened to misdemeanant offenders in Westchester from arrest to final disposition and from this information to make recommendations for improvements in the system was the starting point of the survey. The project relied primarily upon public police and court records. Information gathered was supplemented by interviews with police chiefs, judges and other government officials. It is this pattern that we hope to follow in our own effort.

A survey of misdemeanant procedures in the Southern Region would constitute the foundation upon which many service-relevant programs could be developed. Additionally, it would help to validate the assumptions that are proposed relative to youth detention and treatment and to identify gaps in service and record-keeping procedures.

WORKSHOP ON COURTS

Prepared by Mrs. Wm. Wood, Vice President,
League of Women Voters of the United States

Observers Program

Some selective process should be used in recruiting observers. Personal appearance and demeanor are important. Those willing to participate should --

1) Conduct themselves in a polite, well-mannered way.

2) Be willing to sit through proceedings and refrain from making remarks or engaging in conversation with those nearby while the Court is in session.

3) Act like a fair-minded person.

It is wise for observers to work in teams of two. This makes it possible to check with one another when any report is written.

When observing in the Courts the following should be kept in mind:

1) Trials are open. However, any judge has power to exclude the public and to have part of the hearing in private.

2) Know the procedures in the Court to be visited. Attorneys can be helpful in briefings on this.

3) Know the Court schedule -- what cases are coming up, the time the Court opens, etc.

4) Many courtrooms have limited space. Get there in time to get a seat near the front so you can hear. Do not expect special favors in having a seat saved. If offered, do not accept a Judge's invitation to sit on the bench.

5) Areas of interest:
   a. Judge's demeanor toward the person before the Court
   b. Bail
   c. Legal Counsel
   d. Jury Selection
   e. Sentencing, fines, etc.

6) Observe several times with the same judge presiding.

7) Observe procedures under more than one judge.

From material furnished by --

Mr. Bruce Herrin, Assistant Director
Emory University-Vocational Rehabilitation Alcohol Project

Skid Row has long been recognized as the bilge of our communities. The derelict inebriates who reside there represent perhaps the lowest form of humanity--they have been virtually ignored, not only by the average citizen, but by the very public officials who are charged by statute with caring for them.

Early last year two test cases were tried in two U. S. Court of Appeals. The first was the DeWitt Easter case in the District of Columbia, and the second was the Joe Drive case in North Carolina. Favorable decisions were handed down. It was found that alcoholism is an illness and that it would constitute cruel and unusual punishment for a sick person to be convicted and punished for exhibiting a symptom of his illness in public, and it was further established that the essential common law element of criminal intent is lacking when an alcoholic becomes intoxicated.

Emory University-Vocational Alcohol Project

January, 1967

"The Alcohol Project and the Community Council of Atlanta Area Inc. completed their joint preparation of a comprehensive community treatment and rehabilitation program.

"A special unit for twenty-four patients of the Project was established in the Salvation Army Men's Lodge at 339 Luckie St., N.W. The Project staff give special treatment services for these patients and the unit will be expanded to care for up to 200 patients.

"Dr. Charles Conner, the leading authority on group therapy in the Emory University, Department of Psychiatry, is having regular weekly group therapy training sessions with seven clinical chaplains in St. Jude's Halfway House."

At the City Prison Farm a mobile rehabilitation team from the Project conducts a daily screening of each inmate entering the Prison Farm. Each one who volunteers and is selected is being treated and rehabilitated while still in prison. He may be given the drug, Antabuse, a stong deterrent to drinking, as well as other medications. He is assured of arrangements for meeting his physical needs following his release from prison.

Interagencies representation at the bi-monthly meetings of the Project are:

Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services
Alcoholic Rehabilitation Service, Georgia Clinic
Georgia State Employment Service
Mayor's Committee on Crime and Delinquency
An attorney
Director of Public Health Nursing, Fulton County Health Department
Public Welfare Social Service, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.
Director of Nursing, DeKalb County Health Department
Department of Psychiatry, Emory University
Department of Housing and Urban Development,
Suicide Prevention Center,
Director, DeKalb County Health Department
Commissioner of Health of Fulton County.

It is easy to understand why these agencies are interested.

It will take a community of effort among all public officials and interested private groups to make a revolutionary program of this kind become meaningful.

The Project has received $304,968 from the U. S. Rehabilitation Administration for the first year and $33,885 from Fulton County.

THE PROJECT ON CRIME AND CORRECTIONS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, MR. JOHN BOONE, DIRECTOR, COOPERATED WITH THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED IN THE PROGRAM PRESENTATION

Mr. Ron Sievers, a VISTA Volunteer, presented and interpreted the results of a local survey on law enforcement and judicial procedures in misdemeanor cases. He pointed to the disproportionate number of Negroes that, the survey indicated, become involved in the processes of criminal justice at this level and suggested that a regional-wide survey might well reveal an even greater racial disparity, both in arrest and sentencing. However, there were some indications that these differences in handling were more a matter of class prejudice than social discrimination. In other words, the poor cannot afford to pay fines, and a higher percentage of Negroes than whites are poor. The project suggested to the Fellowship that a survey of this type all over the South would be a valuable contribution both to public education and to the encouragement of official interest in reform.

The two films, "The Scar Beneath" and"The Odds Against," shown together, would seem to be an excellent instrument for public education on the problems and prospects in the areas of prison reform and criminal rehabilitation.

The women were advised to familiarize their members with the results of the National Survey on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. This may be secured from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402. Price $2.25.

Some local groups also seem determined to do something about procedures in relation to children in trouble.

Project staff members participated as resource persons in the discussion groups.

FROM MRS. CLIFFORD DURR, THE REPORTER

The two movies, "The Odds Against" and "The Scar Beneath" were extremely moving, one about a young boy who had no help and became a hardened criminal and whose life was ruined and another who through help, parole officers who were sympathetic and kind saved his life and he became a good member of society. The picture of prison life, the feeling of confinement, the horror of boredom, the long stretch of time that prisoners feel were both grippingly and beautifully presented. Mr. Boone spoke after the pictures and told something of his experiences working with prisoners. These two pictures were the most compelling and gripping and saddening aspects of the meeting.

Mrs. Betty Cantor, Community Consulatant, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith served as moderator of the Panel Discussion -

"PROCEDURES OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN THE SOUTHERN REGION: CORRECTION OR DEFECTION"

In introducing the panelists, Mrs. Cantor said she was dispensing with the usual amenities. A sense of urgency pervaded the meeting and the subject at hand required days not hours for exhaustive study that could lead to action.

In summary: Mr. Clifford Durr described the environing atmosphere of lackluster content, the moral vacuum that undergirds Southern justice...

Mrs. Ruby Hurley gave us an overview of Southern justice - or rather lack of justice wh which characterizes our Southern institutions...

Mr. Michael Horowitz asked - "Are our ideals about law really workable?" Our churches perpetuate the status quo and made the comfortable more comfortable...

Mrs. Henry J. Toombs has been the prophet of what can be done... "Never," she says, "underestimate what woman - what you can do."

Mr. Hershal Sausier and Mr. Stewart Werner described what the ideal penal institution can be and have outlined plans for better cooperation between the judiciary and the executive arm of government...

Each of us is aware that she is the uncomfortable one in a comfortable church, the uncomfortable one in a society that fails to love justice. In our workshops we will explore how to undermine comfort based on the status quo. We must search for the remedy to injustice in our local communities, we must reach outside of our own community until justice is a reality throughout the land. We must of a necessity right our wrongs by committing ourselves to specific programs of action.

FROM PANEL MEMBER, MR. CLIFFORD J. DURR, ATTORNEY,
Montgomery, Alabama

In general I think our criminal procedures are basically good, but the remark made by St. Paul 19 centuries ago is most applicable today:

"The Law is good if a man use it lawfully."

All too often today we see the techniques and the apparatus of the Law used as instruments of lawlessness.

I do not go along with the idea that morality cannot be legislated. On the contrary, it seems to me that the Law is an embodiment of the morality growing out of the experience of people through the generations and even centuries. Murder is immoral, it is also illegal. The Law has not stopped murder but it has certainly deterred it. However, Law cannot hold up indefinitely if its only basis is rigid enforcement. It will ultimately collapse unless it has an undergirding of accepted morality.

The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution have been a basic part of the "Supreme Law of the Land" for a century. If we should lay the Civil Rights acts of 1964 and 1965 beside the Civil Rights Act of 1875, we will see that legislatively, at least, we have made little headway in protecting the rights of all citizens against injustice and inequality of treatment. Had the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments been enforced and lived up to, there would have been no Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 for there would have been no need for them. Given the full protection of the guarantees of due process of law and the equal protection of the laws, set out in the 14th Amendment, and the equality in voting rights set out in the 15th Amendment, Negroes could by now have gined for themselves most, if not all, of the rights now so carefully spelled out in the current Civil Rights legislation.

There is a human tendency, when faced with a problem, to say "Let's pass a law" and once the law is passed to say "Now that is taken care of," and relax. This is exactly what happened following the Civil War. In the spirit of moral fervor immediately following that war good legislation was put on the books. Then the moral fervor died down and people went about their normal business of making a living, raising families, and looking after themselves. As a result of the Tilden-Hayes compromise Reconstruction was brought to an end and the newly freed men, from economic necessity, soon found themselves back in a state of economic bondage not too different from the chattel slavery from which they had been emancipated. Then came the "Black Codes' and then the disenfranchising provisions written into

the State Constitutions with little or no protest, notwithstanding the oaths of office taken by all governmental officials, state and federal to support and defend the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Justice Holmes, in his dissenting opinion, in the shocking Frank case which originated right here in Georgia, in the early part of this century, made the observation that "The verdicts of juries are very likely to be impregnated by the environing atmosphere." His observation is equally applicable to the judgements of courts and certainly to the behavior of our law enforcement officials. As important as the law is, it cannot escape the "environing atmosphere" in which it operates.

It is rather interesting to note that the moral leadership of this country for the past quarter of a century has come largely from the United States Supreme Court in its day to day struggles with the issues of individual rights, while little but silence has come from our white Southern colleges and universities and our churches have all too often served only as the glue that holds the status quo together. Through lack of moral leadership a moral vacuum was created and this, I believe, is the source of the violence, bitterness and turmoil which has been tearing the South to pieces during the past decade and a half. After a long period of strife we now have a surprising amount of compliance with the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965. It is now reasonably safe for a Southern white person to say, "We must observe the Law because all of this turmoil and violence hurts business," or to say, "It impairs the 'image' of the South as a desirable location for industry," but we have not yet reached the point where we can safely say "We must observe the Law not only because it is the law but because it is morally right."

We are still all too timid about facing up to the old fashioned issues of right and wrong. We still have quite a way to go in creating the "environing atmosphere" in which justice can flourish. It is in this field that you members of the Fellowship of the Concerned have in the past and still continue to make your valuable contribution.

FROM THE NOTES OF MRS. CLIFFORD DURR, OUR REPORTER

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Director of the Southeastern Regional Office of N.A.A.C.P., a member of the panel, spoke out of years of experience, and with some bitterness, about the lack of justice for Negroes, how murder has been condoned time and time again when it only affected Negroes. She also spoke of the great gap in white people's knowledge about Negroes and the stereotypes they used instead.

Mr. Michael Horowitz, Associate Professor, University of Mississippi School of Law, panelist, asked the question, "Can America live up to its own Laws,?" he asked if our own smug notions of our own righteousness can be made to come true. He gave illustration after illustration of how we had not lived up to our professions of equal justice and he especially pointed out the fact that most Negroes, and most poor people, come to know the law at its lowest level--Justice of the Peace. He spoke of the fact that JPs often make their living out of fees instead of making a salary and they they need a large volume of arrests and victims to make a living. (President Johnson's Committee on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, suggests that the Justice of Peace--rural counterpart of the lower court--be abolished. Today the JPs operate in 35 states.) He said this was often true of Sheriffs and other officers of the Law and each woman should go home and see if this bad situation was true in her own city or county.

Mrs. Henry J. Toombs told in the most glowing way, full of indignation and outrage, what was done to juvenile delinquents. How the young people who run into trouble with the law are scarred and wounded for life and how each community must make it a part of their concern to see that these young people are not turned into permanent criminals.

Mr. Werner, Staff Consultant, Georgia Committee on Crime and Delinquency, then spoke and plead withe the group there, and with all interested citizens, to look behind the crime to the perpetrator and in judging him to consider the background and the disadvantages. He really plead for mercy for people convicted of crime and especially young people.

By Herschel Saucier, Assistant Dir.
Division for Children and Youth
State Department of Family and
Children Services

Largely through the efforts of the women of Georgia the state became disturbed about the some 6,000 children each year being detained in common jails and rallied support for the financing of a statewide juvenile detention system which is well on its way toward completion. The first regional detention center built and operated by the Division for Children and Youth will open in Albany and begin receiving children in May, 1967. The Waycross center will open sometime in June, followed by the Rome and Sandersville Centers in September. The Augusta center, where construction began later, should open sometime in November. The sixth and last regional center should be completed in Gainesville early in the Spring of 1968.

These regional centers will receive delinquent juveniles who need secure custody pending court disposition from counties and towns within a fifty mile radius of the center. In addition to providing a more appropriate facility to hold juvenile offenders that might otherwise be held in jail, the regional centers will provide short-time diagnostic and treatment services for these children in trouble, which in some instances will enable the child to return to his own home with probation or social services being provided. Without such detention facilities some of these same juveniles would be committed to the state institutions.

The last phase toward developing a statewide juvenile detention system was financed by the 1967 General Assembly, with a $500,000 appropriation to help finance the juvenile detention services by seven urban counties who have already built county detention facilities. To receive state financing the county detention facilities must agree to make a limited amount of their space available to provide detention care to juveniles from surrounding counties at no cost to the county. With the inclusion of the county detention facilities as a part of the statewide system through making some their space available to surrounding counties, any child needing detention care within the State of Georgia will be within approximately fifty miles of a facility and program especially designed for the care of juvenile offenders.

WORSHIP SERVICES

Without any announcement the workshop began when the wonderful, beautiful voice of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. sang her solo, "How Great Thou Art."

She also gave the challenge in song --

The voice of God is calling
It summons unto men; as once He spoke in Zion,
So now He speaks again.
Whom shall I send to succor my people in their need?
Whom shall I send to loosen the bonds of lust and greed?

Mrs. W. H. Clark with her strong sweet voice led the group in its answer.

We heed, O Lord, Thy summons, and answer here are we!
Send us upon Thine errand, let us Thy servants be.
Our strength is dust and ashes, our years a passing hour;
But Thou canst use our weakness to magnify Thy power.

Thus, we committed ourselves -- "A Charge To Keep We Have" -- in song.

On Thursday morning, Dr. Evelyn Green, Executive Secretary, Board of Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church in the U. S., led the worship, bringing the oracles of Amost to apply to our present day problems.

<u>From the notes of Mrs. Durr, our reporter</u>:

"She (Miss Green) talked on the need of churchmen to speak up and stand up. She begged us not to trample on the 'weak' and that we should not 'ignore the poor man's claim.'" We should 'set justice on her feet again' and temper justice with mercy."

Those of us who heard the worship service of Mrs. H. M. Russell, President of the Woman's Society of Christian Service, Southeastern Jurisdiction, The Methodist Church, will never forget her quotation from Bishop Welch, the 102 year old Bishop of The Methodist Church, when he was asked "what is the greatest Christian virtue?" His answer "Compassion! I don't mean pity! Pity looks down; compassion looks across - person to person. Pity is as cold as sea water. Compassion is as warm as fresh milk."

Again, from the notes of Mrs. Durr

"The workshop ended with a short talk by Coretta King who had used her lovely voice time and time again to sing for us. This time she recited Langston Hugh's lovely poem, My Life Ain't Been No Crystal Stair.

"She told of the terrors whe had gone through, her home bombed, her husband stabbed. She told of the sleepless nights, the fears for her children and how finally she had come to realize that in her husband's fight for justice she had finally come to accept the fact that if this fight brought death to her or to her family, she would have to accept it, that there was no turning back. She spoke simply and with dignity and compassion but she spoke with firmness and total commitment, when once she had set her hand to the orr there was no turning back, and this was true for all of us.

"She also spoke of the moral support such groups as the Fellowship of the Concerned had been to her and of the personal support Mrs. Tilly had given to her.

"And it was on this note of personal commitment, personal determination to see that justice was done, that the meeting adjourned.

File. Women's Work.

Southern [illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] A 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 4, 1967

Dear Friends:

As many of you know, the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned was held at the Atlantan Hotel on March 22-23.

The general subject was -- "Procedures of Criminal Justice In the Southern Region: Correction or Defection." As the hours went by we so committed ourselves "to right the wrongs" that it seemed necessary to make this workbook, based on what transpired in those two days.

The tile just had to be "A Charge To Keep We Have." Miss Thelma Stevens gives us our frontis piece. Please study it -- pages 1-3.

Page 4, we"charged" ourselves by a unanimous vote. We must keep this trust.

The workshop was based on the President's message to Congress in his "Safe Streets and Crime Control." The best summary of this we could find was in Time magazine, February 17th edition. We are most grateful to Time, Inc. for giving us permission to have 150 off-set copies made. See page 5, "To Redeem the Worst, To Better the Best." Read the "startling facts," 7,000,000 people come into contact with criminal justice each year. Fifteen-year-olds commit more serious crimes than any other group, etc.

Pages 6-7 gives the report of the discussion groups. "Behold the Turtle, He makes progress only when he sticks his neck." Stick your neck out.

Pages 8-10, "Opportunities for service in the process of criminal justice" calls for visits to courts and is followed by the "observers program" given to us by the Vice-President of the League of Women Voters of the U.S. and it gives us a pattern of courtesy as we sit in the courts.

Pages 12-13 refers again to the Time summary. We read that "one-third of all arrests--2,000,000--are for drunkeness." Mr. Bruce Herrin gives us some hoepful signs. Courts of Appeals in the District of Columbia and North Carolina have ruled that alcohol is an illness and "it would constitute cruel punishment" for a sick person to be convicted and punished. Here we have a big job to do. Let's feel it is another "Charge to Keep" and talk to judges and people about these decisions.

On page 14 you will see that there are films you may use.

We must surely remember, at all times, "A Charge to Keep We Have."

You will get much from the panel discussions. Keep the workbook for bedside reading -- and rise in the morning to get busy "Righting the Wrongs."

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET:rh

To: Reese Cleghorn 4-17-69

Collier's Magazine
Article

Dec. 30, 1950

Citation for Mrs. Tilly
on being named
Sec Life Fellow
Jan. ~~1966~~ 1964

July-Aug. 1964
New South
on Mrs. Tilly

The Church Woman
Dec. 1966

file
Fellowship of the
Women's Concerned
Work

MJ: Please file
there with some other
SNC History Stuff
PB

See Fellowship of the Concerned

MS. file

ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED AT "CONFERENCE ON COURTS"

United Church Women of the National Council of CHURCHES in the U.S.A.

National Council of Jewish Women

National Council of Catholic Women

National Council of Negro Women

B'nai B'rith Women of the Anti-Defamation League

League of Women Voters of the U. S.

Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church

Christian Women's Fellowship, Disciples of Christ

Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, A.M.E. Zion Church

Board of Woman's Work, Presbyterian Church in the U. S.

Council of Lay Life and Work, United Church of Christ

National Board of the Y.W.C.A.

Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation

Woman's Connectional Council, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

What is the Fellowship of the Concerned? It is what its name implies -- a fellowship of the Church Women leaders of both races, and the three faiths, concerned about their South. There are no officers and no membership dues. It is sponsored by the Southern Regional Council. The initiative for action, however, is entirely in the hands of the women.

HISTORY

Whenever there has been a crisis in human relations in the South, Church women have come together to face the issues and work out a program of action. The first call was to a Cause and Cure of War Conference, just before World War II. This answered a national call, under the direction of an appointed Southern leader (Mrs. M. E. Tilly).

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

When lynching was prevalent in the South, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was formed, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The story of their work is well known and saved the South from continued mob violence. (Mrs. Tilly was secretary of this group--since then she has directed all other of these South-wide meetings.)

Rural Health.

Rural health was the next disturbing situation faced. This began as a Methodist project, but, realizing it was the concern of all the South, the leaders of the groups of the three faiths came together. The U. S. Surgeon-General gave his blessing to the endeavor by his presence and address at the meeting. This health conference was followed by district meetings in the States. In our files we have a letter from the Director of the State Health Department of Georgia, stating that it was entirely through these meetings that the Legislature passed the appropriation of one million dollars for rural hospitals a few months later. This same story could be said of each of the States.

Demobilization Conference.

Realizing that the women had spent a great deal of time in First Aid and Red Cross work, and now that the war was over this time should be mobilized for peacetime action, women were called together in a Demobilization Conference.

Workshop of Civil Rights.

With a member of the staff of the U. S. Department of Justice with us, this workshop was held to study civil rights and to become aware of current infringements of these rights in our South.

Conference on Injustice in the Courts.

At this conference a program, "Know Your Courts as You Know Your Schools," was worked out. Here the women named themselves The Fellowship of The Concerned, and began sitting in courts, giving courage to judges and juries alike. They presented the sheriffs of two-thirds of our counties with the pamphlet, "Race and Law Enforcement."

Supreme Court Decision on School Desegregation.

The first conference was held in 1953 just before the decision came and here the women planned what they would do in preparation for the decision. In February of 1955, the women again came together from the states of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina. These have been followed up with State Meetings. On October 30-31, 1956, one-hundred-nine women came from ten southern states -- this was a gathering of the women of three faiths, of each denomination, and of both races. This meeting is being re-enacted in the states. Altogether about 2,000 women, each year, have been in the South-wide and State meetings on this question. These Workshops have been great by every measure. One is impressed by the deep spiritual nature of them. This is well, for spiritual power is needed. These women are finding the spiritual strength and power to be --

Firm in conviction, never afraid to speak
Persuasive in conversation,
Patient and understanding with those who do not agree..
"Fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."

1957 Workshop was held October 29-30.

The general subject was, "The Challenge of Controversy."

1958 Workshop was held October 16-17.

The subject was "Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world."

1959 Workshop was held November 5-6.

The general subject was, "Roots of Freedom."

1960 Workshop was held November 15-16.

The general subject was, "Justice Weighed in The Balance."

1961 Workshop was held November 6-7.

The general subject was, "One God, One World, One People."

1962 Workshop - - - October 30-31.

The general theme -- "In Our Hands." We used as a background a part of the 8th Psalm -- also Kagawa's poem, "...a secret plan, Is Hid In My Hand."

1963 Workshop - - - October 29-30.

The general theme -- "Let Freedom Ring." Under this theme we used 3 subjects for discussion groups:

Freedom of Worship --
The All Inclusive Church

Freedom of Housing --
Open Door Occupancy

Freedom to Vote.

1964 Workshop - - - October 22-23.

The general theme -- "The Torch Has Been Passed." Subjects for discussion groups:

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

Our Children -- Today - Tomorrow.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE

CONCERNED

Concern

But they are not heart-sick for the ruin of Joseph. Therefore they shall soon go into exile, at the head of the exiles.

Amos 6:6, 7a

Conviction

The spirit of the Lord is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.

Isaiah 61:1

Courage

Be strong and of good courage; fear not, nor be affrightened; for Jehovah thy God, he it is that doth go with thee.

Deuteronomy 61:3

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Who? Church women of all faiths and denominations have long furnished valuable moral leadership in the South. Now as never before their active leadership is needed—to help bring our practices in closer accord with the ideals of Christianity and Judaism, to strengthen and broaden democracy, to build a society in which every person can be confident of security and justice. By their determination to see these aims achieved, thousands of Southern church women are joined together in a fellowship that knows no boundaries of race or creed — the Fellowship of the Concerned.

When? In September 1949, 150 leaders of church women's groups came together for a two-day conference on the spiritual approach to social issues. They gathered at the call of the Southern Regional Council, the National Board of the YWCA, and church women's organizations. The conference had as its guests Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Southern authorities on civic and religious life.

Where? The conference took place at the Wesley Memorial Church in Atlanta, Georgia. But the delegates represented every Southern State and dozens of communities. They pledged themselves to report the results of the meeting to, and to enlist the cooperation of, church women in their areas.

Why? There are still serious inequalities in our courts and law enforcement. Negro citizens frequently suffer from the discrimination of judges and juries. The measure of justice to white persons is too often influenced by social or economic status. The most defenseless of our citizens are not always safe from brutality at the hands of police officers, many of whom are poorly chosen, poorly paid, and poorly trained. These failures of our democracy must be remedied if we are to supply the moral leadership demanded of us by our religious convictions and our world position. The remedy lies with us, in our own communities.

What? The conference earnestly examined the problems of our region, weighed our day-to-day practices against our democratic and spiritual ideals. The result? A program around which all conscientious Southern women can rally —a simple workable plan of action for the Fellowship of the Concerned.

—And You? **If you are willing to join with others to translate your religious convictions into everyday realities—**

If you are concerned about injustice and inequality—

If you want to play your part in the building of a greater respect for the individual—

The program of action presented here needs your support, your energy, your determination to make it work. The responsibility is ours—yours and mine.

WHAT WE CAN DO IN OUR COMMUNITIES...

About the Law

√ Inform ourselves of the areas in our communities where law is not equally enforced, and work for corrective action.

√ Visit the courts and make our influence felt in the interest of equal justice for all.

√ Encourage better selection and training of policemen.

√ Work for appointment of Negro policemen.

√ Commend public officials when they show courage and integrity.

√ Call to the attention of authorities violations which are known to us.

√ Get in touch with the Southern Regional Council—63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia—when tension arises, and take all possible local action to prevent violence.

About the Vote

√ Do our part to see that opportunity for registration and voting is legally and actually secure for all.

√ Oppose state re-registration measures that threaten the security of any voters.

√ Urge our county Democratic executive committees to train poll workers in the proper performance of their duties.

About Public Opinion

√ Offer our services as election managers and clerks.

√ Affirm in personal relations and religious and civic work our conviction of the dignity of all human beings and the ideal of equal justice.

√ Support and encourage pastors who offer progressive leadership in the community.

√ Affiliate with other groups working for the same objectives.

√ Discuss problems with our newspaper editors; commend their good works; and urge the adoption of improved practices in the handling of racial news (as outlined in the Southern Regional Council pamphlet *Race in the News*).

√ Urge local schools to cooperate in using existing materials to build better human relations.

√ Begin, on however small a scale, an institute on race relations.

√ Endorse the Home Town Self-Survey as a means of self-education and constructive action.

For more information about the Fellowship of the Concerned, write to—

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Fellowship of the Concerned

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Southern Church Women Draft Action Program

I AM concerned that our constitutional freedoms are not shared by all our people; my religion convinces me they must be and gives me courage to study, work, and lead others to the fulfillment of equal justice under the law. I will respond to calls from the Southern Regional Council to serve my faith and my community in the defense of justice.

With this pledge, 150 church women leaders from twelve Southern States concluded a two-day conference in Atlanta on "the spiritual approach to social issues." The delegates met September 8 and 9 at the call of the Southern Regional Council, in cooperation with church women's groups and the National Board of the YWCA. The meeting was inter-faith, inter-denominational, and inter-racial.

Guest speaker and participant in the conference was Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who is presently serving as the United States delegate on the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. She took part in the workshops Thursday, September 8, and addressed an audience of some 1,800 in the evening. Her subject was "The Declaration of Human Rights and the Community."

Individual Responsibility

Mrs. Roosevelt stressed the responsibility of the individual to work for a broader democracy at the community level. Citing her experiences as a delegate to the United Nations, she declared that every failure of democracy in the nation weakens us in the eyes of the people of the world.

"The economic and military leadership of the United States," she said, "is unquestioned. But we have not yet succeeded in giving the world the moral and spiritual leadership which it so desperately needs."

During the workshop session, Mrs. Roosevelt strongly endorsed the suggestion of Mrs. M. E. Tilly that church women visit the courts and make their influence felt in the interest of equal justice. "I miss my guess," she said, "if you do not find a lot of things that will surprise you."

The conference opened Thursday morning with a keynote address by Mr. Paul D. Williams, president of the Southern Regional Council.

"It is important," he told the conference, "that we ponder our spiritual heritage, for there are many people in the world and in our own country who think otherwise. . . . In a sense there are no such things as Catholic rights, or Protestant rights, or Jewish rights—or, for that matter, Mongolian rights, or Negro rights, or Caucasian rights. There are only human rights . . ."

Speakers and Workshops

In the course of the morning, the church women heard Dr. W. J. Faulkner, dean of the chapel at Fisk University, on "The Spiritual Beginnings of Law"; Mr. Morris Abram, Atlanta attorney, on "Law and Morals"; and Mr. Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, on "County Government." The afternoon was devoted to workshop discussion of law enforcement, administration of justice, and "building a spirit of brotherhood" through the church, the press, and the schools.

The night meeting, held in the Wesley Memorial Church, was open to members and friends of the co-sponsoring organizations; the main auditorium, which seats 2,000, was filled almost to capacity. Mrs. Arthur J. Moore, of Atlanta, gave the invocation, and Mr. Williams introduced Mrs. Roosevelt. Following her speech, hundreds of the

audience filed past to speak brieffly to her.

Friday morning the conferees held their concluding workshop session, at which a program of action for the home community was adopted. (See page 2.) Mrs. Lowry Hunt reported to the group on a self-survey now being carried out in Madison, Georgia, and urged the church women leaders to initiate similar self-studies in their own communities. Mrs. Irving Cohn, executive secretary of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, gave an account of the interracial Teachers Institute held annually in that city.

Dr. Hugh Brimm, executive secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, spoke on "The Church: Her Responsibility and Opportunity." A concluding address, "Courage for the Task," was given by Dr. Faulkner. His words summed up the spirit of the entire conference.

"Today," he declared, "we have seen the vision of a new Southland. But we must remind ourselves that for every bit of progress in human relations a price must be paid. Those of us here today will have to pay that price."

Concern

Bu they are not heart-sick for the ruin of Joseph. Therefore they shall soon go into exile, at the head of the exiles.

Amos 6:6, 7*a*

Conviction

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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WOMEN'S WORK

Out of the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned of the Southern Regional Council held in Atlanta on November 3-4, the 160 women present, leaders in social action, were gravely concerned over the travesty of justice and the mockery in our courts in many places in our area.

A resolution was unanimously passed that women must know first hand what happened - and court room visits be made by bi-racial teams of women.

Recommendations made in the resolution included daily or frequent visits to municipal and criminal courts by teams of women in order to observe, document and make reports on the judicial treatment accorded accused persons; with special attension being given to the handling of the defense of persons unable to pay for counsel.

In order to fully comprehend the technical legal points that may need to be covered, it was suggested that the teams be briefed in advance by attorneys. Wherever possible the advice of women lawyers will be obtained.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly was directed to get in touch with the following national women's organizations: National Council of Negro Women, The B'nai B'rith Women, United Church Women of the National Council of Churches, National Council of Jewish Women, and The League of Women Voters.

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

230 park avenue
new york, n. y. 10017
(212) mu 6-8030

593 market street - 7th floor
san francisco, cal. 94105
(415) ga 1-5484

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK, INC.

A Non-Profit Organization

MEMBERSHIP LIST, 1970-71

The attached membership list, sent only to Active Members of the American Friends of Wilton Park, Inc. (AFWP) -- dues-paying members -- is current as of February 15, 1971. Please inform the Secretary of any inadvertent omissions or errors: address, The Secretary, AFWP, 333 Linfield Place, Menlo Park, CA 94025.

This year's list has been organized regionally, both for active and inactive Old Wiltonians, to facilitate regional gatherings. If you are compiling a regional list, be sure to include officers and directors' lists -- individuals on those lists are indicated under those categories, and not by region.

We welcome, of course, additional active members from the inactive list; and welcome your assistance in soliciting additional membership dues ($10, annually, tax-deductible) with which to carry on our AFWP Grants program to broaden the spectrum of American participants at Wilton Park. All dues are devoted solely to this purpose (expenditures for this mailing list and communications are borne privately).

SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING**AMERICAN FRIENDS OF WILTON PARK

FINAL SCHEDULE FIXED

Place: Faculty Club, University of Pennsylvania, 4:30 p.m.
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Date: May 7, 1971.

Featured participants: The Warden, the British Ambassador (hopefully)

Contact for information: Mrs. Ruth Weir Miller; World Affairs Council of Philadelphia; The Wanamaker Store; Philadelphia, Pa 19107

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*also Chairman, AFWP Grants Committee

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Thanks.

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How State Governments in the South Can Make Themselves Stronger, Their Economies Richer, and Their People Happier

File Dodlquoy State Govt Proposal

On the Justice Service Code 525.4562

People have studied, restudied, criticized, and despaired over state governments long enough. It is clear beyond any doubt that life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness in the 20th century depend on how well state governments do the jobs which have long been theirs to do and how quickly they move into new jobs which are quite naturally theirs to undertake.

Look at a few responsibilities of state government--direction of the public school system and special education activities, highway and other public works construction, public assistance programs, housing programs, participation in the poverty program, administration of public health facilities, various kinds of technical assistance to local governments, administration of agricultural programs, promotion of industrial development and manpower training, regulation of state and local taxation and other fiscal powers, and seeking federal aid to help accomplish these and other tasks. State governments have a principal part to play in the urban and rural development of this country.

Now look at a few facts about the southern economy. In 1964, average per capita personal income in the South was $1,909 compared to $2,550 in the U. S. as a whole. Of the ten states which ranked lowest in per capita income, nine were southern states. Median family income for the South in 1964 was $5,327; for the other regions of the country, it was $7,121. None of the southern states exceeded or equalled the 1965 national gross average weekly earnings of factory production workers of $107.53. 1963 data show that the South contained almost half of the nation's poor, more than in any other region, and the probability of a Southerner's being poor was roughly twice that of a person living in the rest of the country.

What about the supply of trained labor in the South? Only 35.3% of persons 25 years old and over have completed 4 years of high school or more. The percentage of such persons

for the U. S. as a whole is 41.1, and the northeast, north central, and western sections of the country either equal or exceed the national percentage.

In the South, compared to the rest of the nation, there is a scarcity of equal opportunity for people to become equipped for the latter half of the 20th century.

Because state governments are already so heavily involved in the economy of the region, they have many chances to make equal opportunity a reality. Read again the list of state responsibilities mentioned earlier and look at each one as a tool which can deliberately be used either to create opportunities or to remove them still further from the people who need them most.

Take the first item, direction of the public school system and special education activities. States can help school districts redraw ~~school district~~ their boundaries so that each district has a more adequate financial base. States can gather research on the most effective methods of teaching educationally deprived children and adults and make sure that local school districts know about them. States can create school libraries where none exist and encourage the use of books with which every reader can identify.

Take another item, regulation of state and local taxation and other fiscal powers. State officials can consider the advantage of using a sufficiently strong state income tax and can encourage the federal government to make the necessary adjustments in the federal income tax so that the states will take advantage of this ~~most sensitive~~ superior revenue-producing device. States can help cities to redraw their boundaries so that everyone who benefits from city services pays his share of the costs. States can remove outmoded constitutional & statutory restrictions on local taxing & borrowing powers & can help local govts improve adm. of the property tax.

Combining the housing item and technical assistance to localities, states can gather information on how to finance low- and moderate-income public and private housing and see

that localities which need more housing have this information.

In these ways and others, state governments can help overcome the common problem that those groups of people and those places which need opportunities the most are least able to get information and act on it.

The federal legislation in the 60's which enlists state action to attack poverty, improve education, and encourage economic development has made all the tools of state government more powerful. Some of this legislation is the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. These acts do more than authorize the states to enliven existing programs and carry out new ones of direct benefit to their citizens. They also provide funds and assistance for the states to take steps to increase their own leadership capabilities. The states are better equipped than they have ever been to improve their own operations and to provide more people with the chance to obtain an up-to-date education, find a job with a future, and live in desirable housing.

State governments in the South, however, have a further responsibility. They must ensure that all the countless efforts they can make to improve the quality of life in the South do not advance still further the isolation of the Negro population. They must ensure that Negro southerners, making up about 1/5 of the total population of the region*, have the same political protections and economic possibilities available to them as are available to other southerners. They must ensure that Negroes, as well as others, live in the kind of surroundings and get the kind of training that will allow them

*Negroes in seven southern states make up 22%-42% of the total population.

to compete for opportunities when they do appear. Otherwise, efforts to promote equal opportunity will not be respected, nor will they be designed to do the job that has to be done.

What is the condition of the Negro population in the South? 58% of the Negro families in the region are poor, compared to 18% of white families. Thus, the proportion of Negro families living in poverty is over 3 times as great as the proportion of white families in poverty.

16% of all families are Negro, but almost 40% of all poor families are Negro. Thus, the proportion of Negro families among the southern poor is 2½ times as great as their proportion among the population of the region as a whole. The South itself contains 69% of all the Negro poor families in the nation.

The 1964 median family income for Negroes in the South was $2,888, an amount well below the poverty line. The white median family income was $5,889. The difference between white and Negro median family income in this year was wider than in 1960.

How does the South compare with the rest of the nation in the incidence of poverty among Negro families? In 1964, one in two Negro families in the South had incomes under $3,000, compared to one in five in the Northeast and West and one in four in the north central region.

Notice another comparison. The Negro median family income in the South, mentioned earlier, is not quite ½ that of white families. In the other regions of the country, it is at least 2/3 the white median family income.

How does the need for basic training differ among Negroes and whites? Only 8.9% of Negro southerners 25 years old and over have completed 4 years of high school. The proportion for the white population is 22.7%. The median number of school years completed by Negro southerners is 7.1, compared to 10.4 years completed by whites. The difference between the

two populations is greatest in the South, and in median number of school years completed, Negro southerners are 2-3 years behind Negroes living in the other sections of the country.

Here is a rough picture of the southern population at a time when the sharpest increase in number of jobs is taking place in those occupations which require at least a high school diploma. State governments cannot be satisfied with this picture if they want every southerner to have an equal chance to hold his own among an increasingly better-educated labor force.*

If southern state governments study recent U.S. Department of Labor statements on manpower utilization for the nation as a whole, they will gain a valuable perspective on the size of the problem of unused manpower in the South. Negro unemployment is currently twice as great as white unemployment, and nonparticipation in the labor force is 60% higher among Negroes than among whites. Between 1951-53 and 1965, these differences widened appreciably. The rise in the proportion of Negro men outside the labor force is particularly disturbing because it has occurred among all age groups.

Data for a study of manpower requirements in the period 1964-75 show that Negro workers are disproportionately concentrated in less-skilled occupations that now have higher-than-average unemployment rates and that are not expected to grow as rapidly as the more-skilled occupations. During the period of 1958-1964, Negroes did increase their share of white-collar jobs, but if they continue to gain access to the higher skilled jobs at the same annual rate as in this period, their unemployment rate in 1975 will be 2½ times as high as the projected 3% unemployment rate for the whole labor force. Remember that this data does not take into account the growing numbers of

*In 1965 in the South, the median number of school years completed by Negro males in the labor force was 9.1, compared to 12.1 median school years for whites in the labor force. Median school years completed by Negro males not in the labor force is 5.6. If anyone needs a quick figure to show the extent of the problem of getting more Negroes into the labor force in the South, here it is.

persons who have been unwillingly withdrawing from the labor force and who may do so in the period 1964-1975.

The study concludes that Negroes will have to gain access to the rapidly growing higher skilled and white-collar occupations at a faster rate than they have in recent years if their unemployment rate is to be brought down toward the same level as that of their white fellow citizens. According to the study, a lack of educational and training opportunities for Negroes is only a part of the problem. The other part is racial discrimination in hiring.

In 1965 the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies made the same point without relying exclusively on projections of manpower requirements. The Institute felt compelled to say that unless some massive programs are developed and operated to train Negroes and provide related services, the South cannot expect to attain a satisfactory level of achievement for its labor force.

Many people will point to the growing economy of the U.S. as a whole and say that the continuing successful development of ~~our~~ this economy will take care of the Negroes' problems. The facts just mentioned ~~make~~ leave this opinion ~~have no~~ with little basis in reality. Every report leads to the same conclusion: the effect of economic growth appears only to have slowed down a steadily declining rate of participation by Negroes in the labor force, during the past several years, [redacted] when Negroes might have been expected to make gains in their rate of labor force participation. According to the U.S. Manpower Administration, this development suggests the presence of "serious problems" which will not be entirely corrected by an overall expansion in economic conditions alone. [A healthy ec. is necessary but not sufficient.]

If we call these serious problems by their names, we are speaking of discrimination and segregation. The disappearance of discrimination and segregation ~~can~~ will not ~~just~~ happen if the growth of the Southern economy simply ~~extends~~ (reinforces) a way of living which leaves Negroes at the bottom of the ladder (even if that ladder may begin at a higher point than in the past).

The fullest growth of the southern economy itself is in question. Practices of discrimination restrict the power of the population to consume, and restricting the power of the population to consume means restricting the growth of business. Practices of discrimination produce an undereducated labor pool, and an undereducated labor pool perpetuates an economy too heavily dominated by industries in the lower-paying, non-durable goods category. And practices of discrimination have produced a southern Negro population which has finally refused to accept its exclusion from the larger society, a population which knows the difference between absolute and relative progress. Negroes are well aware that their own earnings may be rising, but the white man's rise faster; their educational opportunities improve, but the white man's improve faster; their housing improves slightly while the white man's improves greatly. As one writer explains,

> It is an end to 'second pickin's,' the closing of the gap, 'democratization of the spoils,' and a full and equal share in the rights, privileges, and opportunities of the 'American way of life' that is the main objective of these excluded Americans.

How do these aspirations of southern Negroes affect the fullest growth of the southern economy? The connection is this: Negroes have learned that, as someone once said, the price of liberty is eternal publicity--orderly or otherwise. If southern state governments do not act to eliminate discrimination and segregation, they are inviting publicity of the "otherwise" kind. This produces a volatile political climate which, in turn, inhibits industrial growth.

It is up to state governments to avoid not only an unnecessarily limited development of the region's economy but also a consequence far worse--the deterioration of those democratic longings which, we like to think, have so distinguished the people of this country.

The following is a guide to the kinds of steps state governments can take. (Go to next page for remainder of this paragraph.)

Some of the steps ~~may~~ will require legislation and constitutional amendments; some the governor can undertake on his own. At the very least, state governments can obtain the information they need, prepare materials for publication, distribute them with energy, and generally put their own houses in order.

The governor can issue a policy declaration which commits state government to the protection of civil rights and the promotion of economic opportunity for all southerners.

The governor can define the state's position in a way that no other state official is able to do, and his declaration will make available to state officials the support of a large number of people who are only too ready to stand behind a government dedicated to this end. For those people who are still afraid to speak in public about their private approval of civil rights and economic opportunity for all, the governor's statement and consequent actions may give them enough security to enable them to unlock their opinions. If state governments do not seek every chance to enable people to release these opinions, they will help to promote a tragedy--personal and regional--that did not have to be.

The governor may consider various techniques to show state personnel that he means what he says. He may call the heads of the state departments and agencies to a conference to spell out what the policy declaration means for each one. He may issue special memoranda to these personnel and to other key officials like the head of the state employment service, the boards responsible for licensing real estate brokers, and school superintendents.

In any of these encounters, he has the chance to point out the legal foundations of his authority to promote civil rights in the Fourteenth Amendment to the American Constitution prohibiting the states from denying equal protection of the law to any person and the 1880 U.S. Supreme Court decision that

the Fourteenth Amendments's prohibition of racial discrimination applies not only to the legislative action of the state but equally to the acts of its executive officials. (p. 38, Potomac Institute) He may also point out the Constitutional principle which has emerged from a series of Supreme Court rulings beginning in the 1940's that the prohibition of the Fourteenth Amendment applies whenever "to some significant extent the state in any of its manifestations has been found to have become involved" in private acts of racial discrimination. (pp. 38-41) Thus, state officials cannot legally support or assist restrictive racial practices by public officials <u>or</u> private persons.

The governor will need staff assistance to carry out the state's commitment to protect civil rights and promote economic opportunity for all. He may place within his own office a special assistant for civil rights and a special assistant to handle all programs designed to make economic independence possible for everyone. These two assistants will have to operate as a team so that to the greatest extent possible, the actions of one will pave the way for the actions of the other.

For example, when one assistant may be working with the state department of education on school integration, the other assistant needs to be working with the department on raising the quality of instruction in every school district in the state. The philosophy behind such coordination is that integration by itself is not the goal but is only a necessary step toward improving the quality of the state's services to everyone.

The civil rights assistant can scrutinize the operations of state departments and agencies from his special point of view and can recommend ways to eliminate government regulations which, innocently or otherwise, allow segregation to continue. He can confer with state officials about alternative procedures, and he can inject into the discussions he sparks the experience

of others in the nation who have dealt with similar problems. At a very minimum, he can point out the consequences for civil rights which are likely to follow from any set of policies under consideration. State officials can then see more clearly whether those policies are consistent with the aim of promoting equal protection of the law.

The civil rights assistant can give his support to the passage of a state anti-discrimination act. He can argue the following points:

1) Placing such an act on the books has the obvious effect of harnessing the state's police power behind efforts to eliminate discrimination. The enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not make a state act superfluous. Titles II and VII invite state leadership by providing that state and local authorities, acting under state and local laws, shall have the first chance to eliminate discriminatory public accommodations and employment practices.

2) Passage of such legislation has another effect which may be even more important. It puts into motion an education process that turns the whole state into a classroom on the rights of every American. The enactment of anti-discrimination laws in other states has established new standards of behavior which, in turn, have shaped new attitudes toward racial bias which, in turn, have contributed to its elimination. (p. 4, Am. Jewish Congress)

The National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws has prepared a model state anti-discrimination act to prevent discrimination in employment, public accommodations, education, and real property transactions; to establish a Commission on Human Rights; and to authorize the creation of local commissions. This act is reprinted in the appendix.

In shaping the office of special economic assistant, the governor may build upon his state's anti-poverty agency established in response to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The responsibilities of the economic assistant would be a more broadly conceived version of the responsibilities

of the present state anti-poverty coordinator.

The economic assistant can improve the state's operations in the following ways:

- He can take steps to increase the amount and quality of technical assistance to state and local agencies authorized to administer anti-poverty programs.*

- He can develop procedures to relate existing state programs with those initiated under the Economic Opportunity Act. State planning commissions or divisions and state labor-training programs especially need to have closer ties with the anti-poverty program.

- He can arrange for a study to identify unintentional state legislative and administrative barriers to anti-poverty programs and to prepare, as needed, ~~model~~ state statutes to remove unnecessary or unreasonable provisions.

- He can make sure that anti-poverty program personnel share the knowledge they gain about working with disadvantaged people with the heads of the traditional state line departments such as labor, health, welfare, and education. The assistant can then confer with department heads about desirable changes in their departments' operations based on this knowledge.

- He will be in charge of anticipating problems which may arise as a result of civil rights enforcement and recommending to the appropriate state agencies the steps they will need to take in order for the state's services to benefit everyone equally and sufficiently to reverse the statistics mentioned earlier in this report.

Research by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations helps to show the states' need for an economic assistant like the one just described. The commission's study

*See Intergovernmental Relations in the Poverty Program, pp. 94-119, and 184-186, for details on the states' technical assistance function. See also the model bill establishing a state economic opportunity office in the 1967 State Legislative Program of the Advisory Comm. on Intergovernmental Relations, pp. 166-172.

of intergovernmental relations in the poverty program strongly suggests that the level of state technical assistance, quantitatively and qualitatively, both from the state anti-poverty agency and from state line agencies, is inadequate. The data collected indicate that the problem does not seem to be an insufficient level of OEO* funding. Every southern state is providing technical assistance at a funding level lower than that allocated to it by OEO on the basis of a measure of the incidence of poverty. (Table B-5, p. 268, ACIR report)

Included in the commission's study is a ranking of the states on total Economic Opportunity dollars spent per poor person. As of April 1, 1966, 7 of the 10 states lowest in the ranking were southern states. Only one southern state, Arkansas, was in the upper half of the rank, but its position was only 27th. (Table B-9, p. 271)

Another report stated the following:

> The South is short-changing itself and its poor in the national campaign against poverty. Millions of dollars available for services and jobs in the Southern States are not being claimed while most of the better-off States of the North are getting all that is due them and asking for more. The Office of Economic Opportunity distributes the money but is no mere transmission belt. Unless there is a demand, the agency can do little. Demand means putting an effective program together in the State or locality and writing it within the guidelines the agency has provided....
>
> (New York Times, quoted in Comm.'s report, p. 143)

Comparing the states in this manner does not mean to imply that more money necessarily produces a quality program. If wealthier states, however, have felt compelled to request more money per poor person, it would seem that the southern states should be doing the planning necessary to use at least the full amount allocated to them and more, if possible. The rural areas of the South especially need the stimulation which a state government is uniquely situated to provide.

Someone may ask the question, where do industry-hunting

---

*Office of Economic Opportunity

efforts by southern legislators and governors fit into the kind of planning suggested here? A reasonable way to handle this question is to accept the necessity of such efforts but also to go a step further and realize that furious activity to attract industry must be at least balanced, if not outweighed, by a furious concentration on the state's basic responsibilities. Any other way of proceeding is like trying to build a house from the roof down.

Let us now examine more specific ways in which a southern state can improve its operations in the fields of education, employment, housing, law enforcement, voter registration, medical services, and agricultural ~~services~~ assistance.

(Go to next page.)

Education

-- Devise procedures to eliminate the dual school system which is persisting in spite of official abolishment of dual attendance zones.

What are the reasons that school segregation persists? They include the following:

1) Zoning plans--even if free from gerrymandering--can result in school segregation merely because of rigid housing segregation.

2) Carryovers from the dual school system, such as bus transportation routes and segregated teaching staffs, still persist.

3) Decisions on site selection, school size, grade structure, transfer priorities, and standards of overcrowding are furthering school segregation.

4) Freedom of choice plans are too weak to overcome not only the above factors but also the fear and uncertainty of Negro parents and students.

These comprise a complicated set of problems for state officials to handle, but state officials are capable of handling them since they have made decisions on these matters in the past. They ought to handle them because it is still as true as ever that equal, high-quality education for all children is not possible in this country within racially isolated schools, no matter why they exist.

Studies have now been made which show that the racial composition of schools appears to be a distinct element which influences Negro children's attitudes and performance. Negro students in predominantly white schools more often score higher on achievement tests, develop higher aspirations, and have a firmer sense of control over their own futures than Negroes in predominantly Negro schools. The same studies show that the achievement of white students in classes which are roughly half or more than half white is no different from that of similarly situated students in all-white classes. (p. 160, Comm.)

p. 114 - Racial Isolation.

Much of the poor achievement of Negro students in

Racial Isolation in the Schools

majority-Negro schools can be traced to the fact that the wider community generally regards these schools as inferior. Negro students in such schools are sensitive to this view and often come to share it. The teachers and administrative staff in these schools frequently recognize or share the community's view and communicate it to the students by expecting little of them. This attitude lowers the achievement of Negro students and reinforces the doubts they have about their own worth. They are less likely to find in their schools models of academic and occupational success and will have little chance to associate with students who see a clear, reliable connection between their education and later careers. (pp. 103-109, 204, Comm.)

The aim of any procedures which state officials may devise, then, should be an attendance pattern where no student--white or Negro--will be enrolled in a majority- or all-Negro school. No student--white or Negro--will lose from a soundly conceived and soundly administered state plan. Negro students have everything to gain academically, and both races will expand their education by becoming prepared to live and work in the real world, with all types of people.

File
Prop. Internat'l Inst.

via air mail January 23, 1961

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

This is to ask your advice, and possibly good offices, with respect to an idea that has been discussed for quite a while in our Executive Committee meetings.

Initially, the idea was that SRC and Atlanta University might co-sponsor an institute on the international implications of Southern race relations. Nothing came of this, for one reason because neither Rufus Clement nor I found any philanthropy that was interested in financing such a project.

Further discussion and consideration at the last Executive Committee meeting led to the conclusion that such an institute would be more effective and maybe more attractive to potential donors if it were sponsored by a leading Southern university not primarily serving Negroes. Of course, the University of North Carolina was mentioned as perhaps the best possibility.

I am charged with the responsibility of exploring the likelihood of transplanting this idea. There is no blueprint, of course, and it is recognized that the sponsoring institution (if one is found) would determine the nature of the project to fit its own

needs and wishes. But the original proposal briefly, was to assemble an impressive panoply of Americans and non-Americans prominent in international affairs. Specifically mentioned were Dag Hammarskjold, Frank Graham, Adlai Stevenson, Chester Bowles, Ralph Bunche, and now, I suppose, Dean Rusk. These illustrious persons would serve as speakers, panelists, and resource persons for an affair of several days that involved substantial numbers of local dignitaries and concerned citizens. Naturally, it was contemplated that the event would be thoroughly interracial.

The Executive Committee meets again next week on February 2. Would it be possible for you to give me, in writing or by telephone, your own estimate of the likelihood that UNC could be interested in such an idea? SRC would have nothing to offer but advice and whatever cooperation the institution might welcome.

I realize its presumptuous to ask your off-the-top reaction, particularly if you feel the notion has sufficient merit to require exploratory conversations with others at the University. But your personal opinion, however tentative, would be greatly valued by the Executive Committee and those of us on the staff who are charged with sounding out the possibilities.

With appreciation and best regards,

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- We are making similar inquiries of friends at Florida State University and Vanderbilt.

HCF

February 6, 1961

Dr. Guy Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

Thanks so much for your encouraging note about the International Institute proposal. This was duly reported to the Executive Committee, and everyone present expressed the opinion that the University of North Carolina would be by all odds the best sponsoring institution. The thought was advanced that Dr. Frank Graham (now a member of our Board, incidentally) might render a useful service in this connection. In any case, we shall look forward to further word when you have had a chance to explore the question with the Chancellor.

There was a good article in the Sunday paper here about the career of Billy Carmichael. His death must have been a great blow to the University.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Jan. 30, 1961

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1961
RECEIVED

Dear Harold,

Excuse the delay in my reply to your good letter, but a trip to Washington, plus being snowbound for a couple of days, plus the death of our Vice-President Billy Carmichael, have kept me from having a chance to explore the matter with our Chancellor.

At this point, I can only say that I am personally very much interested in the proposal and that I hope --and rather believe-- that the administration here will be also. In a day or two I should have something more definite.

Sincerely,

Guy

Guy B. Johnson

MEMORANDUM February 6, 1961

TO: PA

FROM: HCF

RE: Discussion of International Institute on February 2nd.

The Executive Committee instructed the staff to continue to promote the holding of an Institute on Race Relations and International Affairs in the South. Suggested sponsors were rated in the following order:

(1) The University of North Carolina, (2) Colonial Williamsburg, (3) The American Association for the United Nations, (4) The American Assembly.

It was pointed out that either of the latter two organizations might well chose Williamsburg as the site of a Southern conference of this kind. In any case, it was agreed that all facilities would have to be open to all delegates and participants without discrimination. It was also pointed out that the head man at Williamsburg, who should be approached on this matter, is Mr. Hummelsein, and that Dr. Frank Graham might well be enlisted in connection with the University of North Carolina.

Our procedure on this should be to do nothing further until we get word from Guy Johnson on the possibilities at Chapel Hill. If this should flunk out, we should then write a letter to Mr. Hummelsein at Williamsburg inquiring about the possibilities of their doing it. If nothing comes of this, we should explore the other suggested sponsors in order.

I'd appreciate it if you would ride head on this, consulting with me as necessary, until we have completed the follow-through one way or another.

- END-

March 17, 1961

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

Thanks for your good letter summarizing the views of the Administration on the proposed International conference.

Next fall would not be too late; in fact, I am inclined to think that it would take that long to plan and arrange a really good conference of the sort we are talking about. While I can see the advantage of a summer affair, that time would present other problems, such as the inavailability of people who should be present.

I can readily understand the Administration's sensitivity about provoking controversy that might jeopardize the even temper of desegregation at the University. It does strike me, however, that the temper of the times rather favor a new and more adventurous approach to these matters. For example, I have no doubt that a properly staged conference could draw prestige figures from the new Administration in Washington (including Hodges?), which would tend to put a cloak of respectability around the whole enterprise.

As it happens, we are having a special meeting of the Executive Committee tomorrow, so that I can

report this further word to the interested members. I will pass on to you any further thoughts that emerge. Meanwhile, I need not tell you that the Southern Regional Council can be counted on for any cooperation and quiet assistance it can give to further exploration and planning of this project.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

4 HCF

2 PA ✓

MA

1 LWD ✓

MM

EW

SM

3 PR ✓

JC

LEC

MET

BC

RHA

PP

WF

5 MF

FILE

Return to HCF 3/17/61

Fine

+

Agree Open Comments

Sounds good, if both Fall & Summer are available. Would think Fall preferable

think it would take until Fall to plan the meeting — with SMC assistance

Let's encourage it.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

February 28, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1961

Dear Harold:

You probably think I have gone off and crawled into a deep hole somewhere! Actually I have been right here, trying to keep my ears and nose above water. I have been constantly on the go, and the Chancellor still more so, naturally, since this is budget time, legislature time, and the season for the Trustee committees, etc. It was quite a job trying to get together with him for a half-hour informal discussion of the matter which you proposed.

I think I can summarize the thinking of the Administration as follows:

1. The University is, of course, always interested in anything of this sort which is well planned and well timed.
2. The Administration is subject to constant inquiries, heckling, and harassment on racial matters. We are fully integrated, and much of this has been accomplished by simply moving ahead quietly without letting something become a public issue, but Administration finds that it still must devote a lot of time to explaining, to refuting false notions, etc. When the legislature is in session, as it is from now until June, Administration is particularly sensitive to anything which might upset the delicate equilibrium of public relations.
3. In addition, space is now at such a premium and the conference calendar for the remainder of this academic year is so crowded that it would be out of the question to take care of another large conference this year, especially if it meant housing a large number of participants or visitors. (Incidentally, we have been accomodating an occasional non-white University visitor at the Carolina Inn, and this could be done for important non-white people on the program of our proposed conference, but, for strategic reasons indicated above, only on a small scale at this time.)
4. Summer is the preferred time for such conferences, since we can then house a good many people in dormitories and can expect attendance from people who could not find or could not afford good accomodations during the regular session. However, a program which involved only a small number of speakers and which did not involve a "swarm" of attendants from outside, might be arranged for next fall.
5. Sponsorship would have to be assumed by a University agency, and we think the logical one is the Committee on International Relations. I am now exploring this, but I

rather confident that it is something which they will want to do.

In short, a little bit of progress at this end, but probably not as clear-cut a report as you would like to see.

How does the summer thing strike you? Is next fall too late? If you think there is a good chance to set up something late this spring in another university, then I think you should go ahead, because it is quite clear that there are inhibiting factors here as far as this spring is concerned.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Guy

Guy B. Johnson

March 13, 1961

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

The enclosed letter from Guy Johnson is sent for your information and advice. Can we have your views on the alternatives Guy suggests?

I'm looking forward to seeing you this coming weekend.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

Dear Mr. Wright:

The enclosed letter from Guy Johnson is sent for your information and advice. Can we have your views on the alternatives Guy suggests?

I'm looking forward to seeing you this coming weekend.

Sincerely

HCE

Circulate Guy J. & lts — to LND, PA, PR, for their info + comment. Return to me for reply after we hear from NBND.

H.

C.O. Files

File Just on International Relations

September 5, 1961

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 632
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

We are anxious to follow through with arrangements for the proposed international seminar at the University of North Carolina as soon as feasible. Marion Wright indicates that he discussed this with you recently and that he understands you will be leaving on a trip to Africa in the near future. How do you advise us to move on this? Will you have an opportunity to press the matter with University officials in the near future, or is there another faculty contact you would suggest to carry through if you are leaving shortly? Would it be advisable for one of us to come to Chapel Hill to expedite the consideration? Les has asked me to represent our concerns on the matter and I am anxious to take whatever steps would be helpful. It is the hope of our Executive Committee that the University of North Carolina would want to serve as host and convener of the institute; we would offer any staff or resource assistance that might be needed. The Executive Committee has not authorized any fund raising activities on the part of SRC, feeling that a University would have better success securing funds for this kind of an effort.

Sincerely,

Paul H. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

LWD:

[redacted] xxabout MAWs letter:

1. The last action of the Exeutive Comm., at which time MAW was asked to perform this function, it was the agreement that SRC should help in any way possible. However, the idea of joint sponsorship with a university was particularly ruled out. It was thought better - from a southern university standpoint - that SRC not be officially involved. Would UNC administration want joint sponsorship - especially since they should have a substantial fund-raising job on their hands.

2. Another faculty member - should include top administration.

3. It isn't necessary but the Committee had thought in terms of some months of planning and as much as $200,000 in cost. Don't see how any variation of these ideas fit into an early program.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
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JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Linville Falls, N. C.
August 8, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I should have reported to you a long time ago ~~but~~ that I went over to Chapel Hill and talked with Guy Johnson about the institute to be jointly sponsored by SRC and the University of North Carolina. You will recall that the delicate task of spuring Guy to action was assigned to me.

Frankly, I got the impression that, while Guy is personally interested, he has not taken any decisive steps towared putting on the institute. He had had some conversations with the administration of the University but all of them were somewhat hazy. Guy is soon to be off on another jaunt to Africa and I think he is pre-occupied with that expedition.

With him abroad, it seems quite obvious that some other faculty member, or members, will have to spark this effort.

To put the project in a more favorable atmosphere, I wish you would write Guy asking if he thinks it will be possible to advance the idea before his departure and getting his view as to our best contact at the University after he is gone.

My recollection is that it seemed advisable to hold the institute shortly after the beginning of the new school term. That event is now imminent and I believe we must have a faculty member on whom we may rely to furnish iniative.

If you approve of this idea, please send me a copy of your letter.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

raj

Marion A. Wright

LWD
North Carolina

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

file

September 21, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your recent letter concerning the status of the proposed international seminar which we have had under consideration since last winter. Here, in brief, is a report on the way things stand and my own evaluation of the prospects.

1. The problem has been to line up some internal sponsoring organization, preferably not a single department but something with university-wide status. The most logical one seemed to be the Committee on International Studies.

2. The chairman of that Committee was away a good part of the summer, and I could not resume discussion with him until early September. This is a 14-man committee, drawn from a number of departments and composed of a wide variety of personal views on race relations, international affairs, etc. I am advised that they move very slowly, and that they might discuss this sort of proposal for quite a long time and still not be favorably disposed toward it. The more I explore the prospects, the more discouraged I feel about getting anywhere, as far as this committee is concerned. They would want a prospectus presenting a rather definite and detailed picture of what is proposed, and they would probably want to mull over this for several meetings. Then, if I read correctly the feelers I have put out, they would want to know how I propose to finance the project. I fear that they, having other irons in the fire with regard to the expansion of the curriculum in international studies, are not going to see how they could seek funds for this project. And so, after some preliminary feeling out of the prospects, I have concluded just this week that I do not think it is worth pursuing this particular proposal any further with them.

3. The logical student organization, the Carolina Symposium, which has put on some very good programs on current problems, has other interests and plans at the moment, and I doubt if they would take on this project during the current year.

4. In view of the added duties which I have taken on as Editor of Social Forces, and in view of my plans and preparations for being away for three or four weeks in November-December on a trip to West Africa, I shall have to beg off

from any further pursuit of this project. What little time I have been able to devote to it has produced nothing tangible, and I have a feeling of frustration, so that even if I were not going away soon I would be inclined to say "let's give it up."

5. You might want to sound out Ann Queen of the YW, or Joe Oppenheimer, Chairman of the Carolina Symposium, for their suggestions on how to get this thing off the ground. My own inclination, however, is to abandon the project.

I would like to make it clear that administration is not in any way blocking this thing, so it is not a matter of trying to press them further. Their attitude is still exactly what I reported earlier, namely, that their concern is simply for a genuine internal sponsorship, proper timing, coordination,etc., with respect to other public meetings, pressure on accomodations, etc. As I see it, the main factors making it difficult to set up and finance the sort of ambitious project outlined in our earlier correspondence are factors arising from the increased complexity and bureaucratization of the university. In the old days a man like Dr. Odum would have at his command, or could easily get on request from a foundation, funds which he could use for some big conference. These days, all requests for external funds have to be cleared and handled by a central committee -- an arrangement which make sense on the whole, but which cuts down some of the good old-style initiative and free-lancing. I have not had a direct hand in setting up a big affair in quite a few years, and I must admit that I was rather surprised to find out how much the situation has changed.

I am sorry to have such a negative report, but this is the way it looks to me at present.

Sincerely,

Guy

Guy B. Johnson

P.S. Sorry I forgot to make an extra copy for Marion Wright. I'm sure you can take care of that with a Thermofax.

File

International Institute

1. Executive Committee Instructions

The Staff has been instructed to arrange, in joint sponsorship with Atlanta University, an international institute. The institute is to be held during the spring or summer of 1958. All A. U. facilities are to be made available for the one day meeting. An effort is to be made to secure outstanding national and international figures who will command attention and publicity.

2. First steps in planning

(1) Dr. Clement must be contacted

a. In addition to his opinions and agreement on the items listed below it must be determined what clerical and other help A.U. can provide.

b. What effect will the forthcoming foreign travel of Dr. and Mrs. Clement have on this planning? (Trip delayed - perhaps in July)

c. AU-SRC Sharing of Costs?

(2) Preliminary arrangements must be made for facilities

a. What auditorium is to be used?
(Would it be desirable to hold this meeting at the municipal auditorium?)

b. What problems will be encountered; meals, transportation, etc.?

(3) A survey must be made of possible participants (platform speakers and guests)

a. Do members or friends of SRC have contact with prominent persons who might participate.

b. What contacts do Dr. Clement and A.U. have?

c. Would Frank Graham be willing to participate and secure other participants? Would his participation be wise?

d. Would Mrs. Roosevelt participate and would this be wise?

e. Would Harry Truman participate and would this be wise?

f. To what extent, if any, should other human relations agencies, labor, church organizations, and the like participate?

g. Are there prominent Southerners who would and should participate?

h. Are there prominent (Southern) elected officials who would and should participate? (Frank Clement, Leroy Collins, Brooks Hays, etc.)

i. Would not it be wise to first secure the participation of one status person whose name could be used in arranging for other participants?

(4) A tentative date must be established as soon as possible

(5) Who will be invited to attend the institute?

(a) a list must be started of persons to be invited

(b) emphasis should be on Southerners

(c) members of the Council will be invited and should have an opportunity to suggest others

(d) AU will have a similar list, including faculty

(e) All invitations should be mailed from one office

(f) All invitations should be RSVP

(g) Attendance will be by invitation only. Invitations should be extended well ahead of time in order to fill the places of those who decline.

(h) If the institute develops according to instructions there should be no difficulty in having a large attendance. However, several hundred persons should be held in reserve in the event last minute attendance threatens to be disappointing.

(6) Press Relations

(a) Preliminary publicity cultivation and planning should begin with all other planning. Aside from securing the proper participants, this is the area which needs the most careful planning.

(b) Would not it be wise to have a committee, formal or informal, of press relations advisors?

(7) The entire purpose of the institute needs to be reviewed.

(a) Major question: is this to be an institute where Southerners meet to consider the international implications of the regional race problem or one where outsiders patiently explain to the South the harm now being done.

(8) Recent international ~~and defense~~ developments would indicate that the institute can be extremely significant. And, these developments may help to secure greater publicity and a more sympathetic regional audience.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Atlanta, Georgia
April 3, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Paul Rilling
C. H. Parrish
John Hope
Mrs. Grace Hamilton
John Griffin

From: Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

:

This will confirm our scheduled meeting to discuss the proposed SRC college program. The meeting will be held on April 16th, in the Conference Room at the SRC office, commencing at 2:30 P. M.

Those persons listed above have indicated that they will probably be able to attend. In addition, we expect representatives from the YWCA and hope to have someone from ADL and AFSC.

:

4/3/58

March 18, 1958

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

You will recall the Executive Committee request that the staff consider and report on the feasibility of a college program. Accordingly, we hope to assemble the appropriate staff persons plus others in Atlanta who work in this area for a meeting on April 16. If possible, we would like to have you with us for this meeting.

This is a preliminary meeting to consider what is now being done, what SRC may or may not do to help, etc. In short, a meeting to explore the whole idea.

The date of April 16 is tentative. Please let me know as soon as possible whether or not you can be here on that date. In turn, we will confirm that date as soon as we are able to determine your response and that of the Atlanta people.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Atlanta, Georgia
April 3, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Paul Rilling
C. H. Parrish
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PLEASE CIRCULATE:

HCF
FBR
EV
RHA
JC
MM
MG
MET

May 12, 1958

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Executive Secretary
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Grace:

Many thanks for your letter suggesting useful extensions of SRC's services to colleges and universities. This is very helpful background for the discussion of this question which will take place at the Executive Committee meeting this week, and it was most thoughtful of you to take time out to do it.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Acknowledged 5/8/58

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

Over Thirty-Five Years of Preventive Social Service

JAckson 1-2355 • 239 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

May 6, 1958

Dear Harold:

Here are several ideas about possible extension of Southern Regional Council's services to colleges and universities which I want to record with you before the Executive Committee meeting.

Experiences which southern white students have had because of their membership in national organizations whose purposes and membership basis reflect concern about movement toward an inclusive society, have historically been important in modifying attitudes and bringing about social change. In many instances, such intercollegiate experiences motivate program on race relations on the college campuses to which students return. The number of organizations with such purposes is not large, and in many cases, their resources for providing knowledgeable leadership in the area of race relations are limited. It is my experience, however, that they welcome resources in this area and frequently can find ways to use them in their existing program channels.

My specific suggestions are that SRC develop ways (1) to make all of their written materials more widely available without charge; (2) to make possible services by certain members of SRC'S panel of consultants available, and (3) to provide the necessary travel and honoraria for their use.

It might be useful for the Council to have the part-time advisory service of someone known to the appropriate organizations and familiar with their structure and program, to help implement this extension of service. A voluntary advisory committee for this phase of the program would also be needed and funds to make possible meetings. An annual budget of approximately $10,000 would seem to be adequate as a beginning. This would make possible a useful service without adding to the already over-organized college campus and intercollegiate life.

There is probably no need to say that SRC's useful resources should not include a list of speakers who "can make interracial talks." (Smile!)

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) G. T. Hamilton
Executive Director

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

GTH:mm

June 3, 1958

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rufus:

You will recall that the Executive Committee asked that, in consultation with the staff, you appoint a three-member advisory committee on our work with college-serving groups. The staff has discussed this and suggests that suitable appointees would be Father Sigur, Dean Brazeal, and John Griffin.

If these names meet with your approval, I will be glad to ask them to serve at your request. Once the acceptances are received, we will also notify the Executive Committee of the action taken.

We were, of course, delighted by the good news from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund which Harry Meserve conveyed to us. I appreciated your finding time to talk with him last week.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Same ltr. sent to Fr. A. O. Sigur and John Griffin

June 6, 1958

Dr. B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Brazeal:

You will recall that at the last Executive Committee meeting Dr. Clement, as chairman, was asked to appoint a three-member advisory committee to work with the staff in developing additional services to college-serving groups. Dr. Clement has asked me to extend to you an invitation to serve on this special sub-committee.

The staff joins Dr. Clement in the hope that you will accept. I can assure you that we will do everything necessary to keep the demands on your time to a minimum. But we do need the benefit of your counsel and experience in the college field.

I do hope we may have an affirmative reply from you soon. Meanwhile, best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Dr. Rufus E. Clement

June 6, 1958

Father Alexander O. Sigur
P. O. Box 532
S. L. I. Station
LaFayette, Louisiana

Dear Father Sigur:

You will recall that at the last Executive Committee meeting Dr. Clement, as chairman, was asked to appoint a three-member advisory committee to work with the staff in developing additional services to college-serving groups. Dr. Clement has asked me to extend to you an invitation to serve on this special sub-committee.

The staff joins Dr. Clement in the hope that you will accept. I can assure you that we will do everything necessary to keep the demands on your time to a minimum. But we do need the benefit of your counsel and experience in the college field.

I do hope we may have an affirmative reply from you soon. Meanwhile, best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 6, 1958

Mr. John Griffin
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear John:

You will recall that at the last Executive Committee meeting Dr. Clement, as chairman, was asked to appoint a three-member advisory committee to work with the staff in developing additional services to college-serving groups. Dr. Clement has asked me to extend to you an invitation to serve on this special sub-committee.

The staff joins Dr. Clement in the hope that you will accept. I can assure you that we will do everything necessary to keep the demands on your time to a minimum. But we do need the benefit of your counsel and experience in the college field.

I do hope we may have an affirmative reply from you soon. Meanwhile, best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Cc: Prof. [illegible]
[illegible]

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 4, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am approving the appointment of the three people recommended to serve on the advisory committee for our work with colleges. Please see that letters of invitation go to these people.

I, also, was delighted at the decision of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to give substantial support to the Southern Regional Council.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

Rufus

REC:b

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

PA ✓

F.Y.I.
HCF

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

June 13, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I appreciate the fact that Dr. Clement has appointed me to serve as one of three members of an advisory committee for our work with college groups.

I am glad to accept the appointment and look forward to meeting with my committee colleagues whenever I am requested to do so.

I hope that everything goes well with you and your colleagues. With the hope that you will have a pleasant and profitable summer, I am

Yours sincerely,

B. R. Brazeal

B. R. Brazeal
Dean

BRB:h

FBR-
PA
MF

Our Lady of Wisdom Catholic Center

FATHER ALEXANDER O. SIGUR, DCL, MA., CHAPLAIN
FATHER JUDE SPEYRER, MST., ASSISTANT CHAPLAIN
BARBARA PLAISANCE, PROGRAM-COORDINATOR

SOUTHWESTERN LOUISIANA INSTITUTE ✠ LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA ✠ PHONES CE 4-2331 CE 5-9124

MAILING ADDRESS: P. O. BOX 532, S.L.I. STATION

St. Basil Day
June 14, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your good letter of June 6, which is before me. I wish to advise that I am very happy to accept appointment to the three-member advisory committee to work with the staff for development of services to college serving groups. You may inform Dr. Clement that I am quite pleased with this assignment.

It was quite a treat to have Fred Routh here, and he did an excellent job. I hope it will be possible to have him or other member of the staff in the area again in the near future. Things are developing rather nastily in Louisiana at the moment from the point of view of the State Legislature, which is instigating an investigation of L. S. U. and all state colleges for no reason discernible, except the most obvious one.

Best wishes to the staff, and may God be with you always.

Yours in Christ,

Fr. Alexander O. Sigur

Father Alexander O. Sigur

MF for file on College Program - SRC

Staff Recommendations to Executive Committee
on College Program

Following the instructions of the Executive Committee at its January meeting, the staff staged a special conference with representatives of other agencies engaged in on-going programs with college students, faculties, and administrators. Based on this conference and our own internal discussions, we have reached the following conclusions:

(1) A wide variety of ~~prog~~ organizations and religious groups are promoting campus organizations and activities which are committed to a positive position on race relations.

(2) Some of these efforts have benefited from SRC's materials and consultant services.

(3) There is virtually unanimous agreement among the persons whom we have consulted that simply to add another staff person to the ranks of those seeking to organize campus race relations groups and activities would have little positive impact on the college situation in the South.

(4) On the other hand, we also found agreement that SRC could make an important contribution by increasing and extending its information and consultant services through existing channels.

In view of these conclusions, the staff proposes to the Executive Committee the following action:

That a small advisory committee be appointed from this body, to be supplemented by representatives of the agencies

principally engaged in college programs. This committee would work closely with the staff of SRC in developing the extended services which would be of the greatest aid to constructive activities on the campuses, ~~throughout the region~~. It is contemplated that this would involve the development of special mailing lists for widespread, free distribution of appropriate SRC materials to college libraries, student leaders, faculty members, administrators, and college-serving organizations. Participants in our special conference were particularly emphatic on the point that much excellent material is being produced but little of it is reaching those people in college circles who need it most; in the case of SRC, this ~~fa~~ short fall is partly explained by our policy of selling material rather than providing it free where we think it will do the most good.

It is also contemplated that this extension of services would involve SRC's making available, specialists and resource people of various kinds whenever and wherever their influence would contribute to the growth of positive sentiment and policies among the colleges and universities. Obviously, extended services of these kinds would impose new demands ~~on SRC~~ in terms of both staff time and funds. Part of the job can be done within the existing staff structure and budget of SRC, but new resources would undoubtedly be needed to do all that we hope. With the aid of the proposed advisory committee the staff would undertake to work out the details, to determine the special services that would be most useful, what it will take to provide them, and how the additional resources can be secured.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Seiler, John
637 "C" Street, N. E.
Washington 2, D. C.

REGARDING

"Small Contract Proposal" submitted to the U. S. Commissioner of Education under the Provisions of Public Law 531"

DRAFT initiated by Seiler as a proposed project titled: "Free Choice Registration and Assignment in Selected Georgia School Districts: Community Response to Voluntary Desegregation Under the Provisins of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

DATE

August 28, 1965

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Folder marked: Seiler, Mr. John (Small Contract Proposal)

A Proposal for Support of a Project in Citizenship Participation

- : -

Summary

The Southern Regional Council proposes a three-year project in citizenship participation. The primary purpose of this project would be to reach those persons in the region still unregistered and bring them and others more fully into the political life of their communities. To do this we propose to draw heavily on the experience gained from the now concluded Voter Education Project and to develop substantial programs in registration, civic education, and leadership training. Many of these activities would be carried out in close cooperation with the major national civil rights agencies as well as with state and local groups who have an interest in citizenship participation.

For these purposes we propose a budget of $35,900.00 per year for the three-year period. We now have a grant from the Ford Foundation which provides $24,000 per year for the three-year period for this project.

12-7-65

The Southern Regional Council has concluded a Voter Education Project begun in 1962. We believe that program was successful and base this proposal on the experience gained during that project and the needs it revealed.

A New Program

We propose a second project with a somewhat different emphasis. A central purpose of this project, as with the original project, is voter registration, primarily though not exclusively for Negro Southerners. But on the basis of experience, we believe that the achievement of maximum voter registration should also incorporate citizenship education and leadership training. We believe programs in these areas are essential if substantial progress is to be made in voter registration.

This proposal notes and attempts to put into perspective recent developments, particularly recent national legislation and the role and potential role of the United States Department of Justice. We do not anticipate a project in which private organizations would relieve any governmental agency of its responsibilities. Rather, we would hope this project would supplement, support, and encourage the implementation of national directives toward achieving full citizenship guarantees for all people. We believe that the involvement of private agencies is necessary, and that

a partnership between public and private efforts is essential if either is to succeed.

As with the last project, we shall make every effort to see that this program is completely non-partisan. This is not only to comply with the regulations concerning a tax-exempt agency, but because our interest is in a healthy functioning of democracy, and not in local or national partisan politics.

Interagency Cooperation

The programs in this proposal are recommended on the assumption that there will be the closest possible cooperation with the major national civil rights agencies and that these programs will, when feasible, be conducted with and through those agencies. Prior to submitting this proposal we have, by phone, talked with Mr. Roy Wilkins, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Mr. James Forman, and Mr. James Farmer. Generally, there was an agreement on the need for such a program, the hope expressed that such a program could be developed, and an expression of willingness to cooperate. We have been unable to reach Mr. Whitney Young. We did talk with Mr. M. T. Puryear of the National Urban League staff. He indicated he could not commit the League at this point. The director of the Southern Regional office, however, has indicated his wish for full cooperation.

We have talked, too, with a number of other persons in education, unions, political science, human relations, and government.

We are optimistic about the possibilities of cooperation and recognize its essential benefits. It would, however, be misleading to oversimplify this situation. There are strong and deep elements of competition between several of the agencies. This must be noted as well as the possibility of future disenchantment with this project on the part of one or more of the national civil rights groups. This is a situation which calls for candid expression. We note these difficulties to underscore the need and opportunity for a project of this kind to seek cooperation with and among the several agencies. Several references in this proposal are made to that end.

Voter Education and Citizenship Training

The Southern Regional Council proposes a three-year project with the primary purpose of reaching those people of the region who have previously been in varying degrees alienated from full citizenship participation. They will be reached in terms of exercising the franchise and in achieving the maximum degree of involvement in the total political process.

The present 2.3 million registered Negro voters in the South, a million and a half of whom were registered in

the last four years, represent those that were not too difficult to convince of the importance and value of registering and voting. This leaves to be registered better than two million persons many of whom reside in the ghettos, slums, rural poverty pockets and plantations of the South. This project is designed to initiate them into the political process.

Through citizenship education we will seek to show unsophisticated, unregistered persons the direct relation of politics to such bread and butter issues as better housing, employment, administration of justice, education, police and fire protection, office-holding, recreational facilities -- in short, their own self-interest. In this part of the program we will be in large measure developing and extending the work of the earlier Voter Education Project.

Leadership Training

Leadership, finding it and developing it, has been a major concern with all those persons whom we have consulted. What we face in many rural places in the South as federal and private efforts have increased the electorate is a leadership vacuum which will not long be neglected. Already we are receiving some disturbing reports that those presently in power are using, or are threatening to use, the most vindictive means, including economic and physical coercion, to see that those persons

newly registered -- or available to be registered -- will not influence the status quo. In the cities, newly registered Southern voters can be as easily removed from the obligations and blessings of citizenship as have their economic kinfolk in the non-Southern ghettos where power has been taken from them by a paternalistic oligarchy.

We propose an experimental program of some magnitude for the support and training of recognized and potential leaders. We can foresee placing such persons in workshops, day-long or week-long, in cooperation with national agencies, institutions of higher education, and other non-partisan resources. Exposing leaders to areas and problems beyond their own communities would be invaluable in lessening the isolation felt by many of them. It would give them the perspective of sharing experiences and sharing and learning new approaches.

We plan in this instance, and in other ways, to involve some of the colleges and universities of the region. We believe both the physical and intellectual resources of a number of the region's institutions of higher education can be profitably brought into programs of leadership training. Our early approaches to individuals connected with some of these institutions give encouragement to this idea.

The rationale for the leadership training aspect of the program is consistent with our main goal of increased participation in a democracy.

It seems important to note here that in leadership training, as in other aspects of the program, we will not seek to impose rigid formulae or to single out individuals for roles of leadership. Our function will be to provide the best resources available for the development of leadership according to individual potential and local needs. What we aspire to do is to nourish the constructive involvement of citizens with their society.

Method of Operation

To carry out this project we propose a small central staff and minimum central office expenditures with a maximum of the requested project funds spent in program. A proposed budget of $3~~4~~5,900.00 is attached. With the exception of rent, communications and related items noted, we do not propose an overhead expenditure for the Council.

This is an experimental project. We expect and welcome further consultation and guidance from the foundations we are approaching. The staff will place before the Council's Executive Committee any tentative agreements regarding this proposal for that body's approval and guidance.

As stated earlier, the first purpose of this project shall be voter registration. Therefore, we would hope to have an opportunity for the closest possible cooperation with, and support of, the soundest groups now organized for voter registration.

Besides the five major civil rights organizations, the groups include such state and local organizations as the South Carolina Voter Education Project, the Alabama State Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting, the Tennessee Voters Council, the Durham Council on Negro Affairs, and the Jefferson County (Ala.) Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting.

In addition to direct financial support, the project will offer central staff services to participating groups. We will in turn rely on these groups for program development and have, in fact, already begun this process.

Where we provide funds for local programs developed by chapters of national organizations we believe it will prove most efficient to give funds directly to the program group rather than route them through national offices. There seems to be general agreement among the agencies for this. If this is done, it will alleviate the need for the several agencies to establish the administrative machinery necessary for handling such grants. Their responsibilities would be handled by

project staff. The selection of such program groups and the extent to which they are assisted will be determined in consultation with the national agencies.

Other Resources

Various private organizations may figure in the project other than as direct recipients of funds or personnel. For example, the Labor Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, the Citizenship Education Program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, or Project Enable of the National Urban League will be developing programs which can make resource persons available to functioning programs. Conversely, the activities of those agencies may make use of the materials and personnel provided by this project.

Program, as it will evolve from the concerns of national organizations and from other groups geared to dealing with local issues will reflect what they, in their own judgment, can accomplish well and find desirable to attempt. Their purposes may sometimes be only akin to the aims of the project. The needs of many areas are not clearly and immediately known to us. There are techniques which either have been operative or are still on the drafting boards which have not come to our attention. And there are persons whom we do not know with skills and potentials which

we need. For these reasons it is felt that an advisory committee will bring to the project the best available thinking and information resources, which will cut across boundaries of place and special interest.

The committee will be composed of persons with no direct civil rights organizational identity but who are more than conversant with the work of the organizations and have some appreciation of the problems of competition for credit in this area. The committee members will also have some direct involvement in the areas of registration, voter education and politics, either through study or personal participation. The project would like to solicit viewpoints and the committee meetings should be in the fullest sense an open forum. Provision would be made for a minimum of four meetings annually.

Advisory Committee Members

What this committee can do for the project is perhaps best illustrated by listing those persons who have, thus far, agreed to serve if such a committee is formed. They are:

Norman Hill, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
Russell Sugarman, Memphis attorney
Frank Smith, Director, Tennessee Valley Authority
C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Richard Miles, Director, South
Carolina Voter Education Project
Hank Brown, President of Texas State
AFL-CIO
Jesse Hill, Atlanta businessman
John H. Wheeler, President, Southern
Regional Council
Samuel D. Cook, Chairman, Department
of Political Science, Atlanta University

Other persons shall be added to this list. We will make a special effort to see that representation from backward areas is included.

Involvement of Students

The project would seek a maximum involvement of young people, particularly those now in college. This has both an aspect of leadership training and of directing the energies of these young people into this area of concern.

In the proposed budget there is an item which would allow the project to give a number of modest scholarships to college students to encourage their interest and to allow them time to work in voter registration and citizenship education. This item is included in the proposal because of our observation of student activity in this area and the substantially greater potential if students are given direction, instruction, and financial assistance.

We also propose a similar number of grants to students for summer work. These students, carefully selected, would be made available to assist local programs in voter registration and citizenship education, including community organization.

Research

There is a substantial research and information program in this project. The first need is for brief reports for distribution to individuals and groups engaged in voter education and citizenship training on subjects ranging from voter statistics to a description of successful local programs. Primarily this function would be to quickly gather and share information and training materials.

We would also encourage and support local groups in developing their own materials. Effective communication below the level of the middle-class electorate is at once our greatest challenge and a goal of great constructive potential.

The adjunctive benefits of research undertaken or supported by the project would be two-fold. First, it would serve as a journal of events in this arena for which, incidentally, the only precedent is the book now being written from the Voter Education Project, scheduled for publication next year. Second, it will encourage an enlightened recognition of our efforts by the politically concerned everywhere.

March 25, 1966

Professor Eric Krystall
Department of Social Science Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Professor Krystall:

Bruce Rosen has shared with us a copy of your questionnaire for the study of family and community life. We would be very grateful if you would let us know more about this interesting research, and consider allowing us to publish some of your comments on it.

For instance, we would welcome an article for our quarterly, New South, that might be a summary description of the community being studied. Should you be interested, we would offer a modest author's fee.

We would also like to consider, should be you be interested and find it appropriate, to publish a relatively brief pamphlet on a portion of your findings. This might be, for instance, a study of your findings on the family structure.

or a commentary on employment.

Under separate cover, we are sending you a copy of the winter issue of New South and several of our recent publications.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Bruce Rosen, ADL, Atlanta

MEMORANDUM March 25, 1966

To: MRS.* Bernice C. Cook

From: Mildred M. Johnson

*I just feel like being formal with you today.

Please package up and send to Professor Eric Krystall the following (label attached):

Winter 1966 NEW SOUTH
Ross Green Study
Coles Study
Ulmer's SLUM report

Tuskegee Institute
Department of Social Science Research

January 1966
Interview Number_____
Interviewer_____

A STUDY OF FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE

1. (You)(your_____) told me who the adults are who live here and their relationship to you. Could you please tell me the first names of all the children and those under 21 who live here?

Name	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
a. Is that a boy or a girl?	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F
b. What is (his)(her) relationship to you?						
c. When was (he)(she) born? (GET MONTH AND YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)

2. Do you have any (other) children, either under or over 21, who are not living here?

YES ↓ NO (GO TO 3)

(IF YES)

Name	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
a. Is that a boy or a girl?	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F
b. When was (he)(she) born? (GET MONTH AND YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)
c. Where is (he)(she) now? (GET CITY AND STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)
d. Why did (he)(she) go there?						
e. When did you last see (him)(her)? (GET ACTUAL DATE)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)	(MONTH) (YEAR)
f. Did you go there or did (he)(she) come here?	THERE HERE	THERE HERE	THERE HERE	THERE HERE	THERE HERE	THERE HERE

3. What about your close relatives such as your parents and brothers and sisters. Can you please tell me where the ones live who do not live here in Montgomery?

RELATIVE	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
a. LIVES IN. (GET CITY AND STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)
b. How often do you see (him)(her)?	OFTEN SELDOM NEVER	OFTEN SELDOM NEVER	OFTEN SELDOM NEVER	OFTEN SELDOM NEVER	OFTEN SELDOM NEVER
(IF NEVER) c. Do you keep in touch by letter or phone or not at all?	LETTER PHONE NOT AT ALL	LETTER PHONE NOT AT ALL	LETTER PHONE NOT AT ALL	LETTER PHONE NOT AT ALL	LETTER PHONE NOT AT ALL
d. When did (he) (she) go to _____? (PLACE)	ALL LIFE (YEAR)	ALL LIFE (YEAR)	ALL LIFE (YEAR)	ALL LIFE (YEAR)	ALL LIFE (YEAR)
(IF NOT ALL LIFE) e. Why did (he) (she) go there?					

4. Now, could you please tell me if any of (your)(or your (wife's)(husband's)) relatives live within walking distance?

YES NO (GO TO 5)

(IF YES)

a. Which relative is that?	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
b. How often do you see (him) (her)--every day, once or twice a week, once or twice a month, less often?	EVERY DAY 1-2 WEEK 1-2 MONTH LESS	EVERY DAY 1-2 WEEK 1-2 MONTH LESS	EVERY DAY 1-2 WEEK 1-2 MONTH LESS	EVERY DAY 1-2 WEEK 1-2 MONTH LESS	EVERY DAY 1-2 WEEK 1-2 MONTH LESS

5. How long have you lived in this (house)(apartment)?

ALL LIFE (GO TO 7, p. 4) _____(NUMBER OF YEARS)

(IF NOT "ALL LIFE")

6. Could you please tell me all the places where you have lived. First of all, where were you born? (INTERVIEWER: AFTER QUESTIONS ON BIRTHPLACE, REPEAT QUESTIONS FOR EACH SUCCESSIVE MOVE TO PRESENT ADDRESS)

	BORN IN	MOVED TO	MOVED TO	MOVED TO	MOVED TO
	(CITY) (STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)	(CITY) (STATE)
(IF IN MONTGOMERY) a. What street was that?					
b. How long did you live there?	(YEARS)	(YEARS)	(YEARS)	(YEARS)	(YEARS)
c. Who lived there with you?					
d. Why did you move from there?					

e. Where did you move to from there? (WRITE ANSWER AT THE TOP OF THE NEXT COLUMN)

f. Why did you decide to move to Montgomery? _____

g. Why did you decide to move to this part of Montgomery? _____

h. All things considered, how do you feel now about the move--was it a good idea or a poor idea to move here?

GOOD IDEA POOR IDEA

i. Why do you feel this way? _____

7. Do you think there is any chance of your moving in the next twelve months?

SOME CHANCE ↓ NO CHANCE (GO TO 8)

(IF "SOME CHANCE")

7a. Would you say you definitely will move, probably will move, or are you uncertain?

DEFINITELY WILL MOVE PROBABLY WILL MOVE UNCERTAIN

7b. Why are you thinking of moving? _____

_____

_____

7c. Do you expect to stay in the Montgomery area if you do move?

YES ↓ NO ↓

(IF YES)

7d. To which part of Montgomery do you expect to move?

_____

(IF NO)

7e. If you do move from Montgomery, where would you move to?

_____ (CITY) _____ (STATE)

7f. What are your reasons for choosing this place? _____

_____

_____

8. Many families join together in celebrating such things as birthdays, holidays, reunions, anniversaries. Do you participate in celebrations that bring the family together during the year?

YES ↓ NO (GO TO 9)

(IF YES)

8a. What celebrations do you have? _____

8b. Who participates? _____

_____

8c. How often would you say you go to these big get-togethers?

ONCE A MONTH OR MORE SEVERAL TIMES A YEAR LESS OFTEN NEVER

9. Now, I would like you to think of the three people whom you feel closest to and know best (besides your (husband)(wife) (and children)). Could you please tell me the first name of each one so that we won't get them mixed up.
(ASK SERIES 9a THROUGH 9h FOR EACH PERSON NAMED)

NAME	1.	2.	3.
(IF NOT CLEAR) 9a. Is _____ a man or a woman?	M F	M F	M F
9b. Is (he)(she) a relative or a friend?	RELATIVE FRIEND	RELATIVE FRIEND	RELATIVE FRIEND
(IF RELATIVE) 9c. What relation is (he) (she) to you?			
9d. How old is _____?	_____ (YEARS)	_____ (YEARS)	_____ (YEARS)
9e. How often do you see _____?	EVERY DAY 1-2 WEEK 1-2 MONTH SELDOM NEVER	EVERY DAY 1-2 WEEK 1-2 MONTH SELDOM NEVER	EVERY DAY 1-2 WEEK 1-2 MONTH SELDOM NEVER
(IF NEVER SEES) 9f. Do you phone or write to (him)(her)?	PHONE WRITE NEITHER	PHONE WRITE NEITHER	PHONE WRITE NEITHER
9g. Is _____ married?	YES NO	YES NO	YES NO
9h. What is (his)(her husband's) job?			

10. Coming back to your own family, are you single, married, separated, divorced, or widowed?

SINGLE (GO TO 15) MARRIED SEPARATED DIVORCED WIDOWED

(IF EVER MARRIED)

10a. (Is)(was) this your first marriage? YES NO

10b. Could you please tell me the month and year of your (first) marriage?

_____ MONTH _____ YEAR

(IF MARRIED MORE THAN ONCE) 10c. And the month and year of this marriage? _____

10d. (Is)(was) this your (husband's)(wife's) first marriage? YES NO

(IF APPROPRIATE, CONTINUE. IF INAPPROPRIATE GO TO 15)

Now, you said you have _____children. . .(CHECK PAGE 2 IF NECESSARY)

(IF APPROPRIATE)

11. Do you expect to have (more) children? [YES] (CONTINUE) [NO] (GO TO 12)

(IF YES) 11a. How many children do you expect to have in all (including those you now have? _____NUMBER OF CHILDREN

11b. How sure are you that you will really have_____children in all?

[VERY SURE] [NOT SURE]

12. How do you intend to keep the number of your children limited to _____?

_____

_____

13. How many children do you think your (wife)(husband) would want if (she)(he) could choose?_____NUMBER OF CHILDREN

14. Some people tell us that some of their children came too soon or too late or when they didn't want any more. Now how about you? Were all your children born just when you wanted them or would you have preferred any of your children to have been born earlier, or later, or perhaps not at all. How about your first child? (REPEAT SERIES FOR EACH CHILD)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
EARLIER	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
LATER	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
NOT AT ALL	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
AT THE RIGHT TIME	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

15. We are interested in how things get done in a family. . .for instance, who makes the major decisions in your family?

_____

15a. Who looks after the money and the bills?_____

(IF R HAS OR IS LIKELY TO HAVE CHILDREN, CONTINUE. IF R IS SINGLE OR HAS NO CHILDREN, GO TO 16)

15b. Who (will) decide(s)(d) how many children there should be before your family (is)(was)(will be) complete?

[WIFE] [HUSBAND] [BOTH] OTHER_____

15c. Who (will) discipline(s)(d) the children?

[WIFE] [HUSBAND] [BOTH] OTHER_____

Another topic on which we need information is what people do in their spare time. . .

16. Do you watch television?

YES NO (GO TO 17)

(IF YES)

16a. Do you watch programs dealing with news and politics? YES NO (GO TO 17)

(IF YES)

16b. Which programs in particular do you watch?_____

_____

16c. About how much time each day do you spend watching programs dealing with news and politics?_____TIME

17. How about radio. . .do you listen to the radio? YES NO

18. Now, we would like to find out what you read and how much you read. . .take magazines, for example. Do you read any magazines?

YES NO (GO TO 19)

(IF YES) 18a. What magazine(s)?_____

19. How about the newspaper. . .do you read newspapers?

YES NO (GO TO 20)

(IF YES)

19a. What newspaper(s) do you read?_____

_____

19b. How often do you read a newspaper?

EVERYDAY | 2-3 TIMES A WEEK | ONCE A WEEK | 1-2 TIMES A MONTH | SELDOM

19c. Which part of the paper do you read first?

NEWS | EDITORIAL | SPORTS | NEGRO SECTION | COMICS | OTHER_____

19d. (Does)(do) the paper(s) report all the news you are interested in?

YES (GO TO 20) NO

(IF NO) 19e. What other news would you like to see covered?_____

_____

_____

20. During an election, do you get a better picture of what each candidate is like from television, newspapers, magazines, friends, or from radio?

TELEVISION | NEWSPAPERS | MAGAZINES | FRIENDS | RADIO | OTHER_____

21. Do you belong to any clubs or groups like these? (SHOW CARD I)

(1)____Labor union (like AFL-CIO or a carpenters' union)
(2)____Political club or group (like Young Democrats, Young Republicans, or a political organization)
(3)____Organizations concerned with race relations (like the Human Relations Council, NAACP, voters' leagues, Montgomery Improvement Association)
(4)____Fraternal organizations or lodges (like the Masons, Elks, American Legion)
(5)____PTA (Parent-Teachers-Association)
(6)____Business, professional or civic groups (like the Kiwanis or Lions Club)
(7)____Farm groups (like the Farm Bureau)
(8)____Church or church-connected groups
(9)____Fraternities or sororities
(10)____Social clubs (like a bridge club)
(11)____Other_____(SPECIFY)
(12)____None (GO TO 23)

22. (ASK ENTIRE SERIES FOR EACH ORGANIZATION MENTIONED IN 21)

22a. Name of organization	1.	2.	3.	4.
22b. How long have you been a member of____?				
22c. Have you ever held any office in this organization?	YES NO	YES NO	YES NO	YES NO
(IF YES) 22d. What office(s) do(did) you hold?				
22e. How often does this group meet?				
22f. How often do you attend meetings?				
22g. What benefits have you received from this organization?				
22h. Is this an all-Negro organization?	YES NO	YES NO	YES NO	YES NO

23. As I said earlier, we are interested in family and community life. What do you think are the most important problems facing your community?

_____

_____

_____

24. Do you feel that there are people who help the community deal with these problems?

YES NO

25. What do you look for in a leader? _____

_____

_____

26. Which people in the community do you think of as leaders?

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

d. _____ e. _____ f. _____

27. Do other people in the community think of them as community leaders? YES NO

28. Now, thinking of all the people you have mentioned and others you may not have mentioned, who would you say are the three most important people in Montgomery?

NAME	1.	2.	3.
28a. What does (he) (she) do?			
28b. Why do you choose (him)(her)?			

29. Now, who are the three most important white people in Montgomery?

NAME	1.	2.	3.
29a. What does (he) (she) do?			
29b. How much personal contact have you had with (him) (her)?	A LOT SOME NONE	A LOT SOME NONE	A LOT SOME NONE
29c. Do you think (he) (she) is interested in your problems?	YES NO	YES NO	YES NO

30. Who would you say are the three most important Negroes locally?

NAME	1.	2.	3.
30a. What does (he) (she) do?			
30b. How much personal contact have you had with (him)(her)?	A LOT SOME NONE	A LOT SOME NONE	A LOT SOME NONE
30c. Do you think____is interested in your problems?	YES NO	YES NO	YES NO

31. Over the past ten years would you say that the Negro leadership in Montgomery has changed or remained the same?

CHANGED ↓ (IF CHANGED)

31a. In what way? _____

31b. Are these changes all right?

YES NO

REMAINED THE SAME ↓ (IF REMAINED THE SAME)

31c. Should it be improved, or is it all right the way it is?

IMPROVED ALL RIGHT

32. How much would you say that white citizens respect the Negro leaders?

A LOT SOME VERY LITTLE NOT AT ALL

33. Now, considering the United States as a whole, who would you say is the most important Negro leader? _____

33a. Why do you think so? _____

34. What do you think of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.? (IF NOT ALREADY MENTIONED) _____

34a. Do you agree with any of his ideas and actions? (IF NOT ALREADY MENTIONED)

YES ↓ NO (GO TO 34c)

(IF YES) 34b. Which are these? _____

34c. Do you disagree with any of his ideas and actions? YES ↓ NO (GO TO 35)

(IF YES) 34d. Which are they? _____

35. Have you heard of the Black Muslims?

YES ↓ NO (GO TO 36)

(IF YES) 35a. What do you think of their ideas and actions? _____

36. Is there any group among the white people in Montgomery that seems different in any way from the rest?

YES ↓ NO (GO TO 36c)

(IF YES) 36a. Which group(s)? _____

36b. In what way? _____

_____

(IF NOT MENTIONED)
36c. What about poor people, are they different? YES NO

36d. Why is that? _____

(IF NOT MENTIONED)
36e. What about Jews, are they different? YES NO

36f. Why is that? _____

37. What do you feel are the main political issues in this state? _____

_____

_____

(IF R HAS CHILDREN, CONTINUE. IF R HAS NO CHILDREN, SKIP TO 39 NEXT PAGE)

38. Would you send any of your children to a mostly white school?

YES ↓

(IF YES)

38a. Which of your children would you send?

_____

(IF NOT ALL, CONTINUE. IF ALL, GO TO 38e)

38b. Why would you send (this one)(them)?

_____

_____

38c. Why not the other(s)? _____

_____

NO ↓

(IF NO)

38d. Why not?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

38e. Suppose you thought your child's teacher was not doing a good job of educating your child, would you do anything about it?

YES ↓ NO (GO TO 39)

(IF YES) 38f. What would you do? _____

_____

39. There has been some discussion about the lack of certain public facilities and services in the Montgomery community. What do you think Montgomery needs most?

_____

_____

40. Do you think that the Alabama Republican Party is interested in helping the Negro in Alabama?

YES NO DON'T KNOW

40a. Why is that? _____

_____

41. Do you think that the Democratic Party of Alabama is interested in helping the Negro in Alabama?

YES NO DON'T KNOW

41a. Why is that? _____

_____

42. In the Montgomery Negro community which organization or group has helped the Negro most? Which next? And which next? (HAND CARD AND RANK THEM IN ORDER)

____N.A.A.C.P.

____Montgomery Improvement Association

____Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

____Montgomery Voter's League

____Southern Christian Leadership Conference

_____Other

42a. Have you ever attended a meeting of any of these groups?

YES NO (GO TO 43)

(IF YES) 42b. Which one? _____

43. Did anyone in your family go and see the Selma-to-Montgomery march last Spring?

YES NO (GO TO 44)

(IF YES) 43a. Who was that? _____

44. Did anyone in your family join in the march? YES NO (GO TO 45)

(IF YES) 44a. Who was that? _____

45. Would you say that the Selma-to-Montgomery march accomplished anything important?

YES

(IF YES) 45a. What do you think it accomplished? _____

NO

(IF NO) 45b. Why not? _____

_____

46. How did Negroes here feel about other people coming in and demonstrating for them?

_____

_____

_____

47. Some people have said that if Negroes are being treated as second-class citizens they should not serve in the armed forces; others have said that they should serve anyway. What do you think?

[SHOULD SERVE] [SHOULD NOT SERVE]

47a. Why is that? _____

_____

48. Now that we have the Civil Rights Bill do you feel more like a citizen, less like a citizen, or do you feel the same as you did before the Bill was passed?

[MORE] [LESS] [SAME]

48a. Why do you feel this way? _____

_____

_____

49. As you know, a Voting Rights Bill was recently passed by Congress. We would like to have some information about voting. First of all, are you a registered voter?

[YES] (CONTINUE) [NO] (SKIP TO 49f, TOP OF NEXT PAGE)

(IF YES)

49a. When did you register? _____ (MONTH) _____ (YEAR)

49b. Were you registered by the county registrar or by a federal registrar?

[COUNTY] [FEDERAL]

49c. Why did you register then? _____

_____

_____

49d. Did you have any trouble registering? [YES] [NO] (GO TO 50)

(IF YES) 49e. What sort of trouble? _____

_____

_____

(SKIP TO 50, NEXT PAGE)

(IF R IS NOT A REGISTERED VOTER, I.E. SAID "NO" TO 49)

49f. Have you ever tried to register? YES NO (GO TO 49j)

(IF YES)

49g. How long ago did you first try to register? _____NUMBER OF YEARS

49h. How many times have you tried to register? _____NUMBER OF TIMES

49i. Why weren't you able to register? _____

_____

49j. Do you intend to register?

YES

49k. When?_____

_____

NO

49m. Why not?_____

_____

50. Do you try to get other people to vote? YES NO

51. Do you think that the Voter Rights Bill of 1964 will have any effect on the Negro's progress?

YES NO (SKIP TO 52)

(IF YES) 51a. What effect do you think it will have here?_____

_____

_____

52. In election campaigns, different groups work for one candidate or another. Are there any groups on this list that you particularly trust--that is, would you be more likely to vote for a candidate they recommend? (USE CARD AND CHECK ALL GROUPS R TRUSTS)

_____Veteran groups
_____Farm groups
_____Catholic groups
_____College groups
_____Protestant groups
_____Business groups
_____Jewish groups
_____Labor unions
_____None

53. Are there any groups on the list that you don't trust--that is, would you be likely to vote <u>against</u> candidates they recommend? (USE CARD AND CHECK ALL GROUPS R DISTRUSTS)

_____Veteran groups
_____Farm groups
_____Catholic groups
_____College groups
_____Protestant groups
_____Business groups
_____Jewish groups
_____Labor unions
_____None

54. Some people say that because Jews are a minority group they are more likely to help Negroes; others say they take advantage of Negroes. How do you feel about this?

LIKELY TO HELP TAKE ADVANTAGE

54a. Why do you feel this way? _____

_____

_____

54b. What else have you heard about Jews? _____

_____

(IF R WAS REGISTERED BEFORE THE 1964 ELECTION, CONTINUE. IF R WAS NOT REGISTERED, SKIP TO 56)

55. Many registered voters were not able to get to the polls during the last election. How about you--did you vote in the last election for President?

YES → (IF YES)

55a. Who did you vote for?

_____

_____

NO → (IF NO)

55b. Was there any particular reason you did not vote?

_____

_____

(IF R EVER REGISTERED, CONTINUE. IF R NEVER REGISTERED, SKIP TO 57)

56. In an election, how (do)(would) you decide which candidates to vote for?

_____

_____

57. Do white politicians here do anything to get the Negro vote?

YES → (IF YES) 57a. What do they do? _____

_____

NO (GO TO 58) DON'T KNOW (GO TO 58)

58. In the future do you think that Negroes in Montgomery will have more or less say in how things are run?

MORE LESS DON"T KNOW (GO TO 59)

58a. How will that come about? _____

_____

_____

59. Here is a list of names. You will know some of them and not know others. As I read each name, tell me if you have heard of him. If you have heard of him, then tell me whether you always agree with him, sometimes agree with him, disagree but respect him, or believe nobody should listen to him. Add anything else you have to say about him.

	KNOW	(IF KNOW) ALWAYS AGREE	SOMETIMES AGREE	RESPECT BUT DISAGREE	NOT LISTEN	COMMENTS
a. Lyndon B. Johnson						
b. Julian Bond						
c. "Bull" Connor						
d. Richmond Flowers						
e. James Folson						
f. James Forman						
g. C. G. Gomillion						
h. Earl James						
i. James Martin						
j. Ralph McGill						
k. E. D. Nixon						
l. Kwame Nkrumah						
m. Ian Smith						
n. George Wallace						
o. Levi Watkins						

60. I have a few questions about religion. Can you please tell me what your religion is--are you Protestant, Catholic, or what?

PROTESTANT ↓ CATHOLIC (GO TO 60b) OTHER_____ (SPECIFY. GO TO 60b)

(IF PROTESTANT) 60a. What specific denomination are you--Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Episcopalian, or what?

_____

60b. How often do you go to church? Would you say more than once a week, once a week, two or three times a month, once a month, a few times a year, less than that, or never?

MORE THAN ONCE A WEEK | ONCE A WEEK | 2-3 TIMES A MONTH | ONCE A MONTH

A FEW TIMES A YEAR | LESS | NEVER

60c. Have you always been a member of this faith? [YES] (GO TO 61) [NO]

(IF NO) 60d. What faith were you a member of before you changed? _____

_____

60e. Why did you change? _____

_____

61. Can someone who doesn't believe in God be a good citizen? [YES] [NO]

62. Should religious leaders take a stand in favor of a candidate? [YES] [NO]

62a. Why? _____

_____

Some of our questions have to do with education. . .

(IF RESPONDENT HAS, OR IS LIKELY TO HAVE, CHILDREN, CONTINUE. IF R'S CHILDREN ARE ALREADY GROWN, GO TO 65. IF R HAS NO CHILDREN AND IS UNLIKELY TO HAVE ANY, GO TO 66)

63. What do you think is the least amount of education (your child)(any of your children) will need?

[EIGHTH GRADE] (GO TO 64) [SOME HIGH] (GO TO 64) [H.S. DIPLOMA] (GO TO 64)

[TRADE SCHOOL] (GO TO 64) [COLLEGE] (CONTINUE) OTHER _____ (SPECIFY. GO TO 64)

(IF COLLEGE)

63a. Have you started to provide for college?

[YES]

(IF YES)

63b. In what form are your savings?

_____

_____

[NO]

(IF NO)

63c. How do you think they will manage to afford college?

_____

_____

64. Do you think (your child)(any of your children) will go to a private school sometime--either in elementary school or in high school?

[YES] [NO] (GO TO 65)

(IF YES) 64a. What sort of school will that be? _____

_____

64b. Why have you thought of sending your (child)(children)?

_____

_____

(IF RESPONDENT HAS ANY GROWN CHILDREN, CONTINUE. IF NONE OF R'S CHILDREN ARE GROWN, GO TO 66)

65. Have any of your children graduated from high school?

YES ↓ NO (GO TO 66)

(IF YES)

65a. Did (he)(she)(they) go to a college, trade school, nursing school, or anything else after high school?

	COLLEGE	TRADE	NURSING	BUSINESS	OTHER (SPECIFY)
1st GRADUATE					
2nd GRADUATE					
3rd GRADUATE					
4th GRADUATE					

66. About your own education. . .what is the highest grade you completed in school or college?

0-4 5-8 9-11 12 13-15 16 OR MORE

66a. Did you always go to a public school, or did you ever go to a private elementary or high school?

ALWAYS PUBLIC (GO TO 66d) SOME PRIVATE ↓

(IF PRIVATE) 66b. What sort of school was that? _____

66c. How many years did you spend there? _____

(IF R WENT TO COLLEGE) 66d. What college did you go to? _____

(IF RESPONDENT IS OR EVER WAS MARRIED, CONTINUE. IF R IS SINGLE GO TO 68)

67. What is the highest grade your (wife)(husband) completed?

0-4 5-8 9-11 12 13-15 16 OR MORE

67a. Did (he)(she) always go to a public school, or did (he)(she) ever go to a private elementary school or high school?

ALWAYS PUBLIC (GO TO 67d) SOME PRIVATE ↓

(IF PRIVATE) 67b. What sort of school was that? _____

67c. How many years did (he)(she) attend? _____

(IF R'S WIFE OR HUSBAND WENT TO COLLEGE) 67d. What college did your (wife)(husband) attend? _____

68. What is the highest grade your father compleged?

0-4 5-8 9-11 12 13-15 16 OR MORE DON'T KNOW

(IF DON'T KNOW) 68a. Would you say he attended elementary or high school?

ELEMENTARY HIGH

69. What is the highest grade your mother completed?

[0-4] [5-8] [9-11] [12] [13-15] [16 OR MORE] [DON'T KNOW]

(IF DON'T KNOW) 69a. Would you say she attended elementary or high school?

[ELEMENTARY] [HIGH]

(ASK ABOUT ALL HOUSEHOLD HEADS ONLY)

70. One of the most important aspects of family life is employment. First of all, can you please tell me whether (you are)(your husband is) working now, unemployed, retired, or what?

[WORKING NOW] [UNEMPLOYED] (GO TO 70c) [RETIRED] (GO TO 70c) OTHER_____

(IF WORKING) 70a. How many hours a week (do you)(does he) work?_____

70b. What (do you)(does he) usually do on (your)(his) job?

_____

(GET JOB TITLE AND DESCRIPTION IF NECESSARY. GO TO 71)

(IF DECEASED, RETIRED, OR UNEMPLOYED) 70c. What did (you)(he) do on (your)(his) job?_____

(GET JOB TITLE AND DESCRIPTION)

(IF WORKING NOW, CONTINUE. IF RETIRED, GO TO 72. IF UNEMPLOYED, GO TO 74. IF DECEASED, GO TO 77)

71. (Have you)(has he) had any type of training for this job?

[YES] (GO TO 71b) [NO]

(IF NO)

71a. (Have you)(has he) had any training for any other type of work?

[YES] (GO TO 71b) [NO] (GO TO 71c)

(IF "YES" TO 71 or 71a) 71b. What type of training?_____

_____

71c. (Do)(does) (you)(your husband) supervise other people? [YES] [NO]

71d. How long (have you)(has he) worked on this job?_____YEARS

71e. (Do you)(does he) consider this a secure job with a future? [YES] [NO]

71f. If (you)(he) should happen to lose this job, do you feel it would be easy or hard to find another one?

[EASY] [HARD]

71g. Why is that?_____

_____

71h. How many different jobs (have you)(has he) had in the last five years?

_____NUMBER

(IF MORE THAT ONE, CONTINUE. IF ONLY ONE, GO TO 71k)

71i. What was your last job?_____

71j. Why did you change jobs?_____

_____

71k. (Have you)(has he) taken advantage of any State or Federal government-sponsored training program?

[YES] [NO] (GO TO 71n)

(IF YES) 71m. Which program?_____

71n. Is (your)(his) job the kind where the boss can fire (you)(him) without warning or for no reason at all?

[YES] [NO]

(ASK OF ALL RESPONDENTS EXCEPT HEADS OF HOUSE WHO ARE UNEMPLOYED OR DECEASED)

72. Are job opportunities for Negroes increasing in this area? [YES] [NO]

73. What (is) (your)(your husband's) attitude toward his job--happy with it, barely satisfied, or dislike(s) it?

[HAPPY] [BARELY SATISFIED] [DISLIKE]

73a. What (do you)(does he) like most about (your)(his) job?_____

_____

73b. What (do you)(does he) dislike most about (your)(his) job?_____

_____

(GO TO 75)

(IF HOUSEHOLD HEAD IS UNEMPLOYED, CONTINUE. IF HOUSEHOLD HEAD IS NOT UNEMPLOYED, ASK 75)

74. How long (have you)(has your husband) been unemployed?_____MONTHS

74a. Why (aren't you)(isn't he) working now?_____

_____

74b. Are you receiving any public assistance?

[YES] (CONTINUE) [NO] (GO TO 74f, TOP OF NEXT PAGE)

(IF YES)

74c. From whom are you getting assistance?_____

74d. How much are you getting? $_____PER_____

74e. Is that enough? [YES] [NO]

(GO TO 74g)

(IF "NO" TO PUBLIC ASSISTANCE)

74f. How do you manage to pay for food and for other necessities such as rent? _____

74g. How soon do you think (you)(he) will find a job? _____

74h. What (are you)(is he) doing about finding one? _____

(ASK ALL RESPONDENTS, EXCEPT WHERE HOUSEHOLD HEAD IS DECEASED. ASK ABOUT HOUSEHOLD HEADS)

75. (Have you)(has your husband) ever been unemployed from the time (you)(he) left (school)(college) until now?

YES ↓ NO (GO TO 76)

(IF YES)

75a. How often was that--once, two or three times, more often than that?

ONCE 2-3 TIMES MORE OFTEN

75b. (Were you)(was he) out of work at all last year, 1965? YES ↓ NO (GO TO 75d)

(IF YES) 75c. For how long? _____ NUMBER OF MONTHS

75d. What about the year before, 1964? YES ↓ NO (GO TO 75f)

(IF YES) 75e. For how long? _____ NUMBER OF MONTHS

75f. What about the year before that, 1963? YES ↓ NO (GO TO 76)

(IF YES) 75g. For how long? _____ NUMBER OF MONTHS

(IF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD HAS RETIRED, CONTINUE. IF HOUSEHOLD HEAD HAS NOT RETIRED, GO TO 77)

76. Why did (you)(he) retire? _____

76a. (Are you)(is he) able to hold a part-time job? YES NO

76b. How did (your)(his) retirement affect your daily living?

HAD NO EFFECT CAUSED LOWER STANDARD

(IF RESPONDENT EVER MARRIED, ASK ABOUT WIFE UNLESS WIFE IS HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD. IF RESPONDENT IS SINGLE OR IS HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, GO TO 78)

Now, what about (your wife)(you). . .

77. (Has she)(have you) worked for pay before or since your marriage?

YES NO (GO TO 78)

(IF YES) 77a. (Is she)(are you) presently employed?

YES NO (GO TO 77e)

(IF YES)

77b. What is (her)(your present occupation?

_____ (SPECIFY)

77c. Is that full-time or part-time? FULL-TIME PART-TIME

77d. How long (has she)(have you) had this job? _____ (MONTHS)

(GO TO 78)

(IF R IS NOT PRESENTLY EMPLOYED)

77e. How long is it since (she)(you) did work? _____ (MONTHS)

77f. What was (her)(your) job? _____ (SPECIFY)

77g. (Does she)(do you) expect to start work again? YES NO (GO TO 78)

(IF YES)

77h. How sure are you that (she)(you) will work again--would you say very sure, fairly sure, or not sure?

VERY SURE FAIRLY SURE NOT SURE

77i. When do you think (she)(you) will work again? _____

_____

77j. What job will (she)(you) want when (she)(you) (does)(do) work?

_____

78. What (is)(was) your father's occupation? _____ (SPECIFY)

78a. What (is)(was) your mother's occupation? _____ (SPECIFY)

(IF MARRIED) 78b. What (is)(was) your (wife's)(husband's) father's occupation?

_____ (SPECIFY)

79. Does anyone else work who lives here? YES NO (GO TO 80)

(IF YES) 79a. Who is that?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

79b. What does (he)(she) do?

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

Now, just a few more questions and we'll be through . . .

80. Do you own this home, pay rent, or what?

[OWN] [PAY RENT] (GO TO 80d) OTHER_____(GO TO 80h)

(IF OWNS)

80a. Could you please tell me the present value of this house?

$_____

80b. Are you still paying for your home?

[YES] [NO] (GO TO 81)

(IF YES) 80c. Are you nearly through paying, about half done, a quarter done, or less?

[MOST] [HALF] [QUARTER] [LESS]

(IF RENTS)

80d. How much rent do you pay a month?

$_____

80e. How much do utilities cost a month?

$_____

80f. Do you rent furnished or unfurnished?

[FURNISHED] [UNFURNISHED]

80g. Has the rent been raised since you have lived here?

[YES] [NO]

(IF OTHER) 80h. Could you tell me about that?_____

81. How many rooms do you have, not counting bathrooms? _____NUMBER OF ROOMS

82. We are interested in knowing about your recent purchases...have you bought any major items recently such as a car, television, furniture, air conditioner, etc.?

[YES] [NO] (GO TO 82f)

(IF YES)

82a. What was it?_____

82b. When did you buy it?_____

82c. What was the total price?_____

82d. Was there a trade-in, or did you sell your old one, or what?

_____

82e. How did you finance it?_____

(INSTALLMENT PLAN, LOAN, PAY CASH)

82f. Do you have a color television set? [YES] [NO]

82g. How many cars do you have in the family at present?

[ONE] [TWO] [MORE THAN TWO] [NONE] (GO TO 83)

(IF ANY)

82h. What make(s) (is it)(are they)?

1._____ 2._____

82i. What year and model (is it)(are they)?

1. _____ 2._____

83. Have you made any provision or insurance for emergencies such as unemployment, illness, theft, or fire?

YES ↓ NO (GO TO 84)

(IF YES) 83a. What sort of provision? _____

84. Now, we would like to know something about your savings. Do you have any type of savings like Government Bonds, a savings account, a checking account, or an account in a loan association or credit union?

YES NO

85. About what was your total family income last year, for you and your (wife)(husband)? Was it. . . (HAND RESPONDENT CARD 4)

a. ____ Under $1,000
b. ____ $1,000-1,999
c. ____ $2,000-2,999
d. ____ $3,000-3,999
e. ____ $4,000-5,999
f. ____ $6,000-7,999
g. ____ $8,000-9,999
h. ____ $10,000 and over

(IF RESPONDENT REFUSES TO ANSWER 85) 85a. Could you please tell me whether the family income was under or over $2,500 ?

UNDER $2,500 OVER $2,500

(IF MARRIED) 85b. How much of the total family income was earned by (you) (your husband)? _____

(IF NOT PRESENTLY RECEIVING WELFARE, CONTINUE. IF RECEIVING WELFARE, TERMINATE)

86. Have you ever received any sort of public assistance?

YES ↓ NO (TERMINATE)

(IF YES)

86a. What kind of assistance was that? _____

86b. When did you receive it? From _____ to _____

From _____ to _____

From _____ to _____

86c. About how much did you receive? _____ PER _____

86d. Can you tell me a little about your experiences with the people who gave you assistance. . .for instance, can you suggest any improvements?

_____

_____

_____

Thank you so much for taking the time to talk with me. I appreciate your cooperation.

THUMBNAIL--TO BE COMPLETED IMMEDIATELY AFTER LEAVING RESPONDENT'S HOUSE

1. CONDITION OF THE BUILDING (BY OBSERVATION):

___SOUND ___DETERIORATING ___DILAPIDATED

2. CONDITION OF THE FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS (BY OBSERVATION):

___EXCELLENT ___GOOD ___AVERAGE ___POOR ___DETERIORATED

3. HOUSEKEEPING STYLE:

___A. EXCEPTIONALLY ORDERLY--NOTHING OUT OF PLACE

___B. AVERAGE NEATNESS AND ORDER

___C. THINGS IN DISARRAY

4. THE INTERVIEW SITUATION--RAPPORT WITH R:

___EXCELLENT THROUGHOUT ___AVERAGE ___POOR THROUGHOUT

___STARTED POOR, BECAME GOOD ___STARTED GOOD, BECAME POOR

5. OTHERS PRESENT DURING THE INTERVIEW:_____

6. LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: ____HOURS ___MINUTES

7. RESPONDENT'S SKIN COLOR:

___LIGHT ___MEDIUM ___DARK

8. (TO BE COPIED FROM COVER SHEET)

SEX OF RESPONDENT: [M] [F]

AGE OF RESPONDENT: _____YEARS

NUMBER OF ADULTS IN HOUSEHOLD: _____ADULTS

9. ADD ANY NOTES THAT WOULD AID IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THIS INTERVIEW:

File
Make folder
SRC "Proposed Studies"

Cr Ref Tuskegee
+
anti Def Leg

March 25, 1966

Professor Mark Chesler
Department of Social Science Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Professor Chesler:

Bruce Rosen, of the Anti-Defamation League, has shared with us a copy of your proposal to allow for the study of Negro students. We would be very interested in discussing with you the possibilities of publishing an article by you on some aspect of this in our quarterly, New South. For instance, I am especially intrigued by your observations on the growing hatred and disrespect Negro students have after their exposure to whites in these circumstances.

We would also be interested in considering publication, in pamphlet form, of a portion of your study that might seem to you appropriate.

Under separate cover, we are sending you a copy of the winter issue of New South, and several

of our recent publications to give you some idea of the types of things we issue.

I would be grateful for your reaction to these ideas.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
CC: Mr. Bruce Rosen, ADL, Atlanta

MEMORANDUM March 25, 1966

To: BCCook

From: MMJohnson

Please package up and send to Mr. March Chesler the following (label attached):

Winter 1966 NEW SOUTH
Ross Green Study
Coles Study
Ulmer's SLUM report
and
September School Desegregation Report

A Study of Change Agents: Negro Students Who Are Desegregating All-White Public Schools in the Deep South

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate the social backgrounds, personality characteristics, decision-making processes and experiences of selected Southern Negro youngsters who have desegregated previously all-white public schools. Interviews will be conducted with approximately one hundred of these desegregators their families, and teachers throughout rural and urban areas of the state of Alabama. In addition, all students interviewed will be invited to attend a two-day conference at Tuskegee Institute. This conference would encourage the open discussion and sharing of these students' experiences and facilitate the preparation of materials for use in desegregation institutes with education officials. This project should contribute to a better understanding of some of the issues and experiences of social change agents. Furthermore, it should contribute knowledge helpful to public planning for educational change in the near future. It has special relevance for the training of Southern teachers to manage desegregated classrooms, and the preparation of Negro and White schools and community authorities to facilitate the desegregation process.

Problem

Since the Supreme Court's decision in the 1954 school segregation cases (Brown Vs. Board of Education 347 U. S. 483, 1954), much public attention has been focused on Southern schools and communities. Different rates of progress in the desegregation of schools have been maintained in various border and deep Southern states. Several reports and studies have been made of the communities and community processes surrounding Southern school integration. Many newspaper and magazine articles and public debates have focused on anticipated and real changes in Southern society.

However, social change cannot be understood if it is analyzed merely in terms of broad historical changes, litigation and judicial decrees, legislation or even community process. The human agents of changes in Southern schools, the desegregation pioneers, are an important element in the total process of regional and national confrontation. Throughout border and core regions of the South, young Negro boys and girls and their families or advisors made decisions and took action to change dramatically the course of public education. It is the objective of this study to understand more completely the kinds of boys and girls who took these risk-filled steps, to understand the forces operating upon them and the bases for their actions, and to examine and record their experiences and reflections upon their historic roles.

This proposed analysis of change agents operating within a constitutionally legitimate procedure, yet often in opposition to community norms, should greatly advance and deepen our understanding of some processes of social change. It should also provide data and insights about the core elements of change roles, and the possibilities of planning for further change with greater accuracy and success.

The educational significance of this project lies partly in the attempt to record some of the personal issues in a historic time of change in educational systems. Furthermore, as increased public pressure is placed on Southern educational institutions, and as greater demands for change and desegregation are made, knowledge of the sort to be gathered here will be critical. As the review of the literature indicates there is little systematic data on Southern school desegregators and the effects of their experiences. Clear and extensive findings in this area will facilitate and improve the many and varied change programs already being contemplated and introduced.

Since a major variable in the eventual success of desegregated educational systems will be the ability of teachers to prepare themselves, their classes and their new students for each other, clear findings about the backgrounds, feelings and experiences of Negro desegregators and their teachers will greatly aid the effective training of teachers in their new roles. The preparation of tapes and actual recordings of the experiences of Negro youngsters will dramatize these issues in a way no written report can.

Background and related research

The 1954 Supreme Court decision in Brown Vs. Board of Education and succeeding cases set the stage for major controversy and change in Southern school systems. Change on the order intended therein did not happen easily and automatically and certainly not where community norms supported the status quo and major resistance movements were organized to frustrate judicial intent.

Reports on judicial controversy, community conflict and the progress of desegregation are found in:

Ziegler, B. (Ed.) Desegregation and the Supreme Court. Boston: Heath, 1958.

Blaustein, A., Ferguson, C. Desegregation and the Law. New York: Vintage, 1962.

U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Public Education Staff Report. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964.

Southern Schools: Progress and Problems. Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Education Reporting Service, 1959.

Statistical Summary. Nashville, Tennessee: SERS, 1964.

A concise summary of the progress of school desegregation is found in periodic reports of the Southern Education Reporting Service. The table below shows the absolute number of Negro students attending schools with whites in the several deep Southern states and the percentage of total Negro students represented by the numbers.

Year	1962-63		1963-64		1964-65	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Alabama	0	0	11	.004	96	.030
Georgia	44	.013	177	.052	1337	.383
Louisiana	107	.035	1814	.602	3581	1.188
Mississippi	0	0	0	0	58	.020
South Carolina	0	0	10	.004	260	.100

Some of the great variety of community plans or designs for school change are reported in:

Carmichael, O., and James, W. The Louisville Story. New York: Simon and Shuster, 1957.

Morland, K. Token Desegregation and Beyond. Atlanta and New York: Southern Regional Council and Anti-Defamation League, 1963.

Hansen, C. Miracle of Social Adjustment. New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1957.

One of the major questions in these plans and controversies has been the feared or assumed effects of Southern school desegregation on the students of both races. The reports that may be helpful in this regard have been very speculative and theoretical, while others have focused on tightly controlled laboratory situations. For example:

Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation. New York: Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1957.

Katz, I. "Review of evidence relating to effects of desegregation on the intellectual performance of negroes" American Psychologist. 1964, 19, 381-399.

Armstrong, C., Gregor, J. "Integrated schools and negro character development" Psychiatry. 1964, 27, 69-72.

These reports suggest that the effects of desegregation upon Negro students is probably related to the degree of motivation or incentive present in the person or situation and the potential and actual rejection or acceptance of the Negro by white peers and authorities. The homogeneous Negro school is seen by Armstrong and Gregor as an aid in insulating the Negro youngster from threat and rejection; the other authors assume that these potential costs are risks necessary for future personal and social growth.

Several empirical studies have been made of desegregated situations and their effects on students. Most of these studies have focused upon academic achievement, with scant attention paid to social-psychological or emotional outcomes. In the following studies Negro scholastic achievement improved after schools were desegregated and white achievement at least stayed the same. In all cases the facilities of the entire systems also improved, so it is difficult to determine whether desegregation or general systemic improvement is the most critical factor.

Crockett, N. "A study of some factors affecting the decision of negro high school students to enroll in previously all-white high schools" Social Forces. 1957, 35, 351-355.

Hansen, C. "The scholastic performances of negro and white pupils in the integrated public shools of the District of Columbia" Harvard Educational Review. 1960, 30, 216-236.

Stallings, F. "A study of the immediate effects of integration on scholastic achievement in the Louisville public schools" Journal of Negro Education. 1959, 28, 439-444.

Variables other than scholastic performance are reported by Coles in his several studies of mostly Negro and some white students.[1]

Coles, R. "Separate but equal lives" New South. 1962, September 3-8.

Coles, R. The Desegregation of Southern Schools. Atlanta and New York: Southern regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League, 1963.

But these reports on the experiences of young people in newly desegregated situations shed only minimal light on "who they are." Cole's sensitive reports of Atlanta and New Orleans students document their ability to withstand role stresses and strains, anxiety and abuse. But they do not reflect these students' academic experiences, nor their familial backgrounds and social context. Additionally, because these are clinical or psychiatric reports, such studies leave much to be desired in terms of systematic and empirical data collection and analysis. This is not to say Cole's reports lack validity; but to facilitate the kinds of Southern educational change this society is about to undertake, more systematic data is necessary.

Data relevant to one of these issues, family contexts, are available from a border state urban center (Nashville, Tennessee) in:

Weinstein, E., Geisel, P. "Family decision-making over desegregation" Sociometry. 1962, 25, 21-29.

This study suggests that higher status Negro families who value education and are actively concerned about desegregation in the South take initiative in enrolling their children in all-white schools. But this study is limited to lower-elementary students in a border state school

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1 Much of this work supports the "contact hypothesis" about race relations improvement. This hypothesis is presented or validated in such reports as: Yarrow (Ed.) "Interpersonal dynamics in a desegregation process" Journal of Social Issue. 1958, 14 (1)., Williams R. The Reduction of Inter-Group Tensions. N.Y.: Social Science Research Council, 1947., and Allport G. The Nature of Prejudice, New York: Anchor, 1958.

system and only investigates a few social-psychological variables in family style and process. Almost all of the studies referred to herein are limited by their focus on urban student's experiences.

The current study proposes to add to these prior studies by studying "desegregators" across grade levels, from elementary through senior high school in deep Southern rural and urban areas. It proposes to review individual psycho-social characteristics, family and community backgrounds, and school experiences. Further, the first stage will be a systematic, social scientific investigation using standardized interviewing procedures and anlytic tools. The second stage augments these procedures witha a conference and small group discussions of these same events. The latter experience of sharing among peers should open up ussues not discussable in a personal interview, and can provide a dramatic and historic record of actual events and reactions by a group of individual disegregators.

PROCEDURES

The objective of this study is to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge of the backgrounds, personalities and experiences of some of the actors involved in Southern school desegregation processes. Therefore, the design will investigate social background variables, community and family processes affecting the decision to act as a desegregator, socio-emotional experiences and effects as well as academic performance, and future educational, occupational and socio-political goals of Negro youngsters.

The study will commence with the location of a sample of approximately 100 of the Negro students attending schools with whites in Alabama. Alabama is selected as a field site because it is a deep Southern state and the scene of substantial resistance to school integration. As such it is a natural laboratory for the study of people who pioneer for change under conditions of high risk to personal safety. Furthermore, the investigator is an exchange instructor at Tukegee Institute during the spring of 1966 and can train interviewers, direct data collection efforts and help organize conferences there.

Preliminary investigation reveals that of the 96 desegregators in Alabama in the fall of 1964-1965, 14 were in Tuskegee, 20 in Gadsen, 3 in Union Springs, all rural areas or small towns. The remaining group of 59 were located in urban areas, 9 in Birmingham, 8 in Montgomery, 7 in Mobile, and 35 in Huntsville. It is anticipated that many of the 1965-66 students will be in the same general locations, and that their location and identification will be a relatively simple matter. The compilation of a list of desegregators will be accomplished during February, 1966.

Interviews will be conducted with this sample of the Negro desegregators, and control interviews will be conducted with 50 of their Negro neighbors or peers. The selection of non-desegregating neighbors will probably insure control on many socio-economic variables. In addition, the families of all of these 150 students will be interviewed. Finally, the teachers of the 100 desegregators will be queried. Since several students will be clustered in some classes, substantially less than 100 teachers interviews will be required. All data will be collected during April and May, 1966.

The following kinds of data will be collected from the Negro youngsters, their families, and their teachers; both those new desegregators and others. Interview schedules will be constructed and tested during February and March, 1966.*

A. Family interview
   Socio-economic status
   Attitudes toward education
   Cosmopolitanness-provinciality
   Attitudes toward desegregation and the future of race relations
   Aspirations for their children
   Perceived Negro and white support for their decision
   Social participation roles
   Religious ideology and participation
   The decision-making process

B. Student interview
   Academic satisfaction and performance in new school
   Expectation of rejection or acceptance in new school
   Feelings of threat and anxiety
   Perceived white peer rejection and acceptance
   Relevance of parents, Negro peers, white peers, teachers or other advisors in their decision
   Suggestions to help others prepare for this experience
   Occupational aspiration and expectation
   Attitudes toward activism in race relations
   Attitudes toward desegregation and the future of race relations
   Attitudes toward Southern civil rights organizations
   Cognitive flexibility and rigidity
   Out-of-class participation in school activities

C. Teacher interview
   Attitudes toward desegregation
   Evaluation of academic performance of desegregators
   Evaluation of pressures upon them
   Evaluation of differences in the classroom now

It is anticipated that each interview will last one to one and one-half hours. Southern Negroes will be trained and utilized as interviewers of the Negro students and families. Southern white interviewers will be trained and utilized to conduct the teacher interviews.

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*Appendix A contains examples of some of the interview questions to be used.

At the same time that this sample population of students agrees to be interviewed, they will be invited to a weekend conference at Tuskegee Institute. Junior and senior high school students will be invited for one weekend, and lower and upper elementary school students with their parents, will be invited for another. Both conferences will be held during late May or June. Both conferences will seek to accomplish the same purposes, although methods will vary according to the maturity and verbal ability of each group. When the elementary school students and their parents come, the parents will meet as a group separate from the youngsters. They will be asked to respond to essentially the same questions as the youngsters.

One purpose of these conferences is to provide a medium in which the participants can share their mutual and unique experiences. Many private situations will be clarified as youngsters discuss them publicly. Certain interested educators from the Institute and surrounding areas will be in attendance at portions of the conference and listening and interacting with the participants should broaden their own experience and knowledge. Finally, all sessions will be recorded on tape, and the edited records of these sessions will be used as training materials for future sessions with educators and administrators on the problems of desegregation.

The conference design will organize the students into small groups of from six to eight each. A trained discussion leader will work with each group. The discussion leader's role is to guide interaction between students so as to focus upon the major issues delineated below. He will not dominate the session, however, and will be sensitive to other relevant issues that arise. Students will be encouraged to take as much latitude as possible in their determination of what is relevant and useful to talk about. The discussion leaders will be students and young faculty of Tuskegee Institute; they will be trained in group discussion techniques as part of the instructional program of The Department of Social Science Research and the Office of Student Affairs.

Three discussion sessions will be held, one Saturday afernoon, one Saturday evening and one Sunday afternoon. Each session will be approximately three hours in length, interrupted by a coffee, coke or milk break (session with younger children will be shorter). All sessions will be taped.

The general topics for each session are delineated below. As we learn more about these students, their situations and experiences from the interviews, we will modify and refine these discussion topics.

1. (Saturday afternoon) What were the main considerations in your (your family's) decision to attend an all white school? How much of the decision was made by you; your parents? Were there any other persons, such as friends, relatives, teachers, etc., who helped you decide?

2. (Saturday evening) What happened the first day you entered the all-white school? How did you feel? Do you feel any differently now? In what way are things better (worse)? Is the teaching any better? Do you have any white friends? Are you in any clubs at school? Did you ever feel like leaving?

3. (Sunday afternoon) If you were going to advise someone like yourself who was going to do what you did, what suggestions would you make? Will it be easier for them than for you? Are you going to do anything different next year?

In addition to a welcoming and a summary session, some time will be free for informal discussions. During and around mealtimes, invited local and regional educators and scientists will be available and invited to visit and talk with the participants.

At the conclusion of this conference the tapes will be collected, edited and finally used to produce a series of recordings that typify and report the information shared at these meetings. The Department of Social Science Research at Tuskegee Institute plans to develop a series of programs for teachers, principals and administrators focussing upon the problems and issues in school desegregation. The materials and testimonies recorded at this conference, as well as the data from field interviews, will be an invaluable source of direct knowledge about the desegregation process. It should serve to provide realistic confrontations and help educators focus on the human problems faced by children engaged in such social innovation. With these more realistic appraisals, superintendents, principals and teachers can be better prepared to help the new Negro students and the all-white classes adjust to one another and work together productively.

Analysis of the interview data and editing of the conference tapes will begin in mid-June 1966. These operations will be concluded by early 1967. Interim recordings and reports will be made available to interested educators as early as possible, probably in late 1966.

Personnel

Mark A. Chesler (Project Director): Received the B.A. in Industrial and Labor Relations from Cornell University (1957), and the M.A. in Psychology from Hofstra University (1963); anticipates the Ph.D. in Social Psychology from the University of Michigan in the summer of 1966. His doctoral dissertation deals with social relations among teachers and between teachers and principals in elementary and secondary public schools. He has been an Instructor in the Sociology Department at the University of Michigan and an Assistant Project Director in the Institute for Social Research. In the Sociology Department he taught an undergraduate course in Race Relations; in the Institute for Social Research he was and is primarily responsible for research design and analysis of projects dealing with processes of teacher innovation and adoption of teaching practices. These projects also involve the training of teachers and administrators in internal staff communication procedures, as well as in new teaching styles. He has also conducted various workshops and conferences for teachers, youth workers and youth, and has been a trainer at several human relations laboratories sponsored by the National Training Laboratories and affiliates. He is currently a Visiting Instructor in the Social Sciences, and a Research Associate in the Department of Social Science Research at Tuskegee Institute. His publications include articles relevant to:

Classroom teaching

Solving interpersonal problems in the classroom. # 12 in Resource Materials for Classroom Teachers; Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1964. To be published by Science Research Associates, Chicago, 1966. (with R. Schmuck and R. Lippitt)

Role playing in the classroom. # 15 in Resource Materials for Classroom Teachers; Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1964. To be published by Science Research Associated, Chicago, 1966. (with R. Fox)

Educational change

The principal's role in facilitating innovation. Theory into Practice, 1963, 2, 269-277. (with R. Schmuck and R. Lippitt)

Where do new teaching practices come from...and where do they go? The Michigan Elementary Principal, 1964, 39, 12-13,18. (with D. Denerll)

Tutors for the disadvantaged: a challenge for educational change. Educational Leadership, 1965, May, 559-564.

The teacher as seeker, innovator and sharer of innovative classroom practices. In Miller (Ed) Perspectives on Educational Change. Meredith, 1966, In press. (with staff)

Attitudes and Values

Student reactions to the Cuban crisis and public dissent. Public Opinion Quarterly. 1964, 28, 467-482. (with R. Schmuck).

Ethnocentrism and attitudes toward the physically disabled. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. 1965 (in press)

Super-patriot attitudes on foreign affairs. Paper delivered at meetings of American Sociological Association, Chicago, 1965.

Change-Agents and Change-Resistors

Participant observation in a super-patriot discussion group, Journal of Social Issues. 1963, 19, (2) 18-30.

On super-patriotism: an analysis and definition, Journal of Social Issues. 1963, 19 (2), 31-51. (with R. Schmuck).

Patterns of Super-patriot opposition to mental health programs. Paper delivered to American Orthopsychiatric Association meetings, New York, 1965, 1965. (with R. Schmuck).

Social background and personal predispositions of super-patriots. Paper delivered to American Psychological Association meetings, Chicago, 1965. (with R. Schmuch and J. Whiteside)

Research Assistants from Tuskegee Institute and the University of Michigan will aid in the analysis of data and editing and preparation of tapes.

Facilities

The research and conference activities described herein have the advantage of being part of a larger scientific and educational exchange between the University of Michigan and Tuskegee Institute. The principal investigator is at Tuskegee Institute in the spring of 1966 and will continue to visit, consult and maintain collaborative relations with staff members there. Thus all aspects of the design benefits from the unique resources and collaborative efforts of both institutions. Negro staff members at Tuskegee Institute will help gain access to the students and their families and will direct small group discussions. The extensive sampling and computational facilities at Michigan will facilitate rapid data collection, analysis and reporting. The network of teacher trainers and educators at Tuskegee Institute will be instrumental in utilizing the findings for teacher retraining and further applied purposes.

It is anticipated that the location of such a project at Tuskegee Institute, a nationally known predominantly Negro institution of higher learning, should encourage the desegregating students and their families to agree to the interviews, to attend the conference, and to engage in open and honest discussion.

Budget

The total amount of funds requested is $19, 683; the project's duration extends from 1 April, 1966 to 30 June, 1967.

Category	Amount
Project Director (1/4 time for one year)	2000
Research Assistants (one 1/2 time, one 1/4 time)	3000
Interviewing costs (including fees and expenses for approximately 200 interviews)	3000
Coding and data processing	1000
Travel for Conference participants (140 participants, each approximately 250 miles @ .08 per mile)	2816
Room and Board for Conference Participants (140 participants, each one night @ $ 5 and 2 days meals @ $ 5 each day)	2100
Editing and production of tapes	1000
Fees for discussion leaders (8 leaders for each of two conferences, @ $25 per conference)	400
Materials and Publications	600
Secretarial	600
Travel and Phone	600
Sub-Total	17116
Overhead (15% of sub-total)	2567
TOTAL REQUEST	19683

APPENDIX A

Following are some examples of questions that may be asked during interviews. All of the questions will be modified according to the students' grade level. These examples are only (1) tentative and (2) a few of the many issues to be covered in interviews.

Family Interview

1. What is your occupation? _____

2. How much education have you had? _____

   _____ (to both husband and wife)

3. How much education do you want your son (daughter) to have?

   _____

4. Which of the following statements comes closest to the way you feel about colored people trying to change things in the South?

   _____ A. I think colored people ought to leave things be and not try to stir up trouble.

   _____ B. I'm not concerned with it one way or the other.

   _____ C. I think it's right but I'd prefer for other people to try it first before me.

   _____ D. I feel I should be among the first working actively to try to change things.

5. Suppose you had a child you knew was planning to take part in a sit-in demonstration at a downtown lunch counter. Which of the following comes closest to what you think you would do?

   _____ a. I would disapprove and try to stop him.

   _____ b. I would disapprove but wouldn't try to stop him

   _____ c. I would approve but wouldn't go out of my way to encourage him.

   _____ d. Strongly encourage him.

Appendix

Student Interview

1. What would you like to do when you finish school? _____

_____

2. How do the teachers in this new school compare with your past teachers?

_____

3. If you were going to advise another person your age who would go to the same school you are attending, what suggestions would you have about how he should behave?

_____

_____

4. Suppose you got on a bus and there was only one empty seat left. A white woman was sitting in the seat next to it. She had some packages lying on the empty seat. Which of the following do you think you would do?

_____ a. Move to the back of the bus and stand somewhere else.

_____ b. Say nothing, but stand by the empty seat and hope that she will notice you and pick up the packages.

_____ c. Ask her to remove the packages.

5. I don't see much sense in colored people sticking their necks out and getting into a lot of trouble trying to change things in the South.

_____ a. Strongly agree.

_____ b. Agree.

_____ C. Disagree.

_____ d. Strongly disagree.

Appendix

Teacher Interview

1. How many years have you been teaching this school? _____

2. Where did you study to be a teacher? _____

3. How well or poorly does _____ perform compared with other students in this class?

_____

4. How well or poorly does he (or she) get along with other students?

_____

5. Colored people should stay away from places where are not wanted even if they have a right to be there.

_____ a. Strongly agree.

_____ b. Agree.

_____ c. Disagree.

_____ d. Strongly disagree.

The Shaping of Southern Public opinion

4/19/66

See file Proposed Studies

MJ - file

PROPOSED STUDY - EXTREMISM IN THE SOUTHERN REGION

Scope of Project

1. To identify and comment on the broad spectrum of extremism now prevalent in the south ranging from the DuBois Clubs on the left to the American Nazi Party on the right.

2. Current status, influence, nature and impact of extremist groups.

3. What are the implications in terms of the future of race relations in the south as a result of extremist activity?

4. Role and analysis of political forces frustrating or abetting these groups to the extent that they are frustrated or abetted.

(1.)

I. Black Nationalism

A. Black Muslims, Black Panther and other Negro nationalist movements.

1. State by state inventory
2. Program - a force for social change?
3. To what extent are they growing or declining?
   a) Reasons?
4. Concentration of strength in cities or rural areas?
   a) Reasons?
5. Political influence
6. Existence of any counter-force

B. Relationship with civil rights groups, if any.

C. Inter-relationship of various black nationalist groups.

a) Factors which tend to unite them

b) Factors which tend to keep them apart

Yes and - right guys

II. White Hate Groups

A. Ku Klux Klan

1. State by state inventory

a) Influence and impact

2. Analysis of present support

a) Upper class? Middle class? Poor white?

b) Reasons?

3. Effect of HUAC investigation on Klan

a) Prospect for state legislation as a curb on future Klan activity or growth

4. Factors which led to Klan growth in North Carolina, subsequent to its apparent collapse after Lumbee incident.

5. Relationship with affluent extremist groups, i.e. John Birch Society

6. What role does Klan play in today's south?

a) Political influence, if any

b) Its relationship to whatever social change is taking place in the south

B. National States Rights Party, American Nazi Party, NAAWP and others

1. Current strength

a) Where organized, total membership, activities, program and impact on region-wise and state by state basis

2. What, if any, role do they play in the south today?

3. Relationship to Klans and each other.

4. Political activity as political entities

a) Where? How? Strength?

Knights of Green Forest

(2)

Richard Shenkel

b) What can be concluded from the size of the vote cast for their own party nominees in local elections?

5. Political influence in existing parties.

6. Sources of support

III. The Affluent Extremist (The John Birch Society, Christian Crusade, Projects Alert, Freedom Forums, etc.)

A. Strength, influence and impact - state and regional

1. Reasons?

B. Manner and method of operation

C. What special tactics do they employ?

D. Effectiveness in cities as against rural areas and reasons therefore

E. Political involvement

1. To what extent and under what circumstances do they support candidates nominated by existing political parties?

2. To what extent have they sought to penetrate and/or control the political machinery of the Democratic and Republican parties?

IV. White Citizens Councils

A. History and role in the south

B. Current strength, state by state and region

C. Reasons for decline in popular appeal

D. Relationship to Klan, Birch Society, affluent extremist organizations and hate groups

V. Reaction by politically powerful individuals and groups to extremism

A. To what extent has political leadership exercised an influence on the growth or containment of these groups?

B. The results of involvement by FBI and other national or local authorities in the investigation of these groups

C. What role should those in power and leadership play in relationship to the problem of extremism in the south?

VI. Political Essay - how this study fits into the political situation

A. The shifting nature of southern politics

(6) a) What is the future of the Republican Party in the south?

B. The relationship of the rising Negro vote to the existing political parties

C. What influence will hate, fear and organized extremism have in the political structure of the south in the future?

(5) white groups influencing public opinion

churches
unions
human relations councils

File
Proposed Studies
(Src Section)
Rec'd
4/25/66

MT - file

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA, 36088

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

April 21, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your suggestion that the Southern Regional Council might be interested in providing limited financial support for my project on desegregators.

Since I expect to hear shortly from the U. S. Office of Education in this matter, let me defer any request to you until then. If they agree to fund this request by June I think we'll be in good shape. If they don't, I will certainly take you up on your generous suggestion.

Thanks again.

Cordially,

Mark A. Chesler

Mark A. Chesler
Visiting Instructor &
Research Associate

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

SRC "PROPOSED STUDIES"

REGARDING

Outline is filed in A.J.Cttee. file. Letter to Nathan Perlmutter regarding visit and enclosure of proposed study.

DATE

6/24/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE 1966

Make folder "Public Policy & Minorities" and file in Prospective Studies

August 15, 1966

Mr. Hanes Walton, Jr.
128 Ingraham Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Walton:

I'm very happy to know you are preparing the memorandum on Public Policy and Minorities, and look forward to receiving it at your convenience.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 8/12/66

(4)

128 Ingraham St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.
August 9, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This letter is in response to your request that I write a memorandum on the report Public Policy and Minorities. I shall accept the offer to prepare a menorandum on it and will begin work on the same immediately.

You can expect a complete report in about three weeks.

Sincerely

Hanes Walton

Hanes Walton, Jr.

October 3, 1966

Professor Hanes Walton, Jr.
128 Ingraham Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Professor Walton:

Thank you for your valuable memorandum on the draft of "Public Policy and Minorities." Enclosed is our check for $200.00 representing payment for your services.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check, $200.00)

MEMORANDUM October 3, 1966

To: RHAlexander

From: PAnthony

Ruth,

Please issue a check in the amount of $200.00 to Mr. Hanes Walton, Jr. for consultant fees, and charge to Category #316 -(Consultants)

See Projects "Proposed Studies"

ES ✓
Ret to MMJ. files

October 10, 1966

Mr. Frank E. Smith
Director
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Frank:

It's good to know that Mrs. Warren will be able to do the booklet "Four Mississippians".

The Southern Regional Council will be able to pay Mrs. Warren $600.00 for this project and can pay it in installments or in one sum upon completion of the work. For internal bookkeeping purposes it would, however, be good if this payment could be made before December 31. Will depend on your guidance in this.

I think this could be a very important publication and am grateful for your assistance in it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(7)

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

October 7, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

In accordance with our conversation about the proposed booklet about Mississippi, tentatively titled "Four Mississippians," I have arranged for the writing to be done by Mrs. Audrey Warren, my former Congressional secretary.

Mrs. Warren has worked with me on a number of writing assignments, and I will be able to assist her with this work to make sure that it develops along the lines we have discussed.

I told Mrs. Warren that the Southern Regional Council would make a grant of $600.00 to pay for the writing. She expects to be able to do the work sometime in November and December.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

Keep Freedom in Your Future With U.S. Savings Bonds

file
Sec - Prospective Studies

via air mail

October 26, 1966

Mrs. Harry Rusche
The Coronet
200 "C" Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Sue:

Thanks for the report. It is as good as I had hoped it would be.

We are doing a few bits of editing -- namely, inserting headings to break up the test. With luck, it will be on its way to the printers next week.

Enclosed is your check.

By return mail what about your suggestions and outline for the next installment?

Many, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check #1712; $600.00)

The Coronet
200 C Street, S.E.
LI-7-6300, Room 107
Washington, D.C., 20003
October 24, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

Here it finally is. I apologize for the delay, but Harry and I both feel the extra time has meant the difference between a somewhat polished draft and a disorganized mass of pertinent information. I hope you agree and I hope even more that this is precisely what you had in mind. It's been hard work, but I've enjoyed doing it.

As we discussed in our last telephone conversation, someone who is familiar with statistical tables ought to check over that part of the report that makes use of the Labor Department's statistics; I'm almost certain that I haven't misrepresented any of the statistical facts, but I'd feel better if someone who knows for sure could check that material. I'm sending under separate cover all of the sources I used in the report so that the statistics can be checked; so that the proof reading can be done against the original sources, and so that any re-writing that needs to be done can be done with the original material.

You will notice that there are a hell of a lot of footnotes; I did this on purpose. so that anyone reading the report is able to check statistic by statistic the material available to us on the labor-market. The footnotes can help the reader to begin to learn how to read all those complicated tables. Also, in case you want to rearrange the emphasis etc. of the paper, the notes will help accomplish this more easily. Please feel free to change, shift, rewrite, etc. and meanwhile, let me know what you think when you have a moment. The number of hours spent on this report at the fee we discussed is attached. If it's too much, pare it down to what you think is reasonable--I really have no idea how to judge the reasonableness of "Consulting" fees, having always been on salary before.

Hope you are pleased with it and that we'll hear from you soon. The invitation for drinks and dinner still holds if you ever get up this way.

Sincerely,

Paul

File
Projects
Prospective Studies

November 11, 1966

Mrs. Sue Rusche
The Coronet
200 "C" Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Sue:

By all means, we will send you a supply of your publication when it is available. It is being slowed up here a little simply because of an incredible backlog of manuscripts, all of which managed to arrive at the same time as we feared they would.

Quite obviously the second installment is going to be considerably more difficult. Though that may be all the more reason for trying to do it. Do invest as much time and work as you feel necessary in developing an outline. We will look forward to it when it arrives. I hope your away-from-home gathering on Tuesday evening was one of great strength. We certainly needed it everywhere. Down here, of course, it was about as absurd as we expected.

Best.

Sincerely,

Executive Director
Paul Anthony

PA/km

(2)

The Coronet
200 C Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C.
20003
November 6, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia
30303

Dear Paul,

Thank you so much for the check. I'm glad you liked the report; I was plesed with the way it turned out, too. I hope you don't have to do too much editing. Could you see that I get about ten copies of it when it is printed? In the course of the research, I wrote to the eleven southern state employment agencies to make absolutely sure they weren't counting the unemployed independently of the federal government and some of them asked for a copy of the finished report.

The second installment, an account of the underemployed, is going to be more difficult to research primarily because they aren't to be found except in a very general and sketchy way in any statistics. I've spent the past week looking through the card catalogue at the Library of Congress. There are two cards in the category "underemployed" in the whole Library of Congress. Information about the underemployed will have to be ferreted out of books and pamphlets on the unemployed if it exists at all. I guess what I'm trying to say is that I'm not ready to give you an outline yet, but I will put down some of the thoughts I've had in approaching the subject.

The United Planning Organization, which is Washington's local OEO office, was given a grant about two months ago to spend exclusively on unemployment problems. They might be able to put me on to some reading material as far as the underemployed are concerned. I shall also speak to some government agency people to see if they can help. A week or so of looking over some of the books, pamphlets, articles etc whose titles I've been collecting would also be helpful. If none of this yields any fruit, it might be interesting to switch from a very general essay on underemployment to a specific "case study" kind of thing in cooperation with a state or local employment security agency and its files, if they'll let me into their files. I would be interested in finding out, for example, if it were possible to take all job applications for a given month for a given area, pull out those applications whose applicants got a job, and check to see whether or not the job they had before was better or worse and if the salary was higher or lower etc. This may, of course, be impossible to do; if it is possible it may be way too involved, but it may be the only way we're going to find out about the underemployed.

If it's all right with you, I'd like to spend the next couple of weeks exploring around to see what I can dig up. Then I will either be able to give you an outline or we will have to decide whether to try the "case study" or to drop it. In any case, I think we should consider the next fews weeks of research to be non-remunerative unless it leads to a second report.

By now, you must be swamped with annual meeting plans and with tomorrow's

election, but let me know what you think when you can find an extra moment. We're gathering all the away-from-home Georgians we know to help us get through the ordeal of tomorrow night. Here's hoping we'll all be pleasantly surprised, though I'm not sure how we can be.

Sincerely,

Sue

File
SRC Prepared Studies - 1966

December 27, 1966

Mr. Frank E. Smith
Office of the Board of Directors
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

Dear Frank:

We are today sending Mrs. Warren our check for $600 for her manuscript "Four Mississippians."

At your convenience may we have a copy?

Again thank you for your help in this and for all of your substantial assistance to SRC.

Every good wish for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

December 27, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please issue a check for $600 for Mrs. Audrey Warren in payment for her manuscript "Four Mississippians" and charge to No. 318 - Research.

December 27, 1966

Mrs. Audrey Warren
7552 Eastwood Court
Clinton, Maryland 20735

Dear Mrs. Warren:

Enclosed is our check for $600 in payment for your manuscript "Four Mississippians."

We are deeply grateful for your work and have high expectations of its use.

At your convenience, please acknowledge receipt of these funds on the enclosed copy of this letter and return it to us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

December 22, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Mrs. Audrey Warren has completed the draft of the manuscript for the booklet "Four Mississippians," the project that we corresponded about in October.

If this is a proper procedure, please send Mrs. Warren the check for her work. Her address is: 7552 Eastwood Court, Clinton, Maryland 20735.

I hope to have the final manuscript and the whole idea in the hands of a number of people in Mississippi sometime in January, and I hope an active commitment about the publication.

Best wishes for the Holiday Season.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

Keep Freedom in Your Future With U.S. Savings Bonds

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

File
Four Prospective Studies

January 3, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I intend to make some last minute checks and corrections on "Four Mississippians" and then start my effort to get its publication underwritten in Mississippi. As soon as I have this in completed form later this month, I will send you a copy.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

Keep Freedom in Your Future With U.S. Savings Bonds

November 19, 1945

Dear Frank:

Attached is my reply to the CIO Discrimination Committee's objection to distributing our leaflet, IT SEEMS QUEER. Make use of this material any way you see fit. I hope that you may be able to change the Committee's mind.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Mr. Frank McCallister
War Labor Board
Candler Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Southern Regional Council
November 19, 1945

MEMORANDUM

TO: Frank McCallister

FROM: Ray Warwick

The more I think about Mr. Weaver's objection to the idea of distributing through the CIO Committee our leaflet, IT SEEMS QUEER, the more I am convinced that the positive values of the folder far outweigh the one negative point. In the first place, it seems to me that the important thing about this leaflet is that it presents the forthright opinion of two Southern soldiers who have been converted in the matter of race relations. The mere fact that one of the letters suggests that it might be best to continue segregated schools seems a small point compared to the very strong statement about the Negro's contribution to the war and the veterans' change of heart toward the Negro's place in the South. Furthermore the letter by Sgt. Gilmer is in itself somewhat contradictory on segregation, because near the end he says that the white soldiers are not in favor of the Jim Crow laws.

Beyond all this, however, it seems to me that the sergeant's statement on segregated schools is simply his own way of unconsciously facing up to the fact that very strong prejudice about this does exist in the South. Since these letters were actually written by Southern white veterans, naturally we had no intention of editing out any part of their opinion. When I first read these letters, they struck me as having far more value as an emotional appeal to the Southerner for tolerance toward the Negro than any amount of scholarly treatises or high-sounding appeals to principles of democracy. Indeed, I think Mr. Weaver's objection raises a fundamental question about the strategy of a successful race relations program in the South. Actually, we have two choices. Either we can stand purely on principle and give voice to high-sounding sentiment, or we can work practically to do something within the framework of the existing facts. One outstanding fact is that even now, when we speak for better economic opportunity and political freedom for the Negro, we have thrown in our face the "red herring" question about social equality. The question is not whether we believe in social equality, but whether the average citizen of the South is ready to discuss it or hear it discussed in a reasonable frame of mind.

Perhaps Mr. Weaver is right in his forecast of the reaction of some organizations to this one doubtful sentence in the soldier's letter, and it is perhaps true that because of it the leaflet might not be too well received in the North. But I am convinced that the very fact that this statement is in the letter will help it to put over the main points the soldier has to say. If the letter had come out for total abolition of all kinds of segregation, I am sure that it would have annoyed so many Southerners that the emotional appeal would have been nullified.

You might be interested to know that Carey Haigler, Alabama CIO director, has already ordered 400 of these leaflets for distribution, and we have had several other orders from Northern organizations, including the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, which today ordered 1650 copies.

Finally, this question really boils down to how much can be done about race relations in the South at the present time. My own personal view is that we should not waste time nor antagonize possible support by shooting at targets that cannot be hit — at least not yet. As a member of the CIO, I would be inclined to ask whether the CIO Committee seriously intends to try to do a practical job within the frame-work of the hard facts or whether it is going to adhere nobly to the highest (and undeniably right) principles merely as a gesture.

Understand that these are my personal views in the light of public relations and what I believe to be the most common attitude in the South.

ISQ

Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

UNIT OF WORK WITH COLORED PEOPLE
201 ASHBY STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GA.

RECEIVED
FEB 22 1946
Southern Regional Council

February 20, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta
Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson:

We were happy to have you at our church a few Sundays ago and your message was timely and most helpful.

I am reminding you of my wish to have a copy of the two letters from the two soldiers which you quoted in your address. I shall be very happy to have those letters and thank you for them.

With sincere best wishes,

Very truly yours,

A. B. McCoy
Secretary

ABM/B

March 5, 1946

It Seems Queer

Miss Alice Evelyn Davis
Managing Editor
World Comrades
1111 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Miss Davis:

Thank you for your letter of March 1. We should be glad for you to reprint the letters contained in our leaflet It Seems Queer.

I wish we could send you the cuts which we used in the leaflet, but we loaned them to another publication some time ago, and so far we have not been able to get them back. However, I believe that your printer will find it easy to make cuts from the drawings in our leaflet. I am enclosing several copies of the leaflet in case you need them.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:jm
Enclosures

CONSECRATING THE CENTENNIAL TO CHRIST

Woman's Missionary Union

AUXILIARY TO SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

W.M.U. MAGAZINES
ROYAL SERVICE
World Comrades
The WINDOW of Y.W.A.

1111 COMER BUILDING • BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

March 1, 1946

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1946
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

In the May, 1946, issue of WORLD COMRADES, the magazine for Southern Baptist young people, we are using excerpts from the letters from servicemen against racial prejudice which you reprinted from YANK. They were sent to us by Dr. H. C. Goerner to be used in connection with some of the program material which he writes. I suppose he got the necessary permission for this if any were necessary.

I am wondering if you would be good enough to let us borrow one or all of the pen drawing cuts which illustrated the pamphlet? If this is possible, we would appreciate your sending them as soon as possible in order that we may meet a March 7 deadline.

We would surely appreciate your co-operation in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Alice Evelyn Davis

Managing Editor

AED/e

Dear Yank:

The other night we had a jam session with some colored boys from a Quartermaster trucking outfit quartered near us. This morning we were read an order which prohibits us to associate with the colored troops "except on business."

A colored tank outfit fought side by side with this regiment clear to Steyr, Austria, and we were never ordered not to fight alongside of American troops of the colored race, so why should we be forbidden to associate with other American Soldiers because of color?

Germany -Pvt. David Icheson

NEGRO SOLDIERS

Dear Yank:

I received a copy of your magazine and read that the AMG is letting the Germans go back to school. After that I read in Mail Call about the Jim Crow treatment of colored American soldiers.

Now I am from Mississippi. Until I came into the Army I hated Negroes. It wasn't anything they did to me; I just didn't like them. Since I have been in the ETO I have fought from D-Day to VE-Day with Negro soldiers. I was wounded twice in one foxhole and a Negro saved my life by using his first aid kit on me. Then he carried me to where a doctor could work on me. This was under heavy fire. Later he died. He was from New York and he knew I was from the south where he had no freedom.

Many Negro soldiers have died on the front for American soldiers who thought Jim Crow was right. So if Germans can have freedom after they have caused so much suffering and destruction, why not let the Negro race have what they fought for? I feel that they should, and a lot of southern GIs feel the same way.

Germany -T/Sgt. Willie Jones

isn't a beef about Army food, but it must be recognized that eating C rations, dehydrated spuds and other canned foods, meal after meal, doesn't build the kind of muscles boxing calls for. Supply lines being what they are, it is impossible to give the soldier fresh milk and vegetables. Add a shot of Italian *vino* now and then, and the fact that many soldiers suffer from enlarged livers, malaria, hepatitus, and the other "occupational" diseases of war, and you have a man fitted for ordinary living, but not for the superhuman job of traveling 10 rounds.

Army conditioning may be tough, but it isn't anything like the highly specialized training grind a boxer undergoes every day. After three or four years of Army life, a guy gets soft. Not soft in the usual sense of the word—the Infantry boys would never be called soft—but soft for a boxer. You get fat where it counts the most, inside, around your heart and other organs.

To be realistic, your next champ will be some kid who was 15 the day the war started, and will be 18 or 19 the day it ends. Despite rationing, he will be a healthy kid, stacked to the ears with fresh food and vitamins. Along about the eighth round, those vitamins will start to count, and he'll knock hell out of your C-ration fighter.

Italy —Cpl. MARIO GRAHAM

MP Date Bureau

Dear YANK:

T-5 Anatol Kovarsky's cartoons of Paree were all pretty authentic and I liked them except for one that made me mad enough to call him "Liar." The caption said, "Friends are easy to make though MPs frown."

MPs in Paris never frowned upon GIs making friends with the fair sex. I was an MP in Paris from early September until February and I was often approached along *Boulevard de Madeleine* and *Place de l'Opera* by lonely, shy GIs asking where they could meet a gal. Often I acted as interpreter between our soldiers and their girl friends and although my French was none too good, I always helped out and acted as unofficial date bureau. I got a big kick out of it.

Camp Pickett, Va. —Pfc. LOUIS SIEGEL

WHO SPEAKS THE 'CLEAREST' ENGLISH?

Dear YANK:

I was much interested in the question of sectional English brought up by Pfc. Davenport in a recent *Mail Call*. The question was: "What part or parts of the U. S. speak the clearest English language?" Possibly, as a former speech teacher in Kentucky (born in upstate New York and educated at the University of Iowa), I may be able to help Pfc. Davenport in his quest.

There are three great dialect areas in the United States: *1*) the New England Area, comprising the New England states; *2*) the Southern Area, made up of the Southern states and southeastern Texas; and *3*) the General American Area, the rest of the United States. These three large areas are in turn broken up into several hundreds of smaller dialect areas.

Dialects spring up in many curious ways. Sometimes they come about as a struggle to learn English; sometimes they are an old-fashioned form of English. For example, although New York City is in the General American Area, it has within its limits hundreds of dialect areas where the people, foreign-born or the children of foreign-born, isolate themselves into groups according to their original mother tongue. Each group struggles with the English language; the Greeks lack the sound "i" (as in "bit") in their native tongue and substitute "ee" (as in "beet") whenever "i" appears in an English word; the Germans substitute "t" for "th," and so it goes. In the South there are hundreds of towns and counties and areas which in some unexplainable way have been cut off from the rest of the world for a period of a century or two. The inhabitants retain the speech of their earliest English, Irish or Scotch ancestors. Often you can tell the country a man's from as soon as he opens his mouth. People from Tidewater, Virginia, for example, can be identified by their pronunciation of the word "about," which for them is "abeoot"—"e" as in "bet," "oo" as in "boot."

If you consider the size of the General America Area, it is plain that the

majority of Americans speak this dialect. This, however, does not mean that the English spoken by this majority group is the most perfect or "the clearest," as you put it.

There is no answer to the question of who speaks the clearest English. We lack a criterion, a standard of judging. Professors Gray and Wise of the speech department of Louisiana State University feel that if there is a criterion for the speech of a particular area, it is the speech of the best educated natives of the area. Opinions differ. Many high school teachers worship at the shrine of New England speech. Some New Englanders worship at the shrine of British stage speech. George Bernard Shaw once served on a committee to study speech standards for the BBC, a committee composed of English and Americans. After several weeks of blood, sweat and tears, Shaw said he realized that the committee was unable to agree upon a standard for the pronunciation of such simple words as "Yes" and "No." In an article which he wrote later, Shaw said that the only criterion of speech which any man could adopt was to make certain that his listeners secured the impression that he was intelligent and educated. Even within these limitations Shaw felt that anyone could observe differences in his own habits of speech when at home or when conversing with strangers.

There is one more item to be considered. The way a person pronounces a word depends on *1*) where he lived when he learned to talk, *2*) with whom he lived, *3*) where he was brought up, *4*) where he was educated, *5*) where he has lived during the rest of his life. To hear these differences in speech is an education in itself. If there is to be one "clear English language," a levelling-off process will come about by observing and comparing the pronunciations of words when we are with people. But differences in pronunciation are often beautiful and always interesting. Do we want everyone to be alike?

Pfc. Davenport's group of nine has a wonderful opportunity to make an experiment. It has representatives of the three main dialect areas, and perhaps representatives of four smaller groups. The group might try this. Observe what happens when each of the nine pronounces the word "weather." I bet Boston says "wethu" ("u" as in "butt"), that the boys from Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota say "wetherr"; that South Carolina says "wethu"; that Alabama says "wethu" or "withu." Now Texas will sound like Alabama if he lives near the southeastern border, and like Iowa if he lives in the rest of Texas.

Here's a list of words. Each one must pronounce each word by itself or in a sentence before going on to the next word. Listen and compare pronunciations of the same word. Here's the list: *pen, pin, pan, pond, pain, cow, part, oil, night, news, aunt, part, thought, evening, I, hog, out, early, care, sofa, here, parker, chair, food, memory, nature, dog, exactly.*

When the group gets through with these, there are 200,000 more in the dictionary. I hope this doesn't start a murder.

Azores —T/Sgt. BENJAMIN B. HICKOK

Personal Spittoons

Dear YANK:

I am a machinist in a large air depot in the Marianas.

We were told if we were more than a minute late we'd be busted. All well and good. We were also told we couldn't work a minute on any personal job. Fine. That's the way it should be.

Yet these same high-ranking officers that send down those orders clutter up our shop with an endless line of jobs that have no bearing whatsoever on the war effort. At present hundreds of man-hours are being wasted making dies for wrist watch straps and spittoons for officers' clubs while important jobs are set aside.

This was brought to the attention of the air inspector but it seems that no one on the island will do anything about it. Can't anything be done about those and other atrocities that are too big to mention?

Marianas —(Name Withheld)

Points for Prisoners

Dear YANK:

In all the plethora of suggestions as to changes in the point system I note that one group of GIs most deserving of attention is left completely out of the conversation.

Why not award some extra points—plenty of them—to all the members of our armed forces who have been prisoners of war, either in Europe or the Pacific? These lads went through experiences which few will ever forget.

—S/Sgt. GEORGE A. WELLS

Drew Field, Florida

Negro Soldiers

Dear YANK:

I received a copy of your magazine and read that the AMG is letting the Germans go back to school. After that I read in *Mail Call* about the Jim Crow treatment of colored American soldiers.

Now I am from Mississippi. Until I came into the Army I hated Negroes. It wasn't anything they did to me; I just didn't like them. Since I have been in the ETO I have fought from D-Day to VE-Day with Negro soldiers. I was wounded twice in one foxhole and a Negro saved my life by using his first aid kit on me. Then he carried me to where a doctor could work on me. This was under heavy fire. Later he died. He was from New York and he knew I was from the south where he had no freedom.

Many Negro soldiers have died on the front for American soldiers who thought Jim Crow was right. So if Germans can have freedom after they have caused so much suffering and destruction, why not let the Negro race have what they fought for? I feel that they should, and a lot of southern GIs feel the same way.

Germany —T/Sgt. WILLIE JONES

Dear YANK:

The other night we had a jam session with some colored boys from a Quartermaster trucking outfit quartered near us. This morning we were read an order which prohibits us to associate with the colored troops "except on business."

A colored tank outfit fought side by side with this regiment clear to Steyr, Austria, and we were never ordered not to fight alongside of American troops of the colored race, so why should we be forbidden to associate with other American soldiers because of color?

Germany —Pvt. DAVID ICHESON

Wrong River

Dear YANK:

After reading a recent YANK, I am anxious to know how the picture you used for a cover was taken near Owensboro, Ky., on the Mississippi River? Was the mistake made in the name of the river, or the town, because Owensboro, Ky., is on the banks of the Ohio River and is some distance from the Mississippi?

Chicago, Ill. —Cpl. CHAS. W. REVLETT

■ It was the Ohio and not the Mississippi.

Comparative Ratings

Dear YANK:

... A check into the matter of comparative ratings in all of the services would uncover disparities which I think are fairly obvious to the casual observer. Why is it that the Army has hundreds of thousands of privates who have seen several years' service, while the Navy advances men in the equivalent rank of apprentice seamen automatically upon the completion of boot training? In any gathering of servicemen most sailors display at least one red stripe, which makes them of equal rank to an Army buck sergeant, and most of the soldiers have only one Army stripe which places them on an equal footing with a Navy man after just about three months of boot training. . . .

—Cpl. DONALD B. PETERS

Ft. George Wright, Wash.

Generals and War

Dear YANK:

Ever since VE-Day, the redeployment of generals to the States has been working with the speed and efficiency all GIs dream about. But I'm not kicking about that so much, as generals are human to a certain degree. What irks me is their unbridled tendency to shoot off their mouths.

With sickening regularity these homecoming generals get up on some platform before a crowd of American mothers and fathers and tell their audience how much they hate war, how it grieves them to send men out to death, and how much they deplore the ruin war leaves in its wake. Not one general has had the guts to come out in the open and say "I love war." For that must be the truth, because generals don't dedicate a lifetime of work learning how to kill people and destroy property unless they're mighty interested in their job. I would believe Tommy Manville if he said he hated sex, before I would believe any general who crys, "I hate war."

Italy —(Name Withheld)

Serious Blunders

Dear YANK:

With reference to combat men who had their combat Infantry badge taken away from them for failing to salute, being out late, etc., such ignorance of or indifference to War Department regulations on the part of their CO is inexcusable. What punishment will the CO get for trampling on the rights of those men? The answer is none.

It is such as this that makes enlisted men disgusted. We break some silly little rule or regulation and they want to throw the book at us. They (the officers) make a serious blunder like the above and nothing ever comes of it. Why not a court martial and a $100 fine for being so careless, especially when the rights of others are involved?

India —S/Sgt. ROBERT E. MOORE

Age Limits

Dear YANK:

I am quite curious to know why there should be an age limit of 30 years in the State Department's proposed plan to employ 400 GIs.

I think that this age limitation is a reflection upon the rights of a serviceman. Certainly we were not barred from our constitutional obligation to bear arms for this reason.

Under the point system for discharges from the Army age carries no consideration whatsoever. If the Government itself sets an example of barring men for their age alone, think of what a party private industry could have.

Ryukyus —Pfc. SIDNEY STEINBERG

Poets Defended

Dear YANK:

The Corporal in a recent *Mail Call* tossed rather a low punch. I think that most of us who have submitted rhymes to YANK and have been accepted have not had any "Intimations of Immortality" or have been consciously aware of any slavish imitation. The following is not so much a vindictive rebuttal as it is a trite inspiration. Perhaps I merely felt guilty!

IN DEFENSE OF SOME ORDINARY RHYMERS

Scorn not these efforts, Corporal;
We write as we damn please;
No rocking horse has heard the call,
No Boileau, Shakespeare, Pope, et al
Are consciously at squeeze.

So from your lofty crag look down
The *pince-nez* on your nose—
Behold the herd! Wipe out the frown
That hints of intellect's renown
And strike a natural pose!

Or, if that effort is too great,
The tilt too highly tilted,
Won't you take pen to consummate
The poem which you calmly state
Is neither trite nor stilted?

Orlando, Florida —Sgt. KEITH B. CAMPBELL

Pine Bluff Commercial
7/11/62 L

L D
P A
P R
S B
M L
Back to Research

They Say...

The Civil War Started Long Before Guns Fired

OUR SCARED COWS

(A Speech to the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association.)

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

Editor, The Tulsa Tribune

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Along about the year 1855 the North and the South in America fell out of communication with each other.

Previously there had been many bitter arguments over the issues of slavery, trade and tariffs, but men of goodwill on both sides had made some effort to understand the opposing point of view.

It was when the Northern orators and editorial writers got around to peddling the idea that the South was peopled by Simon Legrees who presided over a whipped and beaten multitude of Uncle Toms, Topsies and Elizas that reason flew out the window.

And the South replied in kind. Southern womanhood was purer than Northern womanhood. Southern men were born in the cavalier tradition, standing like the shining knights of Walter Scott against the grubby Northern money-changers. Everybody knew —or ought to—that any Southern boy could lick any ten Damnyankees.

Reason and honest inquiry and possible compromise were trampled to death by the Sacred Cows—the facts that weren't facts but that you took on faith lest you be accused of disloyalty to your own kind. The Sacred Cows were not to be examined. And so America went to war. The Blues and the Lancers and the Hussars in their gay uniforms and Turkish pantaloons converged on Bull Run singing "The Bonnie Blue Flag" or "We're Coming Father Abraham." They were all certain it would be over in 90 days.

And then the Sacred Cows began dropping. In four years of grim desperation the North discovered that the Rebs were not paralyzed by the North's moral superiority. And the Confederates ruefully learned that, while any good Southern boy could lick 1½ Damnyankees and maybe even two, he darned sure couldn't lick 10.

★ ★ ★

How different all this might have been if, around 1855, the leading newspapers and the leading statesmen and the leading preachers of the North and the South had decided to make hamburger of the Sacred Cows. How much grief and pain and poverty would have been avoided by rugged honesty and an attempt to discover reasonably and fairly how the economic clash between an industrial North and agrarian South might be adjusted, and how the doomed institution of human slavery could be put to death with the least pain.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, there is a new generation of sacred cows abroad in the land. And some of them resemble their ancestors of 100 years ago—the ancestors that fogged up the race question.

There is abroad in the South, for example, the comfortable dogma that most Negroes are not interested in integration. If you believe this, there is no need for any soul-searching. Race troubles can be ascribed exclusively to a handful of NAACP hot-heads and Yankee carpetbaggers. Why worry about giving people what they don't want?

But, unfortunately, most Negroes do want integration. They may not have wanted it 10 or 20 years ago, but the seeds of agitation have sprouted. And the moral question cannot be laughed away.

We know how miserable the academic standards were in the so-called "separate but equal" schools. And while Southerners have taken comfort in the undoubted fact that most Negroes liked the easy standards, that when they moved into Northern cities they often dragged the standards down to suit themselves, nevertheless it doesn't answer this question: How can you condemn a bright and restless Negro mind to second-rate training because of its race while a lazy or dull white mind has an opportunity for first-rate training, also because of its race?

★ ★ ★

The South is under no sentimental illusions at what would happen to the standards in the white schools if they were suddenly deluged by a heavy influx of Negro students. The Northern cities have presented dramatic examples of what happens, and the flight to the suburbs is ample proof of the devastation. But strict segregation according to race without regard to ability, ambition and sincerity is hard to defend.

We are going to have to find some new standards for separating human beings. And these separations will have to include encouragement for the able and the energetic of any color. They will have to include job opportunities and promotion chances for men and women who can get the job done. There is no point in providing college educations for those whom we intend to employ only as shoeshine boys and housemaids.

★ ★ ★

Well, there are some sacred cows in the North, too. And while a large number, perhaps even a majority, of Northern citizens are no longer very impressed with them they are still being carefully tended by the so-called "liberal" press.

One bit of dogma would have us believe that Negroes are merely white people in black skins. If they show any deficiencies in ambition, reliability and behavior according to white standards it is simply because they have had the goodness Jim Crowed out of them. All that is necessary to bring their behavior up to the median white level is to remove artificial restrictions upon them. So say the theorists.

Unhappily, that has not been proven true. There is less law and order in Harlem and South Chicago then in the colored districts of any Southern city. Our nation's capital is rapidly becoming a jungle. And so the dismayed "liberals" have resorted to an attempt to conceal the facts from the people.

When he handles a story of a robbery or a mugging the first question that pops into the mind of every deskman on The Washington Post is what was the race of the perpetrator. But this informaton is rarely carried to the reader. Every "liberal" pressure group attempts to force the concealment of crime statistics by race, or relief rackets by race, or illegitimacy and child abandonment by race.

★ ★ ★

This is worse than bad journalism. This is eventually going to be damaging to the welfare of Negroes themselves for two reasons:

In the first place, this effort at concealment has led to exaggeration. Interview your white cab driver in almost any big Northern city. He'll curl your hair with wild tales of race disorders. And he'll curse his newspapers for hiding them. Where newspapers cease honest reporting rumor takes over. And rumor can be doubly cruel.

Secondly, there'll be not improvement but only deterioration in race relations as long as large numbers of Negroes have the impression that irresponsibility and misbehavior is an acceptable way of life. At least part of the "freedom riders" who are praying in the streets of Georgia cities ought to come back to Washington, D. C., and conduct a few prayer meetings on Georgia Avenue. It is hard to make first-class citizens out of second-class citizens if they persist in acting like third-class citizens.

Moses thundered at his flock for their worship of the Golden Calf, and he slammed down before them the Ten Commandments. If the Children of Ham are going to be led out of THEIR wilderness they must find leaders who sound a lot more like Moses than Thurgood Marshall or Adam Clayton Powell do.

★ ★ ★

This is no time for either bitterness or smugness. This is a time for soul-searching, for honest discussion and for a fearless examination of the statistics. We will not solve these problems either by pretending that they are insoluble or that they don't exist. The master-servant relationship between the two races has been broken. It will never come back nor should it. We are going to have to learn to live together at a steadily increasing level of integration.

But while the majority race must do a lot better than it has in offering equality of opportunity, the minority race has yet to prove that it will deliver equal performance. Until our Negro leaders begin to worry about that we'll remain a long way from the day of Jubilee.

★ ★ ★

Well, we have other sacred cows that confound the free flow of discuss[illegible] in America . . . .

Let us quit belaboring the bland and the inconsequential. Let us be guided by two precepts: If it is of genuine public interest let us discuss it. And if there is a conclusion to be drawn let us come to a conclusion.

I stood on the street outside the great temple at Madurai with my guide, an intelligent Hindu college student. And we looked at the hungry children playing wanly on the filthy pavement among the sacred cows.

"If they would only butcher the sacred cows" said my guide, "these children could be fed."

Let us butcher and let us feed.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Civil War
Centennial

September 24, 1962

Dear Dr. Graham:

Long before now I should have written to thank you for your contribution to our Civil War symposium. I hope you will approve of the way your essay and the others have been handled. We think they make up a very distinguished publication.

Please let us know if you would like additional copies, or would want us to mail copies to some of your friends.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A
Enclosure

Leslie W. Dunbar

Dr. Frank P. Graham
The United Nations
New York, New York

September 24, 1962

Mr. Paul E. Green
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

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University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

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Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure

Mr. James Stokely
405 Clifton Heights
Newport, Tenn.

September 24, 1962

Dear Mr. Wright:

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Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Around-the-World-in-80-Days

September 24, 1962

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

Long before now I should have written to thank you for your contribution to our Civil War Symposium. I hope you will approve of the way your essay and the others have been handled. We think they make up a very distinguished publication.

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LWD:A
Enclosure

CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL: A HUNDRED YEARS LATER

f.y.i.: staff

A HUNDRED YEARS LATER

TOWARD REGIONAL REALISM
NO. 2

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A HUNDRED YEARS LATER

September 1962

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FOREWORD

A while ago James McBride Dabbs, President of the Southern Regional Council, wrote out some thoughts regarding the Centennial of the Civil War, now being observed throughout the country under the auspices of the national and state governments. He shared these with a few of his colleagues. Mr. Dabbs' letter, full of concern that the Civil War is still today an intellectual and psychological problem for Southerners, and the thoughtful responses which it elicited from his fellow members of the Council, make up this publication.

The Centennial may or may not have been a wise venture for a nation again in the throes of a great struggle over human rights. It may or may not have been soundly planned and conceived. We nevertheless have it with us. Having it, there is need, we think, for some voices from the South to speak calmly, and with awareness that it must not longer be a stumbling block to national unity.

The Civil War is and has been a deep emotional problem peculiarly for white Southerners. For this reason, all but one of the contributions to this pamphlet are by white men. The concluding piece, by a distinguished Negro Southerner, is in a sense a response, written with charity and a clear vision of the national purpose, from one of the peoples of the South to the other.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS,

President since 1957 of the Southern Regional Council, is author of THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE and THE ROAD HOME. He lives and farms near Mayesville, South Carolina, where his family has resided since 1750.

FRANK P. GRAHAM

was President of the University of North Carolina from 1939-49, U. S. Senator from 1949-51, and is now on the staff of the United Nations. To thousands of former students and friends, he is the gallant "Dr. Frank."

PAUL GREEN

is a Pulitzer prize-winning playwright ("Abraham's Bosom"), a novelist, teacher. and author of pageants that celebrate, among other things, the history of his native North Carolina.

BENJAMIN E. MAYS

is President of Morehouse College in Atlanta, a long time interpreter of Negro life and southern problems, and a worker for their betterment.

JAMES STOKELY

is a poet, free-lance magazine writer, and co-author with his wife, Wilma Dykeman, of NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE and of SEEDS OF SOUTHERN CHANGE. His home is Newport, Tennessee.

MARION A. WRIGHT

is a prominent South Carolina attorney, now living in retirement in the North Carolina mountains. Celebrated as a speaker for civil rights and liberties, he is a former President of the Alumni Association and Law Alumni Association of the University of South Carolina.

From JAMES McBRIDE DABBS

We are now observing the Centennial of the Civil War. We are not celebrating that war; we are commemorating it, bringing it soberly to memory. We do this to honor the men who suffered that experience; but we honor them not merely by recalling the bright image of their heroism but also by understanding them and, even more, by understanding what their fight means to us who are their descendants and who possess the land they loved.

I am therefore taking this occasion to write to you, my friends, to raise several questions about the meaning of the Civil War to the South today. I think the nation should raise parallel questions, for it was also the nation's war; but we of the South were the more deeply involved, and I as a southern American am raising these questions for the South. I hope they will stimulate your thinking and suggest a pattern for your responses.

Any past event has both recognized and possible meanings. As our understanding of such an event changes, its impact upon us changes. As for the participants in our Civil War, the meaning of that conflict has long been fixed. We honor them by trying to understand what it was. Any change in our understanding of an event as close to us emotionally as the Civil War changes the impact of that event upon us.

Let me first comment upon the recognized and acclaimed meaning of the Civil War in the South.

To judge from the commemorative centennial events that have already occurred, it is apparent that the Civil War is remembered in the South primarily as an heroic or epic action. To suggest it by an image, it is horsemen charging across a sundown sky and vanishing in the darkness—splendid horsemen, heroic and shining figures, but the light they reflect is an evening light, and they go down with the cause they defended. These figures are touched with Homeric splendor, but we are too close to them, still too involved with them, to observe them with Homeric detachment. The surging emotions of those days are not recollected in complete tranquillity, the men who suffered them not poetic personages but human actors in our own history.

Because we see them primarily in this simple, epic light, as heroic defenders of a noble cause and a sacred soil, because their fading bugles still echo in our hearts like Roland's horn at Roncevaux, we are likely to return to the present with a renewed determination to defend, even as they seem to have defended it, without question and without reserve, our way of life.

In brief, this highly emotional meaning says only, "Defend, defend!" But the question arises: Is simple defense always intelligent? Is this what it means to be a Southerner in the modern world? Remembering that that earlier defense failed, we must question whether simple devotion is enough, whether the ardent memory of an heroic past is all that we need for a distinguished future.

I raise the question too as to what place this kind of meaning allows to the Negro Southerner. I think it is fair to say it practically excludes him. I think it is fair to say also that a reading of our history—and the Civil War is the core of it—that cannot find a place for the Negro Southerner sets before the South the impossible task of getting along with a people, by definition foreign, whom it cannot get rid of.

Is it possible for the Civil War to mean other, more positive things? Is it possible that it was not the simple epic struggle we have tended to remember, but more complex, more—let us say—tragic? Is it possible that such a meaning, apprehended by us, might fit us to play successfully our part in the world today? This would be defending the South by understanding it, a necessity for any sound defense.

But why do we seek a new meaning? Partly, because we are forced to. Why are we being forced to? Because increasingly the old meaning does not work. When a man finds that his interpretation of life—that is, of his experience, his past—does not work, he seeks a new interpretation, molding the theory to the facts. Our old theory of a static, caste society becomes increasingly ineffective in the dynamic, democratic West. It is this driving modern world, with its democratic-communistic struggle and its array of new nations, that forces us to search our past for the strength we need today.

Let us admit that the South may have begun the Civil War with an epic sense of splendor and innocence. It is al-

most certain that with the passage of the war years she became increasingly doubtful of her position in the world and before God, and increasingly aware, therefore, of the tragic fate that had befallen her: good men, caught in the trap of custom and interest and regional pride, not wise enough to find a peaceful way out, and therefore involved in a death struggle of brother against brother. This is the tragic, as distinguished from the epic view. It is possible that the post-war leaders of the South remembered for a little while this tragic view of their past life, with all its superficial unity cracking under the strain of war; if they did, they forgot it in the fires of Reconstruction, and came out of that experience with the Civil War remembered as a foreign doom thrust across the happy pathway of the South. This is the view we have tended to hold since; we have already noticed its growing ineffectiveness.

But suppose, as we have suggested, it was really a tragic struggle, raising, as tragic struggles always do, the question of justice? The tragic hero goes down in defeat. Why? Where was he in error? Simple epic splendor has no place here. Splendor remains; courage remains—perhaps, indeed, a more anguished courage, of men with divided hearts giving their lives in action, but not the simple courage of the hilltop horsemen at sundown.

If this is what the war was, then we, who would honor its participants, must first try to understand their destinies; and then, since out of these tragic destinies they bequeathed to us so many unsolved problems, we must try to recognize our own tragic uncertainty and involvement. The war seen as an epic struggle against un-southern forces touches us only with nostalgia for the lost cause; seen as a tragic struggle against both the world and ourselves, it involves us in that continuing struggle.

I suggest that we were struggling then both against the determination of the Western World to move toward democracy and industrialization and against our own unrecognized desire to go with it. We couldn't admit this desire because we didn't know what to do with the Negro in our midst.

This is still our problem. As I have suggested, the view of the Civil War as epic simply excludes the Negro. Oh,

perhaps he has some place as a sort of retainer or liege man of those ancient heroes; but such an image only confuses us in the world into which we are now hurrying. But if the Civil War was a tragic event, expressing both man's nobility and his littleness, his great courage and his foolishness, then the Negro is involved as the central, though not always evident, object of southern concern. Since this view of our past fits our present, it can be translated into a present meaning. Underlying everything else, it is the presence of the Negro that challenges us.

Challenges us all, whites and Negroes together. For we are together in the South. The tragic view of our history—and of its core, the Civil War—shows how close together. Each race has suffered because of the other's presence, but each has found some wisdom. The basic wisdom we have acquired is the wisdom of those whose lives have been entwined in suffering and defeat. I don't think it makes much difference what causes the suffering, who causes the defeat. We have been together in it; and we have learned, at our best, a certain tolerance, a certain gentleness, a certain understanding. Unhappily, we have emphasized so much our separateness that we are largely unaware of this; and our memory of the Civil War as just an epic struggle, excluding as it does the Negro from the picture, tends to keep us unaware. If, on the contrary, we could see it for the tragic event it was, with all of us, North and South, whites and Negroes, common builders of a nation we were blindly tearing apart, we should be better able to see ourselves today as basically one, engaged in the endless quarrels of kinsmen, who have to quarrel because at heart they are so close together.

The future we strive for is the future we glimpse by the light of the past. The flame of the Civil War still flickers along the horizon. What does it mean? What light does it cast upon our future? I invite your comments.

From PAUL GREEN

Is it possible for the Civil War to mean other, more positive things? Is it possible that it was not the

simple, epic struggle we have tended to remember, but more complex, more—let us say—tragic?

—James M. Dabbs

It was a sweet warm morning in May. Uncle Reuben, the old Negro cradler, and I were out in the field harvesting my father's oats. He was eighty and I was twelve. Round and round we went, his cradle dipping with a whup-swish, whup-swish, and he laying the handfuls of cut oats behind him and my following with all my manful might tying these handfuls into larger bundles later to be hauled to my father's barn there across the dew-wet fields.

I was feeling good that morning and Uncle Reuben felt extra spry. I could tell from the way he swung his cradle. And the reason we both felt good was because my Uncle Heck was coming up from Wilmington where he was the postmaster to pay us one of his rare visits. I had waked at the rooster-crow that morning with a little sweet feeling inside my breast remembering the letter that had come from him the day before saying that he would be up to visit us. And when I told Uncle Reuben that Uncle Heck was coming he beat his old hat twice against his leg and said, "Hot dog. I'd rather slap these two eyes on that man than anybody that walks this wide earth."

"And he'll bring you a plug of that good Apple tobacco, won't he?"

"That he will, bless his sweet heart," said Uncle Reuben. "He allus does."

Uncle Heck was a wonder to me—my hero. He had been in the great Civil War, had actually fought at Gettysburg and lived to tell the tale—except that it was hard to get him to tell it. Once though he had unloosed and talked with me about it. We were sitting by the fire one winter night and I had worn him down, I guess, with my pleading. For he had relented enough to get started by saying there was a lot of killing that went on those three days at Gettysburg. I already knew this from my little Confederate history. And the worst thing about it for him, he continued slowly, even worse than the wounded men lying out in the hot sun and calling for water and the young boys stretched all about shouting down and

calling for their mothers while they died—worse than that, he said, was the whickering and the wild neighing of the horses that were jerking and lunging about with broken legs and their stomachs all tore to pieces and their insides dragging in the dirt.

Uncle Heck loved horses and he always kept a nice limber-legged one for his buggy.

"And you were lying out there wounded too, wasn't you, Uncle Heck? Yes sir," I declared.

"Yes, I was lying out there," he said.

"You were tough, tough," I prompted jubilantly, "they couldn't kill you."

"Yeh, tough is the word, and I got over it somehow. I was brought home in a wagon on a bed of wheatstraw. And I stunk so bad from my wounds that your grandmammy wouldn't let 'em bring me in the house. Dr. John had to work on me in the barn till the rotted parts of my flesh got cleaned up and healed some." He stopped and looked up at the clock on the mantelpiece. "Time for you to go to bed, boy."

"And you got wounded in six places, didn't you, Uncle Heck, in that charge across the wide field? Six bullets hit you, didn't they? Papa said they did."

He chuckled. "I got peppered all right with them minny-balls. But I lived. Don't you reckon I lived? Yes sir, tough you said." And he laughed and smoothed back his handsome cleancut gray moustache. Uncle Heck always wore nice clothes, kept himself trim and neat, carried a cane and in the summertime he always had a flower in his buttonhole, a cape jessamine bloom if he could get one. My hero!

I laughed a bit too and hurried on. "Did you ever see General Lee, Uncle Heck, did you?"

"Many a time, boy, many a time. And a sorrowful, bothered man he was too."

"What was he bothered about, Uncle Heck? Oh, I know—losing all so many of his boys in gray, that's what."

"Maybe that too. But I reckon what bothered him most was trying to make heads and tails of the whole thing he was tangled up in. Oh yes, that bothered him considerable." He

looked up at the clock again. "I've told you it's bedtime. Go on, boy."

But I was quick with my big question. "How many Yankees did you kill, Uncle Heck? I bet a lot. How many?"

"Maybe I killed some, maybe I didn't. I did a lot of shooting. I've prayed on my knees though many a time that I didn't kill a single solitary man. And if I had I begged God to forgive me for it." Then he called through the house to my mother, "Betty, come get this young'un and put him to bed. He's pestering me to death about that old Civil War and I don't allow that."

And pulling a cheroot from his vest pocket, he bit off the end with his fine gold-filled front teeth, bent over, stuck a splinter into the fireplace of coals and leaning back brought its frying flame up and lighted his smoke with great manly puffings. I watched him with the saliva working in my mouth. The rattling of the dishes in the kitchen where my mother was washing them after supper suddenly stopped, and she came in and in spite of my pleadings sent me sternly off to bed.

Some of these things flitted through my mind that sweet May morning as I followed Uncle Reuben in the oat field. Whup-swish, whup-swish went his blade. The sun mounted the sky and the sweat poured down. After a while he slung the cradle over his shoulder and said it was time to get some water to drink. And we went over to the apple tree at the edge of the field where our water jug was shaded in a bunch of pawpaw bushes. We sat down and fanned ourselves, and I took a long drink from the jug first because I was white and Uncle Reuben drank second because he was black, and that was the way of things with no questions asked. As he tilted the jug back I watched the water go gluk-gluk in wads down his stringy, wrinkled old throat—a throat as black and scaly as the hide of that alligator I had seen in the circus once at Dunn. And then I noticed another thing. The sleeve of his ragged homemade shirt slipped back and there were two round scarry spots showing on his forearm.

He set the jug down, reached back in the shade, fanned himself a bit more and pulled out a piece of his petrified rock and began sharpening the cradle blade. And once more

his old sleeve slipped back up his forearm from his lifted hand and there were those spots again. I happened to notice them, idly at first. And then I stared at them. He saw I was looking at his arm. He pushed the cradle from him and slid the whetstone back into his pocket. He pulled his sleeve down and sat scrubbing his stubby old white beard with the hard palm of his hand which was the yellow color of a mulberry root. And then he pulled out a piece of homemade tobacco twist and gnawed off a bite with his hard gums and stuck the twist out to me. I shook my head though I was dying to try it, and my saliva was working again. He sat there munching contentedly for a moment then squirted a bit of slightly stained yellow juice out to one side. He began chuckling.

"You notice things, don't you?" he said.

"I dunno, Uncle Reuben," I answered uncertainly.

"Yeh, you do. You got sharp eyes. I noticed that 'bout a lots of things. And now you done crossed the line of 'countability, ain't you?"

" 'Countability? I don't know."

You know what 'countability is—the teachers and the preachers tell about. That's the time when a young'un gets up where he can think for hisself, like grown folks, gets responsible for his actions."

"Yes," I said.

"So I reckon I mought as well tell you about them spots you been looking at, now that you got up so far in the world. I noticed you kept looking at 'em."

"Yeh, I bet you've had bad carbuncles like that peddler had."

He chuckled once more. "No, not carbuncles," he said.

"I had a bad carbuncle back on my thigh," I said, "and it left a round scar, just the same."

"Carbuncles don't make marks like that," he said. "I know."

"What was it, Uncle Reuben? What caused it?"

"Sump'n a lot worse'n carbuncles."

"What? What was that?"

"Hot lead, boy," he said abruptly, "bullet lead."

"Bullets?"

"That's what I said. That's where I was shot 'way back in them days."

"You shot? Good gracious! When?"

"Back in the Ku Klux times."

I had heard about the Ku Klux, and I'd also heard that Uncle Reuben as a young man had been mixed up in some kind of trouble, some kind of killing. But I had never heard the story. Nobody would talk about it. My father wouldn't. And now maybe I was going to hear all about it. I squirmed up a bit closer.

"Did the Ku Klux shoot you?" I asked eagerly.

"Yeah, one of them Ku Klux did."

"Who was it, Uncle Reuben?"

"Now ain't that a come-off! You know good and well I ain't going to tell you 'bout no particular person. It was just the Ku Klux shot me. I'll show you sump'n else." And creaking to his feet he undid his homemade britches, pulled up his shirt and showed me another spot on his side. And then he turned around and shamelessly dropped his trousers farther down disclosing another mark low on his stern. "Yes suh, son," he went on, "that's where them bullets hit me." He stuck his shirt in and buttoned his britches again. "They sho' poured the lead into me that time."

I sat there staring at him horrified—yet thrilled too. I was all in a shivering tumult to hear more.

"How did it happen? How did it, Uncle Reuben?" I said. "They didn't have any right to treat you like that. Lord a'mercy, you oughta got a gun and killed somebody!"

He stared at me. "I did kill somebody, son," he said. I blinked at him. He went on. "When I heard them Ku Kluxers outside my door I told 'em not to come in 'cause I was right inside there and Ihad my axe handy. 'Don't come in here,' I said, 'I'll kill the first man breaks in my door!' But that didn't stop 'em. They whoomed and lunged against the door and they broke it down. And the first man that tumbled in was Mr. Ed Gaskins and what did I do with my axe but I split him clean down to the belly-button. Lord, Lord, I split him down.' "

And now I remembered that I had heard something about a Mr. Gaskins that had got killed long, long ago in the Ku

Klux trouble. Speechless I gazed at Uncle Reuben. And he was no longer just Uncle Reuben but a man with something suddenly mysterious and strange about him. He had killed somebody. He seemed farther away than before.

He chuckled again and dug into the ground with one of his long-nailed bony fingers. "Course I been sorry for that a long, long time. I been sorry. But I been done forgive for it by the old Master up there," and he gestured toward the sky. And then a medley of little whickering chuckles broke from him and he spat a spurt of brown juice now off to one side. "But tough, I was tough! They couldn't kill this nigger, no sir! And there I was lying on that floor that night and that Ku Klux man standing over me with the smoking pistol in his hand and the other dead body lying there all split open, bleeding on the floor. Well, I could see that man against the door light and I could smell the powder in the room too, even smell the fresh blood. I still had my good senses about me. And you know what that Ku Klux with the pistol said while he was standing over me?"

"No, I don't," I said breathlessly.

"I heard him say, 'I reckon that's done for you, you damn black scoundrel. But I'll make sho' of it.' And he bent over in the dark and he fired that last bullet smack at me. He'd already shot me five times. And that made six. But maybe in the dark his hand was too trembly, so he just grazed the side of my skelp here." And Uncle Reuben lifted his old black hat back, pushed up a bit of his kinky white hair and there sure enough just along the side above his ear was a slick hairless mark.

"Lord," I breathed, "Lord!"

"Yeh, they shot me down like a dog," he went on, "maybe I was deserving of it some. I was a young buck then and I had just got my freedom. Maybe I was shooting off my mouth round and about a little too much. And that's how come they come waiting on me in the dead of night, them Ku Kluxers."

"It must have scared you 'bout to death. How did they look, Uncle Reuben, how?"

"Lord, boy, they had bedsheets over their heads and they had horns sticking up through that headgear and they had great booger goggle-eyes. Oh, my goodness! Makes me shiver

thinking of it now. Long time ago is was since it happened, but still makes me shiver. I tell you one thing though, it made the niggers, the sassy niggers keep in their place."

"Did you know who it was shot you, Uncle Reuben? Who?"

"Sure I knowed him. He pulled off his old sheet headgear and he looked down at me lying on the floor that night and I would've knowed his voice anyhow, 'cause him and me had worked in the fields together many a time, in fact—ah—yeah, many a time."

"Who was it?"

"Now behave yourself. You know I ain't gonna tell you that."

"Please. Do I know him?"

"Hush, boy."

"After that what happened? What happened?"

"Well, they carried that dead man off there, away from my house, and I crawled out through the door and across the fields and got into a ditch. And I lay in that ditch all that night and the next day and that's where Nedgelena, the gal I later married, found me. And she and her mammy in the deep dead of night pulled and toted me to their cabin and they hid me in the hayloft and treated me with poultices and with tallow and turpentine salve till I got well."

"And then what, Uncle Reuben?"

"Well, I laid mighty low, hid out, as I say, and I'm here to tell you. And by the time I got well the feeling had sort of blowed over. People had learnt better. But I moved off to Sampson County anyhow and farmed there for a few years, then come back here on your daddy's land and I been here ever since. Yes sir, people were riled up back in them days and all on account of us niggers."

"No, no, it was more mixed up, was deeper than that, Uncle Reuben," I said, remembering my history. "The two parts of the country had just grown apart, different sorts of civilization. They thought differently about things. And the North kept imposing on the South, taking her trade away from her, passing laws in Congress against her."

"Maybe so, son—Lord help my life, what do I see yonder!" And he sprang to his feet quick as a young man. I turned my

head and then I jumped up too, for there coming across the field all dressed out in his white linen suit and Panama hat and swinging his gold-headed cane in the summer sun was Uncle Heck. Both Uncle Reuben and I had been so intent on the Ku Klux story that we hadn't heard the sound of the buggy or the trotting horse coming up the lane at all. Uncle Reuben now quickly spat out his tobacco juice, cleared his throat, spat again, wiped his face, pushed his kinky gray hair up and finished buttoning his trousers—primping himself.

"How you there, Reuben?" Uncle Heck called, stepping along toward us. And already Uncle Reuben was bowing up and down, his hat in his hand while he answered back.

"Bless the Lord, there you is, Mr. Heck—a sight for sore eyes. Yes, sir, glory be to the Lord on high!" And he scrambled out to meet Uncle Heck. And I stood there, a little twelve-year-old sweat-sodden fool, watching those two older fools. For as they met there in the middle of the lone oat field—Uncle Heck with his fine summer clothes and his gray cleancut military moustache and gold-rimmed eyeglasses and Panama hat, a gentleman great and airy, and Uncle Reuben smelly and dust-begrimed and a Negro at that—Uncle Heck threw his arms around him and hugged him and Uncle Reuben hugged him back. Without hardly knowing what I did I picked up the water jug and went nearer to them.

"Well, you old black scoundrel, you ain't aged a day since last year," said Uncle Heck.

"And you, Mr. Heck, you look like sump'n stepped out of the bandbox of heaven, always a spick and span gentleman." And Uncle Reuben peered at him. "One thing I miss though," he said. "That purty flower you allus wears in your buttonhole."

"Well, I've stopped that, Reuben, stopped it," Uncle Heck laughed. "The gay girls have quit smiling at me since I'm so old, so I said to myself, 'What use is there in buying a flower any more?' You keeping well, Reuben?"

"Yes suh, yes suh."

And then Uncle Heck looked out at me and gestured with his fabulous cane. "Which one is that?"

"That's the one named Paul, suh."

"Hi, Paul son, how you doing, boy? My goodness, you've grown!"

"All right, Uncle Heck," I stammered, my head swimming with joy. Lord, I loved that man!

"It's hard to keep up with 'em all," he said to Uncle Reuben. "Brother Bill has so many. How many has he got now?"

"Mercy me, I don't know, Mr. Heck, a whole passel."

"How many are you now, son?" Uncle Heck called.

"There are seven of us now, Uncle Heck," I stammered.

"Well, well. And here I have got only one and she married off at that. Is he smart, Reuben?"

"Yes, he do the best he kin," Uncle Reuben chuckled. "But stories—that's what he likes best—stories. He's all the time after me about things—about darky songs, whether I done seen a hant or not, old folks tales."

"Uhm, Paul you say. Yes, I remember him now well enough. Always pestering me to tell him about the war."

"Yessuh, that's him," said Uncle Reuben.

"Well, if he wants to hear a real tale, you ought to tell him about the Ku Klux times, Reuben."

"Yes sir, I told him something about that, seeings how manhood is about to come on him and he done crossed the line of 'countability."

Uncle Heck turned to me. "So Reuben told you about the Ku Klux?"

"Yes sir," I said.

"Did he tell you about poor Ed Gaskins?"

"Yes sir," I gulped, "the one that got killed with the axe."

"And what else?" And Uncle Heck was staring sharply yet smilingly at me now.

"That's all, Mr. Heck," said Uncle Reuben. "That's all."

"And a Ku Klux shot Uncle Reuben down in the floor," I added.

"That's right, that's right," said Uncle Heck." And did Reuben tell you who the Ku Kluxer was?"

"Now Mr. Heck, you know I know better'n that."

"No sir, he didn't."

"Tell him, Reuben," and he laughed. "He and his line

of accountability! That would be a story to last him for awhile."

But Uncle Reuben shook his head. "Lord, no sir," he said.

And then Uncle Heck pushed the end of his cane at Reuben and laughed again. "You know what today is, Reuben?" he said.

"No, sir."

"It's an anniversary. It's the sixth day of May." Then he looked over at me. "Forty-two years ago it was, son, when he was shot. Walking along down town yesterday I thought of it. And in honor of that occasion, Reuben, I brought you a whole box full of Apple tobacco, there in the buggy." And he gestured off toward the house.

"The Lord bless you, the Lord bless you from his heavenly bosom," said Uncle Reuben. And he grabbed Uncle Heck's hand and held it and kissed it. And Uncle Heck laughed again and called out to me, as he winked his eye all merry like.

"Look here, son," he said. "Look, see Reuben kissing my hand. Well, this is the very hand that shot him down one night forty-two years ago."

I dropped the water jug with a bump.

And now the bell in the yard of our little house across the field began to ring for lunch, and Uncle Reuben and Uncle Heck turned and moved on across the field, and forgetting the waterjug I followed after. And as I went the word "six" came foolishly to my mind—"six." Uncle Heck had been shot with six bullets on the field at Gettysburg. And six times he had shot Uncle Reuben. And they both lived. Six for six. Tough, yes, both of them tough.

And yonder they were walking in the summer weather ahead of me. And Uncle Heck's arm was around Uncle Reuben's shoulders, and they both were laughing and talking over the old days, cronies, bosom buddies.

And Uncle Heck was saying as they walked and as I followed behind—I could hear him plain as day even as I hear him plainly now after fifty years—and he was saying that the Civil War times were crazy times and people had lost their senses, and as for the war itself it was a great big piece of foolishness.

"Plumb damn foolishness the whole thing, Reuben!" he said.

"Yessuh, Mr. Heck, yessuh, you got it ezzactly right!" Uncle Reuben said.

From MARION A. WRIGHT

Your thoughtful letter presents a convenient occasion for reconsidering the significance of "The War" and re-examining southern policy since Appomatox. Certainly a century is not too short a time for mental stock taking.

Secession took the South, not merely out of the Union, but out of the stream of national thought. While physically we have reentered the Union, in the area of thought we have remained somewhat apart. We have clung with almost pathetic desperation to those things we regard as peculiarly southern.

We want to enjoy, and do enjoy, all the benefits of organic identity with the rest of the nation. At the same time, we seek to enjoy all of what we mistakenly believed would have been the benefits of secession. It seems obvious that such ambivalence will not much longer be tolerated by other members of the Union of which we form a part.

For example, we never hear of a northern, or an eastern, or a western, "way of life," as a status which citizens of those sections are determined at all hazards to preserve. We hear constantly of a southern "way of life" to the preservation of which we are told we should pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The most distressing feature of this almost pathological attachment to a regime is that it takes the form of suspicion of, or hostility to, the national government. Southern white children are having planted in their minds the belief that the government of the United States is something alien, foreign, oppressive; that it is constantly seeking ways of injuring the South; that it is incessantly "ramming something down our throats."

What is meant by "our way of life" is never clearly spelled out. But one would be quite naive if he did not perceive that the phrase connotes freedom to deal according to

white views with our Negro citizens; freedom to employ law and custom to assign them to an inferior status. In this claim of special privilege the South is set apart from the rest of the nation; it is unique.

The Negro is not merely a citizen of a southern state. He is also a citizen of the United States. The entire nation, therefore, is properly concerned with the treatment he is accorded. In this shrunken world there can be no "outside meddling in our affairs," because there is no longer an outside. Interior and exterior are occluded and indistinguishable.

The struggle over desegregation is the War all over again. The South lost the War because it had inferior resources and was on the wrong side of a moral issue. In the context of the times, its position is the same today. The massive strength of world opinion makes relatively puny all the forces that Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana are able to muster. In the entire globe their only ally is the Union of South Africa.

Man's search, in William James' phrase, is for a "moral equivalent of war." There seems to be an inborn martial spirit, an instinct for struggle. Without the excitement of combat, life is stale and flat. The problem is to sublimate the impulse; to turn its energy into useful activity; to have as its end results not fire and blood but works of beauty and beneficence.

In the 1860's, the period of what Mr. Churchill calls "the last war fought by gentlemen," the South demonstrated the possession of the martial instinct in superlative degree. The blood of gallant sires still courses through southern veins.

We need to find substitutes for Sharpsburg, Antietam, Bull Run, and Gettysburg. They exist in every forum and upon every occasion in which full justice for all citizens is an issue. There the southern citizen may display the gallantry and courage which conferred nobility upon his ancestors.

The reward is not the capture of a trench or reduction of a fortified point—not cracked skulls and broken bodies and a field littered with corpses. The reward is life—life lived more abundantly and with more beauty and grace than the South has heretofore known.

From JAMES STOKELY

You pose some searching questions, friend and neighbor, and they are each resolved into one huge impertinence: what relevance does a celebration or commemoration of the Civil War—the Centennial as we know it today—have on the current crisis in southern race relations and our continuing struggle with international Communism?

Yes, the flame of the old incivility, between North and South, still flickers along the sundown horizon but the flame of a world civil war, between East and West, is beginning to inch its flickering tongue farther along the sunrise of the razor's edge where earth and sky meet. Perhaps one way to help keep the first martial flame from merging into the precincts of the second is for the human beings involved in the struggle of the 1960's to understand just what the human beings of the 1860's were fighting about, and what they accomplished. Search for such understanding might, indeed, be the key to our observance of these Centennial years.

For anyone who has been born and bred in the South, and lived here a major portion of his life, it is obvious that the War a hundred years ago—or the memory of it handed down by ancestral osmosis—has remained a central experience in the lives of many of the people. For the Negro, it is a memorable experience because, for the first time in human history, a war had been fought that he, a black enslaved "property," might be free to become a man. Until the war and the sectional controversy which was its forerunner, nobody had particularly noted his presence, except as his sweat had mingled with rain and sun to produce the magical cotton bloom; he had had no identity other than faceless laborer of the eroded fields or smiling houseboy of the magnolia terrace. But after the Emancipation Proclamation, after Appomatox, he was somebody, he was an individual in the annals of American recognition, he had his foot on the first rung of a ladder labeled Citizen.

For the southern white, the War is an inescapable and blood-soaked sponge in the memory because, for the first and only time in American history, he had known defeat on the battlefield, and denial of his most basic racial principles.

No longer, with any degree of certitude or abiding pleasure, could he imagine himself Stonewall Jackson or Jeb Stuart haunting the Shenandoah at sunset, or Nathan Bedford Forrest disappearing and emerging through the early morning mists of Cumberland coves. After Grant had accepted Lee's surrender that April day, the white Southerner stood naked to the wind; he was no longer absolute master of all he surveyed, including human beings; he had his foot on the first rung of a ladder labeled Justice.

It would be a mockery to the true meaning of the War if, instead of emphasizing the bringing together of black and white, and North and South, into a common humanity, a stronger, more unified nation, the focus should be turned upon the prettified plantation legend of gallant lords and ladies and happy, singing slaves, of dashing cavalry and the rout at Bull Run or Shiloh, of Pickett's glorious yet ill-fated charge, of Sherman's scorched earth march. Rather, our sober reflections should center upon the meaning and disaster of any attempt to divide and break up the United States of America. We must consider the guilt, North and South, that pervaded the ancient practice of traffic in slaves, and we must search out today the roots and shape of the treason, political as well as moral, that would deny full democracy to any segment of our nation's citizenry.

We must no longer seek to defend, before the bar of world justice, the "southern way of life," but amend it, liberalize it, revitalize it, enrich it with democratic—Judeo-Christian, if you will—thoughts and deeds. Thoughtless devotion to a lost cause is not heroism; it is suicide.

The Negro Southerner cannot be ignored, or excluded, in world deliberations today anymore than the South African Bantu can be. Each is here to stay, and must be reckoned with, and must be integrated into the human family of the twentieth century, with its color TV and its far-ranging space ships.

Our primary act in appraising the South—dissecting our own misconceptions as well as others'—is simply to understand it; and to understand it is to reject much of it, and to cherish much of it. We must reject the static and embrace the dynamic; reject the ignorance and cruelty which have penal-

ized too many of our people; embrace the hard unselfish wisdom which recognizes all men as either the children of a divine creator or fellow pilgrims adrift on a turning star, in limitless space.

We must no longer be at war with ourselves here in the South but move on from a common heritage, often heroic, often wasteful, to creation and conservation of a future in which every man may walk as tall as his nature and abilities permit. Thomas Wolfe expressed the essence of this democratic hope in *You Can't Go Home Again:* "So, then, to every man his chance—to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity—to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him—this, seeker, is the promise of America."

We cannot escape back to a rural Eden-that-never-was. We must face up to the crucial fact that America in the 1960's is a new nation, that she as well as the world is neither black nor brown nor red nor yellow nor white, but only blood and bone and spirit, of human flesh touched by a spark of the divine, speaking with many tongues and faiths. We must know that we are the fruit of many conflicts—none more embedded in our conscience than the Brothers' War of 1861-65—and that we must move on to new frontiers, fresh adjustments, unsung liberations.

What this republic needs, and demands, is a sobering reenactment, in each individual mind and heart, of the tragedy of war itself, in any language, in any blood of the common race. We need to commemorate the tragic past as a living challenge for an ominous and swiftly-changing present, in order that we might better shape a just and enduring future. We need to recognize that this perennial blood-letting and flesh-burning, on the battlefield of the human spirit, this irrepressible outcropping of cannibalistic zeal, on this shrinking planet in this expanding universe, is an intolerable anachronism and a stench in the nostrils of sane and dedicated men.

What those of us who live in the South must do is to make clear and absolute our contempt for a system of *apartheid*: that we believe every human being, of whatever color

or creed, should have equal opportunity to pursue life, liberty, happiness, and spiritual survival upon this planet. What we must celebrate is not the terrible act of Cain in mortal combat with his brother; rather, it is for us the living to so dedicate ourselves today, each on his own battlefield, in the crucible of his own community, in his own individual psyche and personal chaos set against the backdrop of the larger social outrage, that these Americans, North and South, united at last, shall not have labored in vain, shall, in fact, have yielded up their bubbling blood to form a lifeline to later generations—and to the Russians and the Chinese, and to the emerging nations in Africa and throughout the smouldering globe.

How shall we, in 1962, A.D., delineate our guilt, discharge our debt? What is our compulsion? To abolish — by proxy — poverty, ignorance, disease, oppression, the seeds of war and suffering? To pay some sophisticated diplomat or cornpone mercenary to preach the gospel of love and human dignity around the world? Or to do more — to give ourselves, in our own frail witness, in our own inadequate art, in our own microcosmic backyard, in our own Tombigbee Congo, which is the South, the burning promise, the living seedtime, of America? We live alone by dying. Beyond the darkness of unexplored time and space, sloughing off the mole-eyes of Jim Crow and clinging to the spirit of the far-ranging eagle, we emerge into the light.

From FRANK P. GRAHAM*

The commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the Civil War has made vivid again to the people of the South and the North the glories, the tragedies, and the hopes of that fateful struggle. In the nostalgia for the glory, associated in the North with a victorious cause and in the South with a lost cause, the tragedies and the hopes of the struggle should not be submerged. We would not gainsay the glory which "the red badge of courage" and the suffering of millions have deepened in the familial and historical

*An enlarged and revised version of this contribution appeared in the Winter, 1962, issue of the *Virginia Quarterly Review*.

memories of the American people, most personally in the white and colored people of the South.

The glory, the tragedy, and the hopes have fresh meaning for us today. The transcendent meaning for all is that it is wiser to do better without war and desolation what has to be done after war and desolation.

Persisting in the mid-twentieth century are prejudices and tensions between white and yellow, yellow and brown, brown and black, people in many parts of the world. Consciousness of kind has long been a powerful factor in human affairs. What was different in color, race, or region was long considered alien and what was considered alien was considered dangerous. Group prejudice and racial discrimination are not the original creation or special monopoly of the southern white people. They are as old as history and as wide as the world.

Modern scientific and social studies find that neither what is called race nor the shape of the head nor the color of the skin is a valid sign of the innate superiority of persons or people. All people, brown, red, black, yellow, and white, have in common, as biological organisms, an inheritance of hundreds of millions of years; as primitive men, of hundreds of thousands of years; and as self-conscious personalities in human history, of only a few thousand years. The rise, fall, and shifts in the main centers of civilized power from fairer to darker or from darker to fairer people, and from continent to continent and region to region, have depended upon other factors than the cephalic index or the pigmentation of the skin. They have proceeded in large part from the freedom of the individual mind and the free reach of the human spirit, the interaction of ideas, the response to the challenge of environment, and from geography, economics, and historic circumstance.

Yet there still persist honest fears and heavy resistance within the minds and hearts of people against any decisive change in the bi-racial structure of Southern society.

Confronted with the demand of millions of advancing people for the removal of the stigma of inferiority, the federal guarantee of the equal protection of the laws in the

states, the widening conception of freedom, the lag of equalization in many states, and the onrush of totalitarian tyranny across the earth, the Supreme Court made its epochal unanimous decision.

It is well for us Southerners to recall that this decision was joined in by three Southerners; that the principle that "separate" meant "unequal" was set forth in the opinion of Chief Justice Vinson, a Southerner. It is timely to recall that George Washington, a Southerner, stood for the supremacy of the federal government; that Thomas Jefferson, a Southerner, stood for the universality of human rights; that James Madison, the chief framer of the Constitution, used states rights as did Thomas Jefferson, both Southerners, in defense of and not against basic human liberties; and that John Marshall, a Southerner, established in American jurisprudence that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States is the law of the land in all the states. In our centennial commemoration of the heroic men and events of another century, we in the South, remembering Robert E. Lee of the Civil War years, should also remember the Lee seeking a reconciling peace.

Most needed now is for the southern people not continuously and tragically to isolate themselves from or against the main stream of the modern world, but to recover their great creative leadership in the nation and the world. Jefferson should be living at this hour, to retranslate and interpret his declaration of human rights in the wider perspective of the present world. In this world over two-thirds of the people are colored, they are on the march, in the Jeffersonian idealism of the on-going American Revolution, a part of a world revolution against colonialism. Our ideas of freedom and self-determination have orbited the earth and come home again. They must now not be renounced in the house of the fathers.

The southern youth movement had its origin not in Moscow but in Greensboro, N.C. Its deeper sources are in the idealism declared in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, on July 4, 1776. Its distant headwaters are in the Judean Hills where the carpenter's son preached the gospel of equal freedom and sacred dignity of all persons as children of

one God and brothers of all people. This youth movement is a contemporary expression of the unfulfilled idealism of the American Revolution and is a local expression of the on-rolling revolution of colonial colored and exploited people of the earth.

In the old South where human slavery made one of its last stands in the modern world, industrialism has made fresh beginnings on productive soil. The people of the South have the tragic lessons of one and the opportunities of the other to build a fairer civilization than the races in the South or industrialism in the world have seen. In a pleasant land under a southern sun between the Chesapeake and the Gulf, a friendly folk will, we trust, work out together our integration.

From the rebirth of freedom, and from the rising intellectual and spiritual communion of all people can come more abundant production and nobler creations of mind and spirit in a southern Renaissance. This great adventure in cooperation of the different peoples can preserve their racial identity and diversities to the enrichment of the South, release and unite their highest energies in the upbuilding of America, and compose their interracial tensions in working together in equal freedom and opportunity in local communities and in the world neighborhood.

With human liberty in peril around the earth, may the people of the United States, in cooperation with free nations, light up the hopes of all peoples with new great declarations of equal freedom and dignity. Now is the time to make clear to friends in the East and West that freedom, equal justice under law, and equal opportunity and welfare of all people are the living sources of the faith of the American people in themselves, and of America's moral influence and power in the world.

The most fitting commemoration of the Civil War would be the progressive ending of the arms contest and all wars in order to save the human race. May this commemoration mean the rededication of us all, North, South, East, and West, to the attainment of the great goals of the United Nations, including effective universal disarmament, universal human rights, universal self-determination of peoples, universal

economic development for the disinherited people of the earth, and peace under the law on all the Earth as the God-given home of the family of man.

From BENJAMIN E. MAYS

I am one of those who believe that the Civil War was inevitable, unavoidable. It had to be. And as we observe the Centennial of that War all the wounds accruing therefrom have not been healed. And yet I believe that what we have gained from that event far outweighs the losses. Profiting slowly from the experiences of the Civil War, America is a stronger nation and the South a better South. Unless conquered and divided by a foreign foe, the United States is firmly united and indissoluble. Although the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court was a shock to the South, which resorted to many efforts to get around implementing that decision, no Southerner has considered seriously secession as a way out. Southern patriotism cannot be questioned. In two World Wars and in Korea, the North and the South have stood as united as the clenched fist. This may have been true without the Civil War, but the War has tended to cement the North and the South against any and every foreign foe.

The ties between the North and the South are growing stronger as evidenced by northern industries that are coming into the South and by the fact that thousands of southern students study in the North and thousands of northern students are educated in the South. Northerners are numerous on the faculties of southern universities and many Southerners hold high positions in northern universities. The wounds of the Civil War are being healed.

Negroes and white people in the South understand each other better now than ever before. A century of segregation did not create better understanding between Negroes and whites as some people want to believe, nor did it bring equality in education and other areas. During the first three quarters of a century of Negro-white relations after the Civil War, Negroes and white people were not honest and frank with each other. The South had lost the War, northern

soldiers around 1877 withdrew, and the inevitable happened: the Negro became the object of the southern white man's wrath which was probably meant for the Yankee. As a technique of survival, the Negro learned to say the right thing and to act the right way in his segregated shelter.

When communication between white and Negro Southerners began to become straightforward and honest, the relationship between the races began to improve progressively. More progress in good Negro-white relations has been made in the last 25 years than in the 75 years before. Many factors make this progress possible. But I would like to date it at 1935 when inequality in education was challenged for the first time. In that year Murray sued to enter the University of Maryland and won. This was the beginning of the South's effort to advance drastically the public education of Negroes. Suit after suit was filed for equal educational opportunities. Victory after victory resulted, and instead of interracial ill-will, a better spirit of respect and cooperation has developed.

Relations were strained after the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, but only the stupid would argue that race relations have grown worse since 1954. Despite Little Rock, New Orleans, and Virginia, human relations are improving in the South. The sit-ins and Freedom Rides have improved Negro-white relations.

The second century after the Civil War will be a century of desegregation and integration. Human relations in the second century will improve in proportion as barriers of race are destroyed and the South utilizes to the full its talent, irrespective of race. This the South will do. The Negro will rise to meet the challenge of the new opportunities that will open to him in industry, government, and education. The South will get rid of its social fears and Negroes and whites will work together for a greater South. Negroes will no longer need to seek greener pastures in the North. Green pastures will be in the South.

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1961 1965

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October 16, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your "A Hundred Years Later" pamphlet. I have read it with much interest.

Very sincerely yours,

CAMPBELL H. BROWN

CHB:jb

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
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October 16, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

My thanks to you for sending me a copy of "A Hundred Years Later." I have just finished reading it and it is one of the finest discussions which I have read during the Centennial.

With best wishes, I remain,

Cordially,

PAUL J. SEDGWICK

PJS:iew

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 9, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is in reply to your letter enclosing a copy of the Southern Regional Council's pamphlet, "A Hundred Years Later".

I am sure that the thoughts contained will be of interest, and your thoughtfulness in sending a copy is fully appreciated.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PAUL H. DOUGLAS
ILLINOIS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

October 8, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Many thanks for your letter and the booklet which I am very glad to have.

You are doing magnificent work and I am deeply indebted to you - as are millions of Americans.

Warmest best wishes.

Faithfully yours,

Paul H. Douglas

Paul H. Douglas

PHD/jce

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

IN REPLY REFER TO:

OCT 3 1962

K58-CHA

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

During Mr. Wirth's absence from the office it is my pleasure to reply to your letter of September 19, which enclosed the very interesting booklet A Hundred Years Later. This is a most unusual and fascinating approach to the centennial observations of the Civil War. We have enjoyed reading the pieces and have found them both well written and stimulating.

Thank you for sending us this copy.

Sincerely yours,

Jackson E. Price

ASSISTANT Director

October 2, 1962

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

Mr. Dunbar asked me to reply to your letter of September 26. We have today mailed out the copies of A Hundred Years Later to the members of the Board of Trustees of Morehouse College, as you requested. Under separate cover we are mailing you five copies for yourself. If you should need additional copies later, please let us know.

We are pleased that you liked the pamphlet.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright
Secretary to Mr. Dunbar

MA ✓ copy for de Holan
ML ✓
SB ✓
PR ✓
PA ✓
MA - file

VEP, in top folder in bottom left drawer my desk.

MA

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RALEIGH

TERRY SANFORD
GOVERNOR

September 26, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, North West
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I appreciate very much your letter of September 24 and the enclosed copy of A Hundred Years Later. The writings of the outstanding Americans regarding the meaning of the Civil War have real value for not only the South, but all the Nation. It was a particular pleasure to read the thoughts of Dr. Frank Graham as he is a good friend.

With best wishes always,

Sincerely,

Terry Sanford

Terry Sanford

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 26, 1962

MA - per Leslie which
with each a tag "sent
at request — Mays"
+ reply to Mays.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I thank you for sending me a copy of the brochure "A Hundred Years Later". If you have enough copies, I would appreciate it if you would send a copy to the members of the Board of Trustees of Morehouse College. A list of the trustees is enclosed. I would also appreciate three or four copies for myself. If you do not have enough to send each member of the Board a copy, I would like to suggest the trustees who should get a copy of the ones you have available.

Thanking you and with kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:H
Encl

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September 25, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of September 14.

I appreciate very much your calling to my attention a copy of A Hundred Years Later. This is indeed a fine statement!

Enclosed for your information is a copy of my statement commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jacob K. Javits, U.S.S.

JKJ:skw
Attach.

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October 18, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Region Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I was very pleased to receive a copy of your bulletin A Hundred Years Later, I want to express my sincere regards to the writers and the organization of the project. I would be happy to give this bulletin a wider circulation. If you could send me 50 copies, I would see, personally, that they were put in important places where their value would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Floyd L. Haight

Floyd L. Haight, Chairman
Michigan Civil War Centennial
Observance Commission

FLH:sc

Union forever

A REPLY TO "A HUNDRED YEARS LATER"

JHL pla ack

Baton Rouge, Louisiana
October 19, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dunbar et al:

Your booklet on the Centennial and what it means reminds me of an old broken phonograph record. After a certain point the same old phrase, the familiar chord, keeps recurring. The authors of the separate pieces may live at different addresses, but they speak as one.

What does this harmonious sextet say? And what key dominates this apologetic refrain? Is this pseudo-humility and lemming-like altruism genuine?

I submit that it is as genuine as the GENUINE CONFEDERATE SOUVENIER money one can buy in the dime store.

My efforts of criticism will, I think, fall on deaf ears, but I will have the satisfaction of making the effort to disagree with the ideas postulated in this booklet.

The recurring chord or dominant theme of these Centennial observations is a preoccupation with the welfare of the Negro, not any specific Negro, but the Southern Negro-at-large.

No attempt is made to juxtapose the Southern Negro with his kindred in those veritable Edens of the North, Chicago's south side or New York's Harlem; nor was any reference made to those democratic jewels of progress, further afield, such as Liberia or Haiti where independence has flourished without the ignorant and malicious influence of white Southern racists. Instead there is a general posturing about the blessings of progress that will culminate when the enlightenment of total integration is accomplished and the blight of segregation disappears from the South. A colored man, one who votes, has become a political "Sacred Cow". This is a fact of life and I recognize this, but what has this got to do with the 100th anniversary of the Great War? My great grandfather was killed fighting in the 61st Georgia Regiment at Monocacy, Maryland just over 98 years ago. I like to think that he was not fighting against sit-ins and Freedom Riders, rather I believe he was fighting for self-determination, at least he was under that delusion. His side lost, in a big way, and it makes me rather sad to consider that here we are a century later succumbing to some sort of international togetherness with quite a few faint-hearted joiners profaning the 100th anniversary of an event that they see only as a stupid stumbling block in the way of their pre-ordained utopia.

This distant war is in the past but I shall never apologize for my forebears participation in it. On the contrary, I will speak honorably of them for caring enough to go the full limit.

As for red men, black men, green men, etc. I am not particularly concerned, I happen to be white, my parents were white, my children are white, therefore, my interest is largely with the white people if I have to choose a color. Voluntary association with others is my cup of tea. Miscegenation is not. That is the only real answer to your problems. Soon I expect the Federal Government to subsidize miscegenation, if it becomes compulsory I will leave or fight.

Meanwhile, you gentlemen ride the crest of this equality-wave, but remember that there is an immutable law of nature that you must reckon with and that is the equal and opposite law of force that makes the pendulum of popular choice swing the other way.

Sincerely,

J.E. Van Valkenburg

J.E. Van Valkenburg
3157 Nicholson Drive
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

DONALD FLAMM, CHAIRMAN
CLOSTER

JOSEPH N. DEMPSEY, VICE CHAIRMAN
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ATTY. GEN. DAVID D. FURMAN
BEDMINSTER

WILLIAM M. BEARD
WESTFIELD

DR. DAVID DONALD
PRINCETON

DOROTHY MESERVE KUNHARDT
MORRISTOWN

EARL S. MIERS
EDISON

MADALINE A. WILLIAMS
EAST ORANGE

ML - pls handle

MA file

State of New Jersey

CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

STATE HOUSE
TRENTON 25

SEN. SIDO L. RIDOLFI
TRENTON

SEN. CHARLES W. SANDMAN JR.
CAPE MAY

ASSEMBLYMAN RAYMOND H. BATEMAN
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ASSEMBLYMAN FREDERICK H. HAUSER
HOBOKEN

DR. L. ETHAN ELLIS
TECHNICAL ADVISOR

EVERETT J. LANDERS
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 19, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your publication A Hundred Years Later was received here today and read with more than casual interest. You, as well as all of the contributors, are to be congratulated for your significant contribution to American letters.

You would be interested to know that this Commission is currently producing a booklet concerning New Jersey's forays in the Southland two years ago. I would like to see that you and others in your group receive a copy when it is published. I would appreciate your sending me the addresses of your contributors.

It is my personal hope that your publication is distributed widely in the North as well as the South. We should make a better attempt to understand the "ancestral osmosis" that Mr. James Stokely talks about in his segment of the booklet.

If possible, would you please send another 15 copies of the booklet so that I may distribute it to members of this Commission?

Sincerely,

Everett J. Landers

Everett J. Landers
Executive Director

EJL-sw

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER
Governor

BRUCE CATTON
Chairman

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN
Vice Chairman

CARL HAVERLIN
Secretary

MAJOR-GENERAL A. C. O'HARA
Chief of Staff
to the Governor

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ELISHA T. BARRETT
WALTER A. CAPITAIN
ORMONDE de KAY
WILBUR H. GLOVER
PAUL B. HANKS, JR.
RICHARD W. LAWRENCE, JR.
SOL MASCH
MARTIN RARBACK
FELIPE N. TORRES
MRS. LILA ACHESON WALLACE

THOMAS E. MULLIGAN, JR.
Executive Director

ENOCH SQUIRES
Research Associate

CLARENCE W. MILLER
Administrative Assistant

NEW YORK STATE
Civil War Centennial Commission
STATE CAPITOL, ALBANY, N. Y. P. O. BOX 1861
145 WEST 57TH STREET NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK

MA - file

October 25, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth St., N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am most appreciative of your thoughtfulness in sending the excellent booklet, "A Hundred Years Later" prepared by the Southern Regional Council. A great deal of this material should be reproduced for some of the less informed people in the North. We feel that you are doing a great job in Atlanta and that the efforts of people like Ralph McGill and Bell Wiley go a long way in bringing order out of chaos.

I wonder if it is possible to obtain additional copies of your pamphlet for distribution to the members of our own Commission as well as key people in our State Government including the members of our Human Rights Commission.

Sincerely,

Thomas E. Mulligan, Jr.

M-A file

M V
pl do

JAMES STOKELY
405 CLIFTON HEIGHTS
NEWPORT, TENNESSEE

Nov. 9, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director, SRC
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

I was away from home most of the summer and am just now answering letters I should have written weeks ago.

I, too, thought the Civil War Symposium turned out fine, and was well edited. What reaction have you had from readers and from the press?

I would appreciate it if you would send me about two dozen copies, so that I might distribute them to my friends and enemies.

I hope to see you Monday.

Sincerely,

Jim

sent 11-21-62

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

file

9 November 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for sending me a copy of A Hundred Years Later. I have read the views presented in this publication with much interest.

Sincerely,

Roy K. Davenport
Special Assistant for Personnel

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

December 21, 1962

Carl E. Wahlstrom
Judge of Probate Court
The Probate Court
Worcester, Massachusetts

Dear Judge Wahlstrom:

Thank you for your kind comment of December 17 regarding "A Hundred Years Later." We are sending enclosed the first of this series (which, you will see, does have a different subject) together with articles by Mr. Dabbs and Miss Lillian Smith which I thought might be interesting for you to have.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:bp
Enclosures (3)

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

THE PROBATE COURT
WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

JUDGES
CARL E. WAHLSTROM
GEORGE E. RICE

December 17, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have been reading Pamphlet No. 2, Southern Regional Council, "A Hundred Years Later", and it is so interesting that I am writing to ask if it would be possible to have Pamphlet No. 1 sent to me. I shall be pleased to pay for the same.

May I express sincere gratitude for sending Pamphlet No. 2. I appreciate this courtesy greatly.

With thanks and all best wishes to you for a joyful holiday season, I am

Sincerely

Carl E. Wahlstrom

CEW/hlr

CARL E. WAHLSTROM
JUDGE OF PROBATE COURT
Vice-Chairman, Massachusetts
Civil War Centennial Commission

Stetson University

DeLand, Florida

SAMPSON LIBRARY

1-7-63
MA
sent

January 4, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We should like to have one copy of the following free publication listed in the VERTICAL FILE INDEX:

Hundred years later, by
J. M. Dabbs & others.
(Toward regional realism
No. 2) 1962.

Very truly yours,

Mary G. Lewis

MGL/sn

(Miss) Mary G. Lewis
Reference Librarian

Box 145
Montevallo
Ala.
Nov. 23, 1949

Dear Sir,

I am teaching a unit on the negro problem in the U.S. to my ninth grade class. Will you please send me any free materials along this line that you have available.

If there are other addresses that I may write, will you please send me those also.

Thank you very much.

Mack Smith

November 29, 1949

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send me your most recent publications list? My Gr. III, Social Studies class is very much interested in studying a unit on the American Negro.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
(Mrs) Fredda B. Braly
422 E. Tuscaloosa St.
Florence, Ala.

Sent 12/1/49

Sent pub. list HCF

Flomaton Ala
Dec 6 1949

Gentlemen

Please send me information regarding education of the American Negro

Please send in care G. Century High School. To W H Renfroe

Thank you

W H Renfroe

RECEIVED
7 1949
Southern Regional Council

Shipped 2/6/50 HCF

Publications

Rt. 2 Box 2
Shannon, Miss
Feb. 4, 1950

Gentlemen,

Please send me a free copy of America's Tenth Man. A Brief Survey of the Negro's part in American History.

RECEIVED
FEB 6 1950
Southern Regional Council

Yours truly

Mrs. Algie L. Wood

329 Middle St. P.H.
Macon Ga., P.H.

So. Regional Council Inc

Dear Sirs:- Please send to the above address Literature for use (Negro History Week)

Thanks.

Respectfully,
Mrs. S. M. Lucas

SRC Publications

Feb. 8, 1950

Shipped 2/13/50

Dear Sirs:

Please send me one copy of all the free material you have for distribution on the Negro. Also send me a list of other available material.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Almeana Knowles
Box 3445 Scotland Br P O
Baton Rouge, La.

RECEIVED
FEB 13 1950
Southern Regional Council

Sent 2/1/50

Please send a complete list of publications to-

Dean George G. Heather
Texas Technological College
Lubbock, Texas

North Carolina College at Durham
The Library

Durham, N. C.
January 23, 1950

Done 1/27/50 RCP

Publication

DURHAM
ESW
1950

Dear Sir:

Kindly send to this library a packet of all free materials distributed by the Council, and a checklist of materials offered for sale.

Very truly yours,

Parepa R. Watson

Parepa R. Watson
Librarian

RECEIVED
JAN 27 1950
Southern Regional Council

Sent 2/16/50 HEP

Publications

Boys' Catholic High School
597 Pleasant St.
Malden, Mass.

Gentlemen:

We would like to secure the following free materials as listed in the Educators Index of Free Materials for use in our schools.

Thank you for your cooperation in assisting us to enrich the curriculum of our school program.

Sincerely yours,

Brother John Edward, CFX
Principal

Unity Begin s At Home

2/23/50 HEP

2/22/50

Gentlemen:

SRC Publications

Would it be possible for you to send us, if available free, 50 copies of ABC's of Scapegoating, The Mob, Still Rides, and any other material available.

We should like to make this material available to our students and to teachers of this area who use our service. Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Walter E. Kays

Director
Teaching Aids Service
N.J. State Teachers College
Upper Montclair, New Jersey

RECEIVED
FEB 23
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sir, SRC - Publication

Please send me any free material you have for the elementary grades.

Thank you.

Mary Townsend
605 Pearl Street
Huntsville, Ala.

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE OF THE BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

150 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES

CHAIRMAN
MRS. W. H. RATLIFF
SHERARD, MISSISSIPPI

STAFF
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
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ASSOCIATE SECRETARIES
ELEANOR NEFF
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OFFICE SECRETARIES
MRS. CHARLOTTE R. FRENCH
ELSIE PETERSON

CHAIRMEN OF RESOURCE COMMITTEES

LOCAL CHURCH AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS
MRS. G. HAVEN CALDWELL
912-28TH STREET
GALVESTON, TEXAS

CHRISTIAN WORLD ORDER
MRS. EARL FOSTER
825 N.W. 41ST STREET
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

ECONOMIC RELATIONS
MRS. J. G. LAW
6628 — 25TH STREET
KENOSHA, WISC.

INTERRACIAL AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS
MRS. RECTER W. JOHNSON
702 S. 25TH AVENUE
YAKIMA, WASH.

ALCOHOL AND OTHER NARCOTICS
MRS. DAVID M. ENSELL
1531 MC FARLAND ROAD
PITTSBURGH, PA.

THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY
MRS. SALMON C. MYERS
17414 WASHBURN
DETROIT, MICH.

May 2, 1950

SRC - Pat -

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I should appreciate your sending me a copy of the pamphlet "Race in the News" by return mail.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Eleanor Neff

EN:ep

Done 5/5/50

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1950
Southern Regional Council

SRC Pat.

FAIR PARK HIGH SCHOOL

Shreveport, Louisiana

May 3, 1950

RECEIVED
MAY 20 1950
Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would like to secure the following free materials as listed in the EDUCATORS INDEX OF FREE MATERIALS for use in our school:

Unity Begins at Home

Thank you for your cooperation in assisting us to enrich the curriculum of our school program.

Sincerely,

Mildred McCormick

Mildred McCormick
FAIR PARK HIGH SCHOOL

ja

Sent 5/25/50

SRC Pat

May 17, 1950

Kindly send us a copy of:

AMERICA'S TENTH MAN.

BROTHERS IN BLACK.

done 5/25/50

Thanks,

William H. Martin

SRC Office memos

MEMORANDUM

May 11, 1950

TO: Harold Fleming

FROM: George Mitchell

In conversation with George McMillan, he talked some about the Washington Post.

The publisher is Phil Graham, who married a daughter of Eugene Meyer. One Wiggins is managing editor, a hard-pushing young guy. The city editor is Ben Gilbert, a close personal friend of George McMillan's. Gilbert and Wiggins put out the paper.

McMillan says Gilbert would take our stuff and give us editorials. He is a slugging, fighting liberal. They will be for us. Recently caused quite a stir by running a picture of a Negro girl on the society page.

GSM

4 P Pub -

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

May 11, 1950

THE LIBRARY

RECEIVED
MAY 15 1950
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Will you please send us a copy of the following publications:

Clement, R. E.--Black G. I.
Joe Comes Home. 1946.

Eleazer, R. B.--The Curse of
Ham.

We will appreciate your addressing the package to the attention of Miss Annie E. Mills, University of Mississippi Library, University, Mississippi.

Thank you very much.

Yours very truly,

Annie E. Mills

Annie E. Mills
Order Librarian

jb

Out - Sent Pub. List
5/17/50.

HCF

SPC - Pub -

May 19, 1950

Monthly Review
Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to obtain two (2) copies of the Monthly Review for May 1950 containing the article by Robert D. Calkins on economic potentials in the South. We would appreciate your sending us the two copies of this issue or, if not available through you, telling us where we might obtain them.

We shall be glad to pay any necessary costs.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Staff

May 22. 1950
156-7th Street N.E.,Apt.4
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Norma:

Thank you for your nice letter; it was good to have news of you; I shall be looking forward to my next New South, with its Greenville Story. Long live the miracles, and along with them the Council.

I just returned this past week from Washington where I went mainly for business, but where I also managed to have fun. Since my return, however, I have been having another round with the virus, which comes back to plague me from time to time. Less virulent than the first, it is true, but discouraging. Except for that periodic return I am really feeling much better.

It has been wonderful, being at home, and I have reveled in it. I fear I am becoming sadly spoiled. All of which causes me to shun the down-town area, else I'd have been in to see you.

In a material sense the ceramics can not be said to be booming, but they do continue to be a great resource and a fascinating hobby. What amazes me is that the pieces can actually be sold. Did you ever get in touch with Olga Heatley ?

All my regards and good wishes to all of you.

Sincerely,

Agnes McK.

RECEIVED
MAY 23 1950

5/23/50

Jane:

Dr. Mitchell said to please advise him what further use can be made of the Directory of Higher Education in distributing the "yellow jacket."

AGR

Supply exhausted

Norma:

Dr. Mitchell says this will be your responsibility now.

WGD

GSM.
This was given me ages ago. I don't have time to complete it. Who does?
NH.

11/21/49

Winona:

Would you please bring this to Dr. Mitchell's attention December 15?

met

YELLOW LEAFLET TO BE SENT TO THE FOLLOWING:

Members of Virginia Academy of Social Sciences - done

Members of Southern Economic Association done

Members of Southern Sociological Society - done

Members of Southern Political Science Association

State agents for Negro education

Colored teachers

Negro women club leaders, sent to us by Mrs. Annie Lee Davis in January (?) 1949 (She is with FSA, Children's Bureau)

Libraries

Junior Colleges, Social Science Department
(particularly 2nd and 3rd rate institutions, from DIRECTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION)

YWCA people

SRC Pub

May 23, 1950

Huntington Library
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

We should greatly appreciate the favor if you would send us a complete publications list of your materials.

Done 5/25/50

We shall be grateful to you if you will keep our name on your mailing list for similar publications in the future. If this material is to be had only by purchase, please notify us in regard to price before sending.

Ref. Librarian
(Mrs) A. F. Spence

SRC Pub

LONDON
PARIS

STECHERT-HAFNER INC.

LEIPZIG
FRANKFURT

Established New York - 1872

31 EAST 10th STREET, N. Y. 3, N. Y. - Tel. ORegon 4-6210

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Hoover Library on War Revolution and Peace
Stanford University, California

complains that the numbers mentioned below have not been received. They are due on a subscription placed through us. Please send the missing numbers or report if unable to do so.

"New South" vol. 4, no. 10, Oct. 1949, our order of December 29, 1948.

Sent 5/25/50

STECHERT-HAFNER Inc.

SRC Publications

Youngsville, La.
May 29, 1950

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me the following material listed in the Mental Health Foundation Service:

"Which Way is Better" (Press to approach our human relationships to a Nation made up of many people.

This is for use of school curriculum.

I'll appreciate your generous cooperation.

Sincerely Yours

Rose B. Savoie
Youngsville, La.
Youngsville, High.

Done 6/5/50

SRC Publications

Sent 7/11

B-2 Virginia Hall
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia
July 10, 1950

Dear Sirs:

Please send the topic "Three Decisions" discussed in your "New South" (free material) If convenient, I would appreciate other topics also, to be reviewed in my class, here, at Hampton.

Respectfully yours,
(Mrs.) Odessa J. Gray

I am a Social Science teacher and I would appreciate your sending me the pamphlet "Economic Value of the Negroe to the South" and any other material we could use.

Thank you,

E. W. Woods
408 Liveoak Dr.
College Park, Ga.

SRC - Publications

SRC - Publi

Dear Sirs,

Please send us your

"Unity Begins at Home"; thank you.

RECEIVED
JUL 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
JUL 12 1950
Southern Regional Council

C. DURWARD ROA
AUGUSTANA ACADEMY
Canton, South Dakota

July 25, 1950

SRC - Publications

Please send me one copy of your complete publication list. Thank you.

sent 7/26/50
BR

Robert W. Paterson

Robert W. Paterson
School of Rural Social Economics
Minor Hall, University of
Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

RECEIVED
JUL 26 1950
Southern Regional Council

419 Dakota Street
Canton, S. Dakota
September 5, 1950

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Sirs:

Would you please send —

1 copy, "Singing in the Dawn"

NH
- 10¢
stamps

Thank you,
(Mr.) Marlan Davis
419 Dakota St.
Canton, S. Dakota

Sent
9/11/50

RECEIVED
SEP 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

ACRR - Publications

City of Cincinnati

THE MAYOR'S FRIENDLY RELATIONS COMMITTEE

MAYOR ALBERT D. CASH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
KARL T. FINN
CHAIRMAN

ROOM 105, CITY HALL CH. 5300 - LINE 271
CINCINNATI 2, OHIO

MARSHALL BRAGDON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. VIRGINIA J. COFFEY
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JANET E. SMITH
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

September 7, 1950

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Greetings to you from all of us in Cincinnati! We hope you have had a fine summer and that all goes well with you.

The July ACRR Report lists a couple of items of yours that we'd like very much to see: "Small Town Slums--How to Get New Houses" and "Three Decisions." If there is any charge for these, will you please let us know?

Sent 9/13/50

Sincerely yours,

Janet E. Smith

Janet E. Smith
Administrative Assistant

RECEIVED
SEP 11 1950
Southern Regional Co

SRC - Publications

OCT 12 1950
Southern Regional Council

STOCKTON COLLEGE
STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA

October 10, 1950

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please send me two copies of your ~~pamphlet~~, "Understanding Our Neighbors."

Sent pub. list
10/19/50

Yours truly,
Miss E. Ann Schwab

SRC - Publication

October 10, 1950

Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

You wrote and asked for 150 of the short brown leaflet about the Southern Regional Council. We were out at the time and sent you the longer one.

Since then we have had another supply of the short one printed and as a precaution send you fifty. More for you if you wish them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

sent = BF
10/16 =

SPC - Publication

October 16, 1950

Mr. M. A. F. Ritchie, Chairman
Department of Human Relations
University of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Florida

Dear Mr. Ritchie:

Good to hear from you and glad that you need some more of our maggie. They are on the way to you.

Why don't you and two or three others band together and arrange a Miami trip for me along about snow time? I would love it!

We want to be helpful to what you are doing in any way we can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

GSM: Harold has seen - Wants your okay before doing - BR

RECEIVED
OCT 12 1950
Southern Regional Council

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES (UNIVERSITY BRANCH) 46, FLORIDA

October 9, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

During the summer I carried with me to the Workship in Human Relations at New York University a good number of my copies of The New South. Somehow they were misplaced, and I would like to get you to send me a complete file for 1950. ~~if you will.~~

We hope you can visit us sometime during the year.

Very sincerely,

Millen Ritchie

M.A. F. Ritchie, Chairman

Department of Human Relations

MAFR/dw

SRC - Publications

J. M. ELLIS

Attorney At Law

Oak Hill, West Virginia

P. O. Box 77 Phone 257

October 30th 1950

New Aouth,
63-Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta-3- Georgia.

Gentlemen: :
I have read with much interest, Why Atlanta School Suit.
We have a school fight here . I haveggtten much inspiration . In the Address on Rev Benjamin E Mays.

I would like to have six copies of the Sept. Oct 1950 Vol 5 Nos. 9& 10.
If there are any charges send me the bill.
Yours very truly.

J M Ellis

Sent 11/3/50

RECEIVED
NOV 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
NOV 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Publications

Banks Union High School
Banks Oregon
Oct. 30, 1950

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
N.E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir,

We are studying a chapter in Soc. E. about races. Will you please send us your copy of Understanding Our Neighbours? Thank You.

Sincerely Yours,
Richard Dusek

Sent
pub. list
11/3/50

Dear Sir: SRC-Publications November 6, 1950

Would you please send me a list(s) of both the free and charged-for materials which your organization offers on request? I am compiling a bibliography of pamphlets, reprints and similar publications which would be useful to the social science teacher. Especially valuable would be material relating to American and World History, sociology, economics, civics and problems of democracy. Also, the names and addresses of organizations similar to yours would be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you in advance, I am

Yours truly,

Fred Thompson

Sent Pub. List 11/15/50

SRC Publications

Mulberry Grove Ill.
November 9, 1950

Gentlemen:

Will you please send us the following material as listed in the MOUNT VERNON FOUNDATION Service:

UNITY BEGINS AT HOME
WHICH WAY IS BETTER?
A SURVEY OF VETERANS' SERVICE FOR NEGROES IN FLORIDA
A SURVEY OF VETERANS' SERVICE FOR NEGROES IN ARKANSAS

Sent 11/15/50

Sincerely yours,
H. A. Trimble
H. A. Trimble, Principal
Mulberry Grove Comm. Unit

Nov. 9, 1950

SRC - Publication

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send me your bulletin "The Condition Of Our Rights"?

I need this information in a course of Racial Sociology and would appreciate your sending this ~~as~~ soon as possible.

Thank you -

Hazel Stanley
Limestone College
Gaffney, S.C.

Sent Yellow Jacket
11/15/50

SRC - Publications

Gentlemen:

Please send me a list of your publications that are now available, both free and for sale.

Thank you.

DAVIS C. HILL
BOX 373
BAPTIST SEMINARY
LOUISVILLE 6,
Ky.

Southern Regional Council
NOV 21 1950

Sent list
11/15/50

SRC - Publications

Georgiana High School
Georgiana, Alabama
November 16, 1950

RECEIVED
NOV 17

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Gentlemen:

Since a group of the Sr. Class of Georgiana High School is making an extensive survey of the Problem of the Negro, we would like for you to send us the following Pamphlets:

"Brothers In Black" By Richards, J. McDowell	$.05
The Durham Statement; The Atlanta Statement and The Richmond Statement	.05
Total Cost	$.10

Norman has
-BR

We are enclosing the cost of each pamphlet and if you have any free material concerning this subject, we would appreciate your sending it to us.

Thanking you I am,

Sincerely yours,

Mildred Hall
Sr. Class

Out. Sent 10th Man
& publication list.
11/22/50

Sent pub. list 11/29/50

SRC - Publication

Robyn Jean Peery
118 East Elmwood Ave.
Dayton 5, Ohio

Nov. 20, 1950

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1950
Southern Regional

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs;

Our Social Problems class is studying Racial and Religiooos Tolerance and would be very interested in seeing your pamphlet "Understanding Our Neighbors" and any other literature you have on this worthwhile subject. We would appreciate several copies of anything you can send. If there is a charge for this, I will be glad to pay you.

Thank you very much. Please send it to the above address, as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Robyn Peery

SRC - Publications

110 Snell Hall
Corvallis, Oregon
November 21, 1950

Dear Sir:

I would greatly appreciate receiving a copy of Race in the News.

Sincerely,
(Miss) Faye Geltner

Sent order blank 11/29/50

SRC - Publications

Dear Sirs:

Please send me your free booklets on, "Machines in the Cotton Fields."

I hope to be able to use this information in my practice teaching units.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Doris Myers
Box 745
Peoria, Arizona

Sent pub. list 11/21/50

SRC - Publications

BISHOP COLLEGE

MARSHALL, TEXAS

November 22, 1950

OFFICE OF THE BUSINESS MANAGER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find our check # 2150
for $ 2.31 for ~~account through~~ Twelve (12) Copies
"The Southern Regional Council" - It's Origin
and purpose 1950.

Very truly yours,

BISHOP COLLEGE

S. E. Lassiter
Business Manager

Enclosure 1

edb

Out. Returned check list 11/30/50. HCF

1 sent publications
1 Punch pamphlet

RECEIVED
NOV 27 1950
Southern Regional Council

SRC Publications

Nov. 26, 1950

Dear Sirs,

Would you please send me your pamphlet, Understanding Our Neighbors. Prompt action would be appreciated very much since I have to give a talk in our history class sometime during the week of the 27th. My return adress is at the bottem of the letter.

Yours truly,

Richard Kraatz

Richard Kraatz
106 51st
Des Moines, Iowa

Out.
Sent pub list 11/29/50

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1950
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Southern Regional Counc

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THE H.W.WILSON COMPANY

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WILSON LIBRARY BULLETIN

November 27, 1950

RECEIVED
DEC 3 1950

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

10¢

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge your letter of November 22, and the pamphlet "Safety, security and the south," which we shall list in an early issue of the Vertical File Service Catalog. Please let us know the retail postpaid price of the pamphlet, so that we will have complete information for listing.

done (10¢)

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There is no charge for the listing, and orders will go direct to you.

May we suggest that you put our name on your mailing list so that we will receive review copies of your pamphlets and booklets as they are published.

done

Sincerely yours

Hilda McDonald

Hilda McDonald
Vertical File Service Catalog

M

Sent 12/4/50

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Key to Abbreviations

abstr	abstract
acad	academy
act	action
adm	administration
adv	advertising
aero	aeronautics
agric	agriculture
agricl	agricultural
Alta	Alberta
Am	American
Amer	America
anthropl	anthropological
anthropy	anthropology
assn	association
av	avenue
B C	British Columbia
bd	board
bibliog	bibliography
bibliogc	bibliographic
bibliogl	bibliographical
biol	biological
bk	book
bldg	building
bldr	builder
blvd	boulevard
bndg	binding
bot	botanical
br	branch
bro	brother
bul	bulletin, -s
bur	bureau
bus	business
c	cent, -s
Can	Canada, -ian
Cath	Catholic
Chr	Christian
circ	circular
cl	cloth
co	company
col	colored
coll	college
com	committee
comm	commerce, commission
comp	compiled
concil	conciliation
conf	conference
cong	congress
cons	conservation
constr	construction
contemp	contemporary
contrib	contribution
coop	cooperative
corp	corporation
counc	council
curric	curriculum
D	December
democ	democracy
dept	department
devel	development
diag	diagram
discuss	discussion
div	division
doc	document
dr	drive
E	East
ea	each
econ	economic
ed	edited, -ion
educ	education
educl	educational
elec	electric
elecl	electrical
eng	engineering
Engl	English
engr	engineer
enl	enlarged
exch	exchange
exec	executive
exp	experiment
ext	extension
fed	federal
fedn	federation
fin	finance
finl	financial
for	foreign
found	foundation
gen	general
geogy	geography
geol	geological
gov	government
govl	governmental
grad	graduate
hist	historical
histy	history
hyg	hygiene
il	illustration, -s
inc	incorporated
ind	industry
indl	industrial
inf	information
ins	insurance
inst	institute
instn	institution
instr	instruction
int	international
interp	interpreter
jour	journal
jr	junior
jt	joint
L I	Long Island
lab	laboratory
lang	language
lect	lecture
legis	legislative
legn	legislation
lib	library
libn	librarian
lit	literature
mag	magazine
mech	mechanical
med	medical
mem	memoir
meml	memorial
memo	memorandum
met	metropolitan
mfg	manufacturing
mfrs	manufacturers
mim	mimeographed
misc	miscellaneous
miss	missionary
mo	monthly
mod	modern
mono	monograph, -s
Mr	March
mt	mount, -ain
munic	municipal
mus	museum
N	North
NW	Northwest
nat	national
nd	no date
no	number
ns	new series
occ	occasional
Ont	Ontario
op	out of print
org	organization
p	page, -s
pa	paper, -s
pam	pamphlet
pet	petroleum
philos	philosophy
philosl	philosophical
phys	physical
pk	park
pl	place, plate, -s
pol	political
por	portrait, -s
pres	president
prob	problem
proc	proceedings
prod	production
prof	professional
prog	program
proj	project
psychol	psychological
pt	part
ptg	printing
pub	public
pubg	publishing
pubn	publication
pubr	publisher
rd	road
rec	record
ref	reference
rel	relations
relig	religious
rep	report
repr	reprint, -s
res	research
rev	revised, review
rr	railroad
ry	railway
S	South
S I	Staten Island
SW	Southwest
sch	school
sci	science, -s
scifc	scientific
sec	section
secy	secretary
sel	selected
ser	series
serv	service
soc	social
sociol	sociology
socy	society
sp	special
sq	square
st	street, saint
sta	station
stat	statistics
statcl	statistical
subcom	subcommittee
sup	supplement
supt	superintendent
T H	Territory of Hawaii
tech	technical
techy	technology
theol	theological
tr	translated
UN	United nations
univ	university
unp	unpaged
v	volume, -s
voc	vocational
vp	various paging
W	West
welf	welfare
yr	year
zool	zoological

Suggestions for Ordering Pamphlets

Pamphlets listed in this Catalog should be ordered from their publishers or sources which are given in the entries.

When amount of purchase is small, it is well to include payment with order. Unless otherwise stated, all prices include postage. Discounts to libraries are mentioned only when unusual.

When pamphlets are listed as free, it should be understood that frequently single copies only are available. Quantity prices will be quoted by the publisher.

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To facilitate filing of pamphlets received, see Title Index at back of this Catalog for subject headings.

The Vertical File Service Catalog is issued monthly except in August, and cumulated annually.

The Vertical File Service Catalog

ANNOTATED SUBJECT CATALOG OF PAMPHLETS

July, 1950

ACCIDENTS, Industrial
Annual report on industrial accidents in Illinois; part 1, industrial injuries reported in 1949. 63p '50 Ill dept of labor Div of stat & res 160 N La Salle st Chicago 1 free [mim]

ACCOUNTING
Dairy accounting, by L. J. Desmond. (Bul no401) 9p chart '50 Univ of Ill Bus management serv Urbana Ill free

ADOLESCENCE
This is the adolescent, by L. K. Frank. 10p '49 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 20c
Reprint from "Understanding the child," June 1949

ADOPTION
Adoptive parents need help, too, by A. L. Rautman. 10p '49 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 10c
Reprint from "Mental hygiene," July 1949

AGE and employment
When are we too old to work, by W. G. Caples & H. A. Rusk. (Town meeting v 16 no7) 16p '50 Town hall inc 123 W 43d st N Y 18 10c
Text of radio forum

AIRLINES

Statistics
Air transport facts and figures. 11th ed 15p charts '50 Air transport assn of Amer 1107 16th st Washington 6 D C free

ANIMALS, Extinct
Guide to the prehistoric animal exhibits in the Children's museum of Indianapolis, by Rosemary Skaggs. 6p il nd Children's mus of Indianapolis 3010 N Meridian st Indianapolis 8 15c [mim]
Information prepared for classroom discussion prior to museum visit

APPLICATIONS for positions
How to get the job, by Howard Wilson. 48p il '50 Econ inst Box 1160 Chicago 90 50c
Step-by-step procedure for getting a job

ARCHITECTS
Architect and public housing, by Ramsey Findlater & others. (Pubn N285) 8p '50 Nat assn of housing officials 1313 E 60th st Chicago 37 50c
A message for local housing authorities

ARITHMETIC
Arithmetic review for retail training groups, by J. S. Graham & J. W. Wingate. rev ed 43p nd N Y univ Sch of retailing Washington sq N Y 3 75c [mim]

ATOMIC power

Control
How far have we progressed in the control of atomic energy, by Charles Hodges & others. (Queens coll radio forum) 6p '50 Queens coll Flushing N Y 10c
Tenth semi-annual radio symposium
Minutes to midnight, ed by Eugene Rabinowitch. (Atomic sci & educ ser no 1) 128p '50 Bul of the atomic scientists 53 W Jackson blvd Chicago 4 $1
Documents and speeches on international control of atomic energy, with connecting commentary
Secrecy and security in science and democracy. 18p '50 N Y com on atomic inf Relig & welfare com 39 Broadway N Y 6 35c [mim]
Twelfth exploratory meeting, March 13, 1950 at Cooper Union school of engineering, New York

International aspects
International effects and implications of atomic energy. 15p '49 N Y com on atomic inf Relig & welfare com 39 Broadway N Y 6 30c [mim]
Eleventh exploratory meeting, December 13, 1949, at Woodrow Wilson foundation, New York

Study and teaching
Educational effects and implications of atomic energy in the social sciences. 22p '49 N Y com on atomic inf Relig & welfare com 39 Broadway N Y 6 35c [mim]
Tenth exploratory meeting, October 25th, 1949 at Fordham school of education, New York

AUSTRIA

Allied occupation
Hopeless but not serious, by Alfred Crofts. (Journeys behind the news v 12 no32) 7p '50 Soc sci found c/o Univ of Denver Denver 10 5c [mim]
Hopeful and threatening aspects of the Austrian situation

AUTOMOBILE drivers

Testing
Chemical test case law, by R. L. Donigan. 83p '50 Northwestern univ Traffic inst 1704 Judson av Evanston Ill $2
Legal aspects of and constitutional issues involved in chemical tests to determine intoxication

AVIATION

International aspects
Standards and recommended practices: aeronautical telecommunications. 35p diags '50 Int civil aviation org 1080 University st Montreal Can 35c
Annex 10 to Convention on international civil aviation
Wings over the world, by Alfred Crofts. (Journeys behind the news v 12 no37) 7p '50 Soc sci found c/o Univ of Denver Denver 10 5c [mim]
International air transport in 1950

AZTECS
Montezuma's dinner, by L. H. Morgan. 79p por '50 N Y labor news co 61 Cliff st N Y 8 50c
Reprint of essay (first published in "North American review," April 1876) on tribal society of Aztec Indians

B

BAHAMA islands
Bahama islands, by E. T. Smith. 91p il '50 The author 1313 1st st Fort Myers Fla $1
Cover title "Travelogue of the Bahama islands"

BASEBALL
Famous slugger year book, 1950. 62p il '50 Hillerich & Bradsby co 434 Finzer st Louisville 2 Ky free to lib
Articles on batting, batting records, etc.
Official baseball rules, completely revised, 1950. 83p il '50 C C Spink & son 2012 Washington av St Louis 3 50c

BASEBALL—*Continued*
One for the book for 1950, by Leonard Gettelson. 287p il '50 C C Spink & son 2012 Washington av St Louis 3 $1
All-time major league records
Ready reckoner of baseball club standings. rev ed 128p '50 C C Spink & son 2012 Washington av St Louis 3 50c
Sporting news dope book, 1950, comp by J. G. T. Spink & others. 60p '50 C C Spink & son 2012 Washington av St Louis 3 50c
Records of major league and players, and official baseball rules

BENELUX economic union
What is Benelux. 24p il '49 Netherlands inf bur 10 Rockefeller plaza N Y 20 free

BERMUDA
Description and travel
Gateway to Bermuda, ed by W. E. & S. E. Bell. 130p il '50 Gateway to Bermuda inc Box 1102 Grand central post office New York 17 50c
Guide book, with advertising

BIBLE
Some American Bibles. (Bul 55) 8p il '49 Univ of Mich William L Clements lib Ann Arbor Mich free
Supply limited. Facsimiles of title pages of eight rare American Bibles

BLINDNESS
Causes and prevention of blindness in children, by C. E. Kerby. (Pubn 110) 16p charts '50 Nat socy for the prevention of blindness 1790 Broadway N Y 19 free
Single copy free; additional copies 10c each. Preprint from "Sight-saving review," v20 no2

BONDS, Foreign
Statistical analysis of publicly offered foreign dollar bonds. (Bul no 167) rev ed 32p '50 Inst of int fin of N Y univ 90 Trinity pl N Y 6 50c

BOOKS and reading
Reading as one of the fine arts, by David Cecil. 16p '49 Oxford univ press 114 5th av N Y 11 60c
Inaugural lecture delivered before University of Oxford, May 28, 1949

BOXING
Is boxing legalized murder, by A. H. Steinhaus & others. (Am forum of the air v 13 no23) 15p '50 Ransdell inc 810 Rhode Island av Washington 18 D C 10c
Text of radio forum

BUDGET
United States
New federal fiscal control procedures on trial, by H. J. Miller. (Tax rev v 11 no5) 4p por '50 Tax found 30 Rockefeller plaza N Y 20 free
Way to cut is to cut, by H. L. Lutz. 19p '50 Nat assn of mfrs Distribution sec 14 W 49th st N Y 20 free

BUSINESS cycles
New facts on business cycles, by A. F. Burns. 83p '50 Nat bur of econ res 1819 Broadway N Y 23 free
30th annual report of the Bureau

BUSINESS education
Business education index, 1948, ed by M. H. Freeman & others. 40p '49 Gregg pubg co 330 W 42d st N Y 18 $1
Index of business education articles in selected list of periodicals and yearbooks published during year 1948
Business education index, 1949, ed by M. H. Freeman & others. 62p '50 Gregg pubg co 330 W 42d st N Y 18 $1.50
Index of business education articles in selected list of periodicals and yearbooks published during year 1949

BUSINESS management
Improving the effectiveness of management. (Bul no602) 24p il '50 Univ of Ill Bus management serv Urbana Ill free
Managerial decision-making, by Robert Tannenbaum. (Repr no9) 19p '50 Univ of Calif Inst of indl rel Los Angeles 24 free
Reprint from "Journal of business of the University of Chicago," January 1950

BUSINESS men
Builders of enterprise. 122p pors '50 N Y univ Sch of comm, accounts & fin Washington sq N Y 3 free
Citations of candidates for honorary degree of Doctor of commercial science, conferred in conjunction with ceremonies marking golden anniversary of School of commerce, accounts, and finance, New York university

BUSINESS schools
Directory of business schools in the United States, 1950. 31p '50 Nat assn & counc of bus schs 2601 16th st Washington 9 D C free

C

CAMP fire girls
Make mine democracy. 16p il '50 Camp fire girls 16 E 48th st N Y 17 free
1949 annual report

CANADA
Canada, 1950. 288p il '50 Dominion bur of stat Dept of trade & comm Ottawa Can 25c
Official handbook of present conditions and recent progress

Politics and government
Party forms in the Senate, by J. W. Lederle. 12p '50 The author c/o Univ of Mich Ann Arbor Mich free
Reprint from "Queen's quarterly," v57 no 1, 1950

CARICATURES and cartoons
Easy way to cartooning, by Lawrence Lariar. 48p il '50 Crown pubrs 419 4th av N Y 16 $1

CATHOLIC church
Relations—Protestant churches
Catholicism to-day. 58p '49 Times, London inc 640 5th av N Y 19 15c
Letters to the editor reprinted from London "Times"

CATHOLIC church and communism
Catholics and communism, by William Gallacher. 16p '48 Universal distributors co 52 W 13th st N Y 11 15c
Statement by British Communist M.P.

CENSUS
Population census methods. (Population studies no4) 197p '49 Columbia univ press Int docs serv 2960 Broadway N Y 27 $2
Postage extra when payment does not accompany order

CHEMISTRY
Review digest of chemistry, by Samuel Frank. rev ed 153p '49 Republic bk co 115 E 53d st N Y 22 25c to lib; 34c to others
Aid in preparation for New York state regents examination

CHILDREN
Management and training
Talking to a child, by Emily & Arthur Rautman. 7p '48 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 10c
Adult-child relationships. Reprint from "Mental hygiene," October 1948
Mental hygiene
These, our youngsters, by E. L. Middlewood. 39p il '49 Mich dept of mental health Bank of Lansing bldg Lansing 16 Mich free
Mental health of children informally discussed for parents
United States
What is happening to our war babies, by N. P. Gist & others. (Reviewing stand v 14 no23) 11p '50 Northwestern univ Radio dept Evanston Ill 10c
Text of radio discussion

CHILDREN, Abnormal and backward
Can we speed up the slow child, by E. S. Levine. (Repr no613) 3p '49 Volta bur 1537 35th st Washington 7 D C 10c
Effect of glutamic acid administration on the mental functioning of the slow deaf child. Reprint from "Volta review," June 1949
Teach the whole child, by Bernhard Scher. 2p '49 Jewish child care assn of N Y Pub rel dept 1646 York av N Y 28 10c
Experience of Edenwald school with retarded children. Reprint from "Better times," May 27, 1949

CHILDREN, Gifted
Education of the gifted. 88p '50 Educl policies comm 1201 16th st Washington 6 D C 35c

CHILDREN'S librarians
Children's librarian. (Bul v43 no8) 4p '50 Simmons coll 300 The Fenway Boston 15 free
Opportunities and requirements for children's librarians

CHURCH and education
Church, school and life, by R. W. Stopford. 46p '49 Oxford univ press 114 5th av N Y 11 50c
Statement of attitude of Christian churches of Britain towards education today

CHURCH and politics
Protestants in political action, by Thomas Keehn & Kenneth Underwood. (Soc act v 16 no6) 42p '50 Counc for soc act 289 4th av N Y 10 15c
Includes "Protestant political education and action agencies in Washington"; and "Preliminary views on Roman Catholic-Protestant relations"

CITY planning
Old ghettos and new housing. 6p il '50 N Y state com on discrimination in housing 35 W 32d st N Y 1 2c
Meaning of urban redevelopment

CIVIL rights
Civil rights and the Negro, comp by J. P. Guzman. (Recs & res pam no2) rev ed 28p '50 Tuskegee inst Dept of recs & res Tuskegee Institute Ala 30c [mim]
Annotated list of references relating to present-day discussions
Civil rights in Baltimore. 15p il '50 Baltimore urban league 2404 Pennsylvania av Baltimore 17 free
A community audit
Civil rights in the United States in 1949. 71p '50 Nat assn for the advancement of colored people 20 W 40th st N Y 18 25c
Balance sheet of group relations
Twenty questions on civil liberties. 2p '50 Am civil liberties union 170 5th av N Y 10 free

CIVIL service

Great Britain
Portrait of a profession, by Edward Bridges. 33p '50 Cambridge univ press 51 Madison av N Y 10 50c
Rede lecture, 1950. The civil service tradition in Great Britain

CLASS size
Size of class in 185 public-school systems in cities 30,000 to 100,000 in population, 1949-50. (Educl res serv circ no6 '50) 50p '50 Am assn of sch administrators 1201 16th st Washington 6 D C $1

CLAY, Henry
Henry Clay's last criminal case, by J. W. Coleman jr. 23p '50 The author Winburn farm Russell cave rd Lexington Ky 80c to lib; $1 to others

CLIPPER ships
Story of clipper ship sailing cards, by Allan Forbes. 274p '50 Am antiquarian socy Salisbury st & Park av Worcester 5 Mass $1
Reprinted from "Proceedings of the American antiquarian society," October 1949

CLOTHING and dress
Fashion and you. (Reader serv bklet no 10) 13p '49 Seventeen Reader serv dept 488 Madison av N Y 22 10c
Advice on clothing for teen-age girls

COAL industry
Coal industry, by H. M. Kilgore & others. (No634) 17p charts '50 Univ of Chicago Round table Chicago 37 10c
Text of radio discussion

COAL-steel pool (proposed)
New world by Robert Schuman, by Alfred Crofts. (Journeys behind the news v 12 no40) 7p '50 Soc sci found c/o Univ of Denver Denver 10 5c [mim]
Franco-German plan for integrating Europe

COLLECTIVE bargaining
Human relations side of collective bargaining, by R. D. Denham. (Management rep no54) 14p '49 Calif personnel management assn 870 Market st San Francisco 2 $1 [mim]

COLLEGES and universities

Discrimination
Discrimination in the college dies hard, by E. N. Saveth. 8p '50 Jewish com 386 4th av N Y 16 free
Reprint from "Commentary," February 1950

COLOR
Hiler color harmony chart and how to mix colors. '50 Hiler color systems 401 E Manhattan av Sante Fe N Mex $1
Color chart with revolving disk and directions for mixing colors

COLOR in industry
How color can increase your productivity, by R. B. Fetter. (Bus inf bul no8) 9p '50 Indiana univ Sch of bus Bur of bus res Bloomington Ind free
Use of color to improve visual conditions in factories

COMMENCEMENTS

High schools
1950 commencement manual. 320p '50 Nat assn of secondary-sch principals 1201 16th st Washington 6 D C $1

COMMERCIAL correspondence
On writing a letter. (Mo letter) 4p '50 Royal bank of Can Montreal Can free

COMMUNICATION arts
Education and the mass media of communication. 72p '50 Nat counc of teachers of Engl 211 W 68th st Chicago 21 65c
Utilization of modern communicational media as aids to instruction and learning. Reprint from "Elementary English," January-May 1950

COMMUNISM
War and peace, by Charles Malik. 42p '50 Nat com for free Europe 350 5th av N Y 1 5c
Statement made before Political committee of UN General assembly, November 23, 1949

United States
Communist influence among Negroes—fact or illusion, by L. B. Granger & Jackie Robinson. 15p '49 Nat urban league 1133 Broadway N Y 10 10c
Statements presented at Washington before House committee on un-American activities

United States—Anti-Communist measures
Are we fighting communism wisely, by W. G. Magnuson & K. E. Mundt. (Town meeting v 16 no6) 16p '50 Town hall inc 123 W 43d st N Y 18 10c
Text of radio discussion
Either the Constitution or the Mundt bill. 5p '50 New century pubrs 832 Broadway N Y 3 6c
Testimony against Mundt-Nixon bill before House un-American activities committee, May 2, 1950, by spokesman for the Communist party
Free and the brave, by Zechariah Chafee jr. 44p '50 Am civil liberties union 170 5th av N Y 10 25c
Letter to the House un-American activities committee, urging rejection of the Mundt-Nixon bill

COMMUNIST party (Great Britain)
Communist policy to meet the crisis. 64p '49 Universal distributors co 52 W 13th st N Y 11 30c
Report of 21st national congress of British Communist party

COMMUNITY planning
Casper lays the foundation, by F. H. Bair jr. (Community planning bul no 1) 12p '50 Univ of Wyo Adult educ & community serv Laramie Wyo free [mim]
First steps toward effective community planning

COMPENSATION (law)

Germany
Compensation legislation in Germany, by Nehemiah Robinson. 45p '50 Inst of Jewish affairs 1834 Broadway N Y 23 35c [mim]
A survey of enactments

CONSERVATION of resources
Approach to organization within government to advance the conservation of natural resources, by S. H. Ordway jr. 15p '50 Cons found 30 E 40th st N Y 16 free
This land of ours, by M. S. Stewart. (Pam no 162) 30p il '50 Pub affairs com 22 E 38th st N Y 16 30c
Principles of conservation pictorially presented

CONSERVATION of resources—*Continued*

Latin America

Report on conservation of renewable resources in Latin America, comp by A. L. Flugger & R. D. S. Keatley. 52p '50 Pan Am union Div of agric & cons 17th st & Constitution av Washington 6 D C free [mim]

CONSUMER education

College course in consumer problems. 134p '50 Nat assn of secondary-sch principals 1201 16th st Washington 6 D C 60c
Send payment with order. Handbook for instructors

COOKERY

Food for your crowd. (Reader serv bklet no 11) 15p '49 Seventeen Reader serv dept 488 Madison av N Y 22 10c
Recipes for teen-age parties

COOPER, William

Judge William Cooper (1754-1802): a sketch of his character and accomplishments, by L. H. Butterfield. 24p '49 N Y state hist assn Cooperstown N Y 25c
Reprint from "New York history," October 1949

CORN

American corn annual, 1950, ed by J. C. Anderson. 43p charts '50 Am corn annual 319 Scotch Plains av Westfield N J $2

Corn. 16p il nd Iowa devel comm Central nat bldg Des Moines 9 Iowa free
History, production, and harvesting of corn

CORPORATIONS

Reports—Bibliography

Corporation reports. (Bus inf sources v21 no 1) 4p '50 Cleveland pub lib Bus inf bur 325 Superior av Cleveland 14 10c
Annotated list of references covering content, development and distribution of annual reports

CORRESPONDENCE schools and courses

Home study blue book and directory of private home study schools and courses, 1950, comp by J. S. Noffsinger. 14th ed 32p il '50 Nat home study counc 2601 16th st Washington 9 D C free

Keeping abreast with progress, by F. B. Foster. 11p '50 Nat home study counc 2601 16th st Washington 9 D C free
Advantages of correspondence school study

COUNCIL of Europe

France and the Council of Europe. (News from France My 15 '50) 8p '50 French embassy Press & inf div 610 5th av N Y 20 free

COUNSELING

Solving social problems, by V. F. Smith. (Am guidance prog mono no 15) 24p '50 Res pubg co 687 Boylston st Boston 16 $1
Case histories outlining problem conditions and guidance procedure followed

COVENANT on human rights (proposed)

Commission on human rights: proposals concerning the draft covenant on human rights and its implementation. 4p '50 Int league for the rights of man 756 7th av N Y 19 free [mim]
Statement submitted by International league of the rights of man

CROCHETING

Bathroom beauties. (Bk no265) 16p il '50 Spool cotton co 745 5th av N Y 22 10c
Directions for crocheting decorations for towels

D

DEAF

Clinical psychology and children with impaired hearing, by H. R. Myklebust. (Repr no590) 4p '48 Volta bur 1537 35th st Washington 7 D C 10c
Reprint from "Volta review," February 1948

Let the deaf grow up, by A. B. Simon. (Repr no594) 4p '48 Volta bur 1537 35th st Washington 7 D C 10c
Reprint from "Volta review," April 1948

Method of appraising the speech of the deaf, by C. V. Hudgins. (Repr no617) 6p chart '49 Volta bur 1537 35th st Washington 7 D C 10c
Reprint from "Volta review," December 1949

Education

Equal educational opportunity for the hard of hearing, by Vivian Lynndelle. (Repr no226) 4p '50 Am hearing socy 817 14th st Washington 5 D C 10c
Reprint from "Hearing news," March 1950

New approach to the education of two and three year old deaf children. (Repr no614) 8p '49 Volta bur 1537 35th st Washington 7 D C 20c
Reprint from "Volta review," May, June 1949

Rationale for acoustic training, by C. V. Hudgins. (Repr no600) 4p '48 Volta bur 1537 35th st Washington 7 D C 10c
Reprint from "Volta review," September 1948

Rehabilitation of persons with impaired hearing, by M. L. Amos & D. B. Roblee. (Repr no218) 11p '49 Am hearing socy 817 14th st Washington 5 D C 10c
Reprint from "Hearing news," June, July 1949

Special room for hard of hearing children, by Leah Horsman. (Repr no223) 2p il '49 Am hearing socy 817 14th st Washington 5 D C 10c
Reprint from "Hearing news," October 1949

Speech perception in present day education for deaf children, by M. E. Numbers & C. V. Hudgins. (Repr no599) 8p '48 Volta bur 1537 35th st Washington 7 D C 10c
Reprint from "Volta review," September 1948

DEAFNESS

Prevention of deafness, by E. P. Fowler. 7p '50 Am hearing socy 817 14th st Washington 5 D C 10c
Reprint from "Archives of otolaryngology," January 1950

Rubella or German measles, by Irvin Hantman. (Repr no219) 1p '49 Am hearing socy 817 14th st Washington 5 D C 5c
Evidence that German measles may be cause of congenital deafness. Reprint from "Hearing news," September 1949

DEAFNESS, Instruments for

Problems in the selection of hearing aids for children, by Florence Olson & Margaret Soissons. (Repr no 604) 4p '48 Volta bur 1537 35th st Washington 7 D C 10c
Reprint from "Volta review," September 1948

DENTAL service

Symposium on dentistry's participation in health plans. 91p '49 Am dental assn 222 E Superior st Chicago 11 free
Reprint from "Journal of American college of dentists," September-December 1949

DENTISTS' assistants

Dental assistant, by Sarah Splaver. (Occupational abstr no 133) 6p '50 Personnel servs Main st Peapack N J 50c
Summary of literature in 95 references on vocation of dental assistant

DETROIT

Housing

Public housing in Detroit, 1948-1949. 24p '49 Detroit housing comm 409 Griswold st Detroit 26 free

DIET

Animal products in national diets, by M. K. Bennett. (Repr no 168) 9p '50 Stanford univ Food res inst Stanford Calif free [mim]
Supply limited

DIETITIANS

Dietitian, by H. A. Robinson. (Occupational abstr no 134) 6p '50 Personnel servs Main st Peapack N J 50c
Summary of literature on careers in field of dietetics

DISARMAMENT

America, Russia and the bomb. 71p il '50 Nat counc against conscription 1013 18th st Washington 6 D C pa 25c; cl $1

Indispensable ingredient of peace. 8p il '50 Nat counc against conscription 1013 18th st Washington 6 D C 5c

DISCRIMINATION in employment
It's your law, too! 5p il nd Int ladies' garment workers' union 1710 Broadway N Y 19 free
Urges union members to give active support to state and federal FEPC laws

DISCUSSION
Decision through discussion, by W. E. Utterback. 3d ed 51p '50 Rinehart & co 232 Madison av N Y 16 50c
A manual for group leaders

DISPLACED persons
Displaced persons act of 1948, as amended. (Interp relases v27 no26-27) 26p '50 Common counc for Am unity 20 W 40th st N Y 18 70c [mim]

DIVIDENDS

Taxation
Withholding a tax on dividends. 3p '50 Chamber of comm of the state of N Y 65 Liberty st N Y 5 free
Resolutions and report

DIVORCE
Are divorces ruining our children, by H. A. Bowman & V. J. Malone. (Town meeting v 16 no4) 16p '50 Town hall inc 123 W 43d st N Y 18 10c
Text of radio discussion
Can we control divorce, by M. S. Knowles & others. (Reviewing stand v 14 no22) 11p '50 Northwestern univ Radio dept Evanston Ill 10c
Text of radio discussion
Divorce: an American tragedy, by J. H. Miner & others. (Reviewing stand v 14 no21) 11p '50 Northwestern univ Radio dept Evanston Ill 10c
Text of radio discussion

DRAWING
Drawing for fun, by Frank Stearn & others. 95p il '50 Sentinel bks pubrs 112 E 19th st N Y 3 60c
Let's draw horses, by H. C. Harlan. 61p il '50 Blenis pubg co New Madison Ohio $2

E

EAR

Care and hygiene
Doctor's armamentarium, by R. L. Pohl. (Repr no224) 4p '50 Am hearing socy 817 14th st Washington 5 D C 10c
Reprint from "Hearing news," January 1950

EARTHWORMS
Fishing worms and how to raise them, by G. J. Kyle. 99p '49 The author 11 Main st Newville Pa $1

ECONOMIC cooperation administration
Counterpart funds: Europe's contribution. 12p il '50 Econ cooperation adm 800 Connecticut av Washington 25 D C free
Non-technical explanation of ERP "Counterpart funds"
Marshall plan. 18p nd Econ cooperation adm 800 Connecticut av Washington 25 D C free
Handbook of the Economic cooperation administration

ECONOMICS

Dictionaries
Glossary of economic terms, by Howard Wilson. 2d ed 32p '50 Econ inst Box 1160 Chicago 90 35c

ECUADOR
Ecuador. rev ed 40p il '49 Pan Am union 17th st & Constitution av Washington 6 D C 10c
History, government, resources, industry, culture, etc.

EDUCATION

Bibliography
Outstanding educational books of 1949. 4p '50 Enoch Pratt free lib Baltimore 1 5c
Reprint from "Journal of the National education association," May 1950

EDUCATION of adults

Canada
Adult education and the school, by J. R. Kidd. 36p il nd Canadian assn for adult educ 340 Jarvis st Toronto 5 Can 25c
Written primarily for Canadian teachers

ELECTRICITY in the home
Design details for electrical living homes. 23p il '50 Westinghouse elec corp Better homes bur 511 Wood st Pittsburgh 30 free to lib
Planning ideas for kitchens, laundries. 11p il '50 Westinghouse elec corp Better homes bur 511 Wood st Pittsburgh 30 free to lib
Suggestions for planning electric lighting and wiring in kitchens and laundries

EMPLOYMENT management
Basic approach to better management-employee communications, by Daniel Rochford. 14p il '50 The author c/o Standard oil co (N J) 30 Rockefeller plaza N Y 20 free
Address before first Film workshop of American management association, February 13, 1950. Includes basic list of films

Grievances
Making grievance procedures work, by Abbott Kaplan. 36p il '50 Univ of Calif Inst of indl rel Berkeley 4 Calif 25c
The Southern California experience

EMPLOYMENT systems
Use of tests in employee selection, by Mason Haire. (Repr no20) 15p '50 Univ of Calif Inst of indl rel Berkeley 4 Calif free
Single copy free; additional copies 20c each. Reprint from "Harvard business review," January 1950

ENGINEERS
Engineer as a manager, by J. M. Juran. 4p '50 N Y univ Coll of eng Bur of pub inf N Y 53 10c
Reprint from "Mechanical engineering," April 1950

EUROPE, Western

Union (proposed)
Union of Europe. 75p '49 Am com on united Europe 537 5th av N Y 17 free
Declarations of European statesmen
Western European union and the Atlantic community, by J. P. C. Carey. (Reps v26 no7) 16p '50 For policy assn 22 E 38th st N Y 16 25c
Includes "Regional economic groups," by J. P. C. Carey

EUROPEAN recovery program
After the Marshall plan, what, by E. C. Johnson & others. (Am forum of the air v 13 no20) 11p '50 Ransdell inc 810 Rhode Island av Washington 18 D C 10c
Text of radio forum
Marshall-plan and you. 18p col il '49 Netherlands inf bur 10 Rockefeller plaza N Y 20 free
Booklet written to explain Marshall plan to people of Netherlands
Marshall plan goals and gains as seen and reported by Otto Zausmer in the Boston daily globe. 67p '50 Econ cooperation adm 800 Connecticut av Washington 25 D C free
Marshall plan mid-way. (Topic of the month Ser A no26) 7p '50 Econ serv agency 1603 K st Washington 6 D C 25c
Recovery in Europe: the first two years of Marshall aid. 40p il '50 Econ cooperation adm 800 Connecticut av Washington 25 D C free
Account of progress in European recovery program, written for British people

EYE

Care and hygiene
Way to good vision, by M. T. Eberl. 8p '49 Am optometric assn Jenkins bldg Pittsburgh 22 free
How early examination, visual training, and adequate lighting can protect and sometimes improve eyesight. Reprint from "Parents magazine," May 1949
Your child must see well to grow well, by R. A. Bergin. 4p '49 Am optometric assn Jenkins bldg Pittsburgh 22 free
Reprint from "Visual digest magazine," Fall 1949

Injuries
Eye accidents to school children, by C. E. Kerby. (Pubn no 111) 12p charts '50 Nat socy for the prevention of blindness 1790 Broadway N Y 19 free
Single copy free; additional copies 10c each. Reprint from "Sight-saving review," v20 no 1

EYE—*Continued*

Protection

Wise owl clubs multiply, by Florence Nelson. (Pubn 121) 4p il '50 Nat socy for the prevention of blindness 1790 Broadway N Y 19 free
Single copy free; additional copies 5c each. Report on clubs for eye protection in 151 plants. Reprint from "National safety news," April 1950

F

FAMILY life

Spiritual values through family living, by E. M. Duvall. 6p '49 Am Unitarian assn 25 Beacon st Boston 8 free

FAMILY life, Education for

Education for family living. (Pubn no A-765) 40p '49 Am soc hyg assn 1790 Broadway N Y 19 35c
Symposium on general trends and work in progress in various communities and school systems. Reprint from "Journal of educational sociology," March 1949

Family life materials. 52p '49 Syracuse univ press 920 Irving av Syracuse 10 N Y 75c
Annotated lists of books, films and film strips, pamphlets and professional periodicals, and a glossary of terms

FARM produce

Prices

Farm price and income supports, by O. B. Jesness. (Nat econ probs no437) 29p '50 Am enterprise assn 4 E 41st st N Y 17 50c

FERTILIZERS and manures

Dictionaries

Dictionary of fertilizer materials, by H. C. Moore. rev ed 40p '50 Ware bros co 317 N Broad st Philadelphia 7 $1

FIRE protection

Standards of the National board of fire underwriters for the installation of air conditioning, warm air heating, air cooling and ventilating systems. (Pam no90) 32p diags '50 Nat bd of fire underwriters 85 John st N Y 7 free

FLOOD control

That we may have freedom from floods, by D. F. Johns. 14p '50 Irrigation districts assn of Calif Pacific bldg 4th & Market sts San Francisco 3 free
Flood control construction progress in California

FOOD supply

Japan

Critical food problem in Japan, by W. H. Leonard. (Journeys behind the news v 12 no39) 7p '50 Soc sci found c/o Univ of Denver Denver 10 5c [mim]
How America is planning to avert economic chaos in occupied Japan

FOSTER home care

Foster parent's manual. 8p '50 Jewish child care assn of N Y Pub rel dept 1646 York av N Y 28 25c

FOUNDATIONS, Charitable and educational

Review for 1949, by C. I. Barnard. 85p il '50 Rockefeller found 49 W 49th st N Y 20 free

FRANCE

France: setting or rising star, by S. K. Padover. (Headline ser no81) 64p il '50 For policy assn 22 E 38th st N Y 16 35c
Includes "France's role in the world," by Saul and Irma Padover

Glories of France, by Alfred Crofts. (Journeys behind the news v 12 no33) 7p '50 Soc sci found c/o Univ of Denver Denver 10 5c [mim]
Can France maintain its military and economic integrity

Colonies

French union. rev ed 31p il '50 French embassy Press & inf div 610 5th av N Y 20 free
Brief description of territories and states comprising the French union

Commerce

Development of French foreign trade in 1949. (News from France Je 15 '50 8p '50 French embassy Press & inf div 610 5th av N Y 20 free [mim]

Economic policy

France's economic recovery policy. (News from France Mr 15 '50) 10p '50 French embassy Press & inf div 610 5th av N Y 20 free
Achievements of the French union, 1947-1949 and objectives, 1950-1952

FREE enterprise

What can the small businessman do for private enterprise in his community, by W. L. Smith. 4p '50 Econ club of Detroit 321 W Lafayette av Detroit 26 free
Reprint from "Harvard business school alumni bulletin," Spring 1950

FRIENDS, Society of

Prophetic ministry, by H. H. Brinton. (Pam no54) 28p '50 Pendle Hill Wallingford Pa 35c
General theory of the Quaker ministry and how it operates in practice

G

GARDENS

Gardens as illustrated in prints: a picture book. rev ed 32p il '49 Met mus of art 5th av & 82d st N Y 28 56c
Introductory sketch and reproductions of prints in Museum's collection

GEMS

Art of gem cutting, by H. C. Dake. 128p il '49 Mineralogist pubg co 329 SE 32d av Portland 15 Ore $2

Northwest gem trails, by H. C. Dake. 80p il '50 Mineralogist pubg co 329 SE 32d av Portland 15 Ore $2
Field guide for gem hunter, mineral collector and tourist

GERMAN language

Grammar

Grammar for reading German, by K. R. Bergethon. 202p '50 Houghton Mifflin co 2 Park st Boston 7 $1.50
Second year workbook with recognition exercises

GERMANY

Germany and world peace, by J. P. Warburg. 20p '50 Current affairs press 25 Vanderbilt av N Y 17 25c
Past mistakes and future possibilities. Reprint of lecture delivered at University of Chicago, May 30, 1950

GERMANY, Western

Western Germany on trial, by Terence Prittie. (Behind the headlines v 10 no3) 20p '50 Canadian inst of int affairs 230 Bloor st W Toronto 5 Can 15c

GIFTS

Make your own gifts. (Reader serv bklet no 13) 21p il '49 Seventeen Reader serv dept 488 Madison av N Y 22 10c

GREAT BRITAIN

This little isle—this England, by Alfred Crofts. (Journeys behind the news v 12 no35) 9p '50 Soc sci found c/o Univ of Denver Denver 10 5c [mim]
Great Britain's place and influence in European reconstruction

Colonies and dominions

British colonies in 1949. (ID963) 53p '50 British inf servs 30 Rockefeller plaza N Y 20 free

Politics and government

Keeping left. 48p '50 Universal distributors co 52 W 13th st N Y 11 20c
Summary of accomplishments of first five years of British labor government

GROUP work

Group dynamics and social action, by K. D. Benne & others. (Freedom pam ser) 62p '50 Anti-defamation league of B'nai b'rith 212 5th av N Y 10 25c

H

HANDICRAFT

Art of shellcraft, by E. T. Smith. 38p il '49 The author 1313 1st st Fort Myers Fla 50c

Instructions for making fish scale jewelry, flowers and table decorations, sea shell jewelry, lamps, novelties and plaques

HEARING

Hard of hearing for seven days, by C. B. Cornell. (Repr no221) 2p '50 Am hearing socy 817 14th st Washington 5 D C 10c

Describes case of experimental injury. Reprint from "Hearing news," January 1950

Testing

Distribution of hearing loss and related factors measured at the 1948 San Diego county fair, by J. C. Webster & A. M. Small. (Repr no226) 7p '50 Am hearing socy 817 14th st Washington 5 D C 10c

Reprint from "Hearing news," February 1950

Hearing testing in a trailer, by Raymond Chase. (Repr no220) 3p '49 Am hearing socy 817 14th st Washington 5 D C 10c

Reprint from "Hearing news," November 1949

Rationalism in testing the hearing of children, by D. E. Morley. (Repr no606) 8p '49 Volta bur 1537 35th st Washington 7 D C 10c

Reprint from "Volta review," September 1948

HIGHWAY transportation

Road blocks on our highways, by Alexander Fraser. 15p '50 Econ club of Detroit 321 W Lafayette av Detroit 26 free

Examines some major problems facing highway transportation

HISTORIC houses, etc.

Heyward Washington house. (Leaflet no23) 16p il '49 Charleston mus Charleston S C 25c

Description of historic house in Charleston, S.C.

HOLMES, Oliver Wendell

Secret of Mr Justice Holmes, by H. R. McKinnon. 18p '50 The author 220 Bush st San Francisco 4 free

Argues that philosophy of late Justice Holmes was agnostic, materialistic, and harmful in its influence on American life

HOMES, Institutional

Discipline in the child care institution. 24p '50 Child welf league of Amer 24 W 40th st N Y 18 45c

Experiment in the supervision of cottage parents, by David Hallowitz. 10p '48 Jewish child care assn of N Y Pub rel dept 1646 York av N Y 28 10c

Reprint from "Jewish social service quarterly," December 1948

Separation problem in the child care institution, by David Hallowitz. 5p '48 Jewish child care assn of N Y Pub rel dept 1646 York av N Y 28 10c

Reprint from "Journal of social casework," April 1948

HOSPITALS, Psychiatric

Volunteer work with psychiatric patients, by M. H. Frank. 15p '49 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 10c

Reprint from "Mental hygiene," July 1949

Volunteers in mental hospitals, by M. H. Frank. 15p '48 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 10c

Reprint from "Mental hygiene," July 1948

HOTELS

Employees

Guest work, by Katherine Clifford. 6p il '50 Mademoiselle 122 E 42d st N Y 17 10c

Opportunities for college women in hotel field. Reprint from "Mademoiselle," May 1950

HOUSE decoration

You and your home. (Reader serv bklet no 12) 13p '49 Seventeen Reader serv dept 488 Madison av N Y 22 10c

Suggestions to teen-age girls for arranging furniture and decorating rooms

HOUSE organs

Bibliography

House organs. (Ref list no8) 6p '50 Harvard univ Grad sch of bus adm Baker lib Soldiers field Boston 63 free [mim]

HOUSES

Home idea book. 63p col il '50 Johns-Manville corp 22 E 40th st N Y 16 25c

Advertising booklet with suggestions for home building and remodeling interiors and exteriors

HOUSING

Labor's role in shaping home building policy and the future of cooperative housing in America, by H. T. Stichman. 18p il '50 N Y state Div of housing 270 Broadway N Y 7 free

Truth about public housing. 11p '50 Nat housing conf 1025 Vermont av Washington 5 D C free [mim]

Discrimination

Forbidden neighbors. 20p il '50 N Y state com on discrimination in housing 35 W 32d st N Y 1 20c

Points out opportunities of interracial living and evils of segregation

How to end segregation in housing. 14p il '50 N Y state com on discrimination in housing 35 W 32d st N Y 1 15c

Now is the time! 6p il '50 N Y state com on discrimination in housing 35 W 32d st N Y 1 free

Highlights of N.Y. state campaign against segregated housing

I

IDEAS

Great ideas, by C. B. Luce & M. J. Adler. (No 637) 17p '50 Univ of Chicago Round table Chicago 37 10c

Text of radio discussion of "syntopicon," an analysis of ideas in the "Great books"

INCOME

Factors influencing state per capita income differentials, by J. L. Fulmer. 20p '50 The author c/o Univ of Va Sch of rural soc econs Univ sta Charlottesville Va 25c

Reprint from "Southern economic journal," January 1950

INCOME tax

Fraud under federal tax laws, by H. G. Balter. (Repr ser no32) 12p '50 State bar of Calif Central tower San Francisco 3 30c

Reprint from "Los Angeles daily journal," May 4, 1950

INDIA

Tolstoi and India. 32p il '50 Amer & India feature & news serv 2107 Broadway N Y 23 35c

Exchange of views on struggle for Indian freedom, by Count Leo Tolstoi and Taraknath Das. Reprint from "Twentieth century magazine," November 1909, April-June, August, September 1910

INDUSTRIAL arts

Bibliography

Annotated list of technical publications for industrial arts education. 79p '50 Stout inst Grad office Menomonie Wis 50c [mim]

INDUSTRIAL relations

Charting a new course in employee relations, by K. W. Haagensen. (Management rep no58) 20p '49 Calif personnel management assn 870 Market st San Francisco 2 $1 [mim]

Profits or people, by H. E. Humphreys jr. 19p '50 U S rubber co Pub rel dept 1230 Av of the Americas N Y 20 free

Suggestions to management and labor for bringing profits and people into proper balance

Universities and industrial relations, ed by H. D. Woods. 70p '49 McGill univ Indl rel centre 1020 Pine av W Montreal Can $1

Contents: University and business, by S. E. Smith; Role of a university in industrial relations, by L. G. Reynolds; Research in industrial relations, by F. C. James; Industrial relations as a profession, by E. Bouvier; Laval university and industrial relations, by G. Tremblay; Economics and human relations, by V. W. Bladen

INFLATION (finance)
Does America want more inflation, by J. M. Hancock. 22p '49 Johns-Manville corp 22 E 40th st N Y 16 free
We have the inflation habit. 22p '50 Northwestern nat life ins co 430 Oak grove Minneapolis 4 free

INSTITUTION libraries
Manual of procedures for the institutional library. 35p '49 H K Spector c/o Calif state prison San Quentin Calif free [mim]

INSURANCE, Health
National compulsory health insurance is not the answer. 19p '50 Chamber of comm of the state of N Y 65 Liberty st N Y 5 free
Report and resolutions

INTER-AMERICAN bar association
General information concerning the organization, plans and conference regulations, Inter-American bar association, sixth conference, Detroit, Michigan, May 22-June 1, 1949. 90p '49 Inter-Am bar assn 1129 Vermont av Washington 5 D C $1.25
Resolutions of the sixth conference, Inter-American bar association. 31p '49 Inter-Am bar assn 1129 Vermont av Washington 5 D C $1.75 [mim]

INTER-AMERICAN conference on agriculture
Final act of the first Inter-American conference on agriculture held in Washington, D.C. September 8-20, 1930. (Cong & conf ser no7-A) 47p '50 Pan Am union 17th st & Constitution av Washington 6 D C 25c [mim]

INTERCULTURAL education
Point four and education. 27p '50 Educl policies comm 1201 16th st Washington 6 D C 20c
Comments on significance and urgency of Point four program
Primary teacher, by Helen Trager. 36p '49 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 20c
Case studies showing how teacher of very young children assisted in building intercultural attitudes. Reprint of chapter of "Intercultural attitudes in the making"

INTERCULTURAL relations
Let's get down to cases, by J. E. Alexander. 25p nd Anti-defamation league of B'nai b'rith 327 S La Salle st Chicago 4 15c
Case method study of intercultural relations, prepared for church youth fellowships
National programs of international cultural relations. (Int concil no462) 40p '50 Carnegie endowment for int peace 405 W 117th st N Y 27 10c

Drama
One world through friendship, by Sally Anderegg. 26p '50 William-Frederick press 313 W 35th st N Y 1 75c
Play for classroom and young group presentation

INTERNATIONAL education
Education for international understanding, ed by R. C. Hartnett. 46p '50 Amer press 70 E 45th st N Y 17 25c
Articles supplementing theme of 47th annual convention of National Catholic education association

INTERNATIONAL federation of free trade unions
World labor's new weapon, by David Dubinsky. 14p '50 Int ladies garment workers' union 1710 Broadway N Y 19 free
Reprint from "Foreign affairs," April 1950

INTERNATIONAL trusteeships
Trust and non-self governing territories. (Howard univ studies in the soc scis v6 no 1) 128p '48 Howard univ press Washington 1 D C $1.56
Papers and proceedings of the 10th annual conference of Division of the social sciences, Graduate school, Howard university, April 8-9, 1947
Wards of the UN: trust and dependent areas, by F. W. Riggs. (Reps v26 no6) For policy assn 22 E 38th st N Y 16 25c

IOWA
Iowa, center of our nation's food supply. 28p il nd Iowa devel comm Central nat bldg Des Moines 9 Iowa free
Thumbnail sketch of Iowa

ISRAEL

Description and travel
So you're going to Israel. rev ed 44p '50 Zionist org of Amer 41 E 42d st N Y 17 50c
Guide for the American tourist

J

JAPANESE Americans
Selective list of postwar printed materials on Japanese Americans. 5p '50 Japan int Chr univ found 44 E 23d st N Y 10 free [mim]

JERUSALEM
Memorandum on the question of Jerusalem. 15p '50 Israel office of inf 11 E 70th st N Y 21 free
Analysis of statute for Jerusalem and proposal for a solution, submitted to Trusteeship council of the United nations, 7th session, by delegation of Israel to the United nations

JEWS

Political and social conditions
New trends in Jewish sociology, by Ariah Tartakower. 16p '50 Conf on Jewish rel 1841 Broadway N Y 23 52c
Reprint from "Jewish social studies," v 12 no2

JEWS in Europe
Operation murder, by Anatole Goldstein; ed by Maximilian Hurwitz. (Lest we forget ser no 1) 39p '49 Inst of Jewish affairs 1834 Broadway N Y 23 35c
Account of Nazi mass murder of Jews of eastern Europe

JEWS in Germany
Jewish population of Germany, 1939-1945, by Bruno Blau. 12p '50 Conf on Jewish rel 1841 Broadway N Y 23 52c
Reprint from "Jewish social studies," v 12 no2

JEWS in Iran
Jews of Persia, 1795-1940, by W. J. Fischel. 42p '50 Conf on Jewish rel 1841 Broadway N Y 23 53c
Reprint from "Jewish social studies," v 12 no2

JEWS in the United States
American Jew. 70p charts '50 Office for Jewish population res 165 W 46th st N Y 19 free
Contents: Some demographic features, by B. B. Seligman; Economic status and occupational structure, by E. E. Cohen. Reprint from "American Jewish year book," 1950

JOURNALISM

Study and teaching
Bibliography of films and filmstrips for teachers of journalism. 54p '49 Harry Heath c/o Iowa state coll Dept of tech journalism Ames Iowa 35c [mim]
Send cash with order

JUVENILE delinquency
Juvenile delinquents in New Jersey state institutions, by Emil Frankel. 23p '50 N J state dept of instns & agencies 135 W Hanover st Trenton 7 N J free [mim]
Statistical review of current trends

L

LABOR and laboring classes

Bibliography
Labor's library. 2d ed 81p '50 Workers educ bur 1440 Broadway N Y 18 25c
Annotated list of publications dealing with organized labor movement

LABOR laws and legislation
Administration of our federal labor laws, by J. C. Gray. (Management rep no50) 11p '49 Calif personnel management assn 870 Market st San Francisco 2 $1 [mim]
Appraisal of New Mexico labor legislation, by Nathaniel Wollman. (Pubns no24) 65p '50 Univ of N Mex Dept of gov Div of res Albuquerque N Mex 50c

Minnesota labor relations acts—an opinion survey, by Jack Stieber. (Repr ser no3) 13p '49 Univ of Minn Indl rel center Minneapolis 14 free
Reprint from "Harvard business review," November 1949
Prospects for effective labor legislation, by R. M. Nixon. (Management rep no64) 14p '49 Calif personnel management assn 870 Market st San Francisco 2 $1 [mim]

LAS VEGAS, Nevada
In Las Vegas I recommend: where to go, stop, eat, play and shop, by R. L. Hill. 56p il '50 Hillsway co 1620 E 2d st Long Beach Calif 50c

LEADERSHIP
Challenge to leadership in business, labor and government, by H. W. Steinkraus. 20p '50 Chamber of comm of the U S Publicity dept Washington 6 D C free
Do you really lack leaders. (New dominion ser no 114) 9p '50 Univ of Va Ext div Box 1487 Charlottesville Va 10c
Free in Virginia. Some observations in community leadership
Experiments in leadership, by P. S. Achilles. (Management rep no44) 18p '49 Calif personnel management assn 870 Market st San Francisco 2 $1 [mim]
Leadership discussed from viewpoint of psychology

LEARNING and scholarship

China
China, the land of humanistic scholarship, by H. H. Dubs. 24p '49 Oxford univ press 114 5th av N Y 11 60c
Inaugural lecture delivered before University of Oxford, February 23, 1948

LEGAL ethics
Proposed uniform code of professional ethics for lawyers. 16p '49 Inter-Am bar assn 1129 Vermont av Washington 5 D C $1

LIBERTY
Students of liberty, by L. E. Read. 59p '50 Found for econ educ Irvington-on-Hudson N Y 50c
Extension of remarks presented on April 4, before students taking course "Comparative economic systems," at University of Pittsburgh

LIBRARIANS
Why be a librarian. 8p nd Margaret Willis c/o Louisville free pub lib Louisville 3 Ky 5c

LIQUOR problem
Modern approach to the problem of alcohol in public education, by H. S. Warner. rev ed 16p '50 Intercollegiate assn 12 N 3d st Columbus 15 Ohio 15c

LOBBYING
Lobbyists in action (how strings are pulled), by F. L. Burdette. 61p '50 Nat capitol pubrs Box 7706 Washington 4 D C 75c

LOCAL finance
State and local finance in Virginia. 57p '50 Univ of Va Bur of pub adm 20 Rotunda Charlottesville Va $1 [mim]
Papers presented to Institute on state and local finance, Arlington, Va, January 27-28, 1950

LONG BEACH, California
In Long Beach I recommend: where to go, stop, eat, play and shop, by R. L. Hill. 56p il '50 Hillsway co 1620 E 2d st Long Beach Calif 50c

M

MAINE

Description and travel
Sketches of scenic Maine, by E. O. Nielsen; text by Ruth Chaplin & Jean Jordan. 43p il '49 Falmouth pubg house 4 Milk st Portland Me $1
20 pen and ink drawings, with text

MARRIAGE
Marriage and divorce in the United States today. (Pubn no A-681) 35p '49 Am soc hyg assn 1790 Broadway N Y 19 20c
Contents: Marriage and family counseling: whose job is it—a panel discussion; Marriage in the modern world, by B. Buell; Family and civilization, by C. C. Zimmerman. Reprint from "Journal of social hygiene," April 1947

MATURITY, Social
Teamwork for maturity, by A. V. Keliher. 6p '49 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 10c
Points out need of cooperation of home, school and community in assisting teenagers in development of maturity. Reprint from "Mental hygiene," April 1949

MEDICAL laws and legislation
Law of medicine, by Parnell & Justin Callahan. (Legal almanac ser no20) 80p '50 Oceana pubns 461 W 18th st N Y 11 pa $1; cl $2

MEDICINE

History
Eighteenth century medicine in America, by R. H. Shryock. 20p '50 Am antiquarian socy Salisbury st & Park av Worcester 5 Mass $1
Reprint from "Proceedings of the American antiquarian society," October 1949

Study and teaching
Medical education in Virginia. 29p '49 Comm to study med educ Richmond Va free
Report of the Commission to the Governor and the General assembly of Virginia

MEDICINE, Psychosomatic
Psychosomatic medicine: clinical and research implications, by O. S. English. 8p '48 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 10c
Reprint from "Mental hygiene," October 1948

MENTAL hygiene
Community education through press, radio, films, and drama, by Nina Ridenour. 7p '49 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 10c
Reprint from "Mental hygiene," January 1949

MENTALLY handicapped

Rehabilitation
Vocational rehabilitation of the psychiatrically disabled, by T. A. C. Rennie & others. 9p '49 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 15c
Reprint from "Mental hygiene," April 1949

MERCHANDIZING
Proceedings of the Third annual fall merchandising conference. (Mich bus pa no21) 39p '49 Univ of Mich press 311 Maynard st Ann Arbor Mich 50c [mim]

MEXICO

Industries and resources
Basic industries in Texas and northern Mexico. (Latin-Am studies 9) 193p il '50 Univ of Tex Inst of Latin-Am studies Austin Tex free
Report of conference sponsored by Institute of Latin American studies, June 9-11, 1949

MILITARY training
Case against universal military training. 12p '50 Nat counc against conscription 1013 18th st Washington 6 D C 5c

MIMEOGRAPH
Amalgamated mimeo handbook, by Barbara Wertheimer. 16p il '49 Amalgamated clothing workers of Amer 15 Union sq N Y 3 25c [mim]
Manual on mimeographing, with samples of lettering, cartoons, etc. Intended especially for union leaflets

MONEY

International aspects
Sterling balances, by W. H. Chartener. (v 1 '50 no20) 17p '50 Editorial res reps 1205 19th st Washington 6 D C 75c to lib; $1 to others
World problems of British indebtedness, sterling debts and the British economy, and efforts to reduce pressure of balances

MOTOR vehicles

Laws and regulations
Motor vehicle sizes and weights. 61p '49 Commerce clearing house 214 N Michigan av Chicago 1 $1
State limitations as of November 15, 1949
Summary of state legislative action in 1949 in the field of the uniform vehicle code. 21p '49 State & local officials' nat highway safety com Barr bldg Washington 6 D C free to lib

MOTOR vehicles—Laws and regulations—*Cont.*
Uniform vehicle code. 4p il nd Nat com on uniform traffic laws & ordinances Gen servs bldg 18th & F sts Washington 25 D C free
Summary of provisions of five model acts designed for adoption by the states

MUNICIPAL finance
Financing Florida municipalities in 1948, by C. H. Donovan & Wylie Kilpatrick. (Studies in pub adm no5) 103p '50 Univ of Fla Pub adm clearing serv Gainesville Fla free

MUSEUMS
Charleston museum: its history, collections, activities. (Leaflet no24) 15p '49 Charleston mus Charleston 16 S C 15c

MUSIC

Brazil
Brief history of music in Brazil, by L. H. Correa de Azevedo; tr by E. M. Tylor & Mercedes de Moura Reis. (Music ser no 16) 92p '48 Pan Am union 17th st & Constitution av Washington 6 D C 75c
Text in English and Portuguese

N

NARCOTICS
Annual summary of laws and regulations relating to the control of narcotic drugs—1948. (UN pubns '49.11.16) 119p '49 Columbia univ press Int docs serv 2960 Broadway N Y 27 70c
Postage extra when payment does not accompany order

NATIONAL defense
Road back to America, by P. H. Douglas & others. (Am forum of the air v 13 no22) 12p '50 Ransdell inc 810 Rhode Island av Washington 18 D C 10c
Text of radio forum

NEGROES in the United States
Social miracle. 18p '50 Nat urban league 1133 Broadway N Y 10 5c
39th annual report of the National urban league
Urban league's responsibility to the future, by C. S. Johnson. 16p '50 Nat urban league 133 Broadway N Y 10 10c

Employment
How to organize the vocational opportunity and back-to-school campaigns. (Prog aids no 1) rev ed 22p '50 Nat urban league 1133 Broadway N Y 10 $1

Segregation
Segregation, a challenge to democracy, by M. C. McCulloch. 39p '50 Am miss assn Race rel dept c/o Fisk univ Nashville 8 Tenn 25c

NEW ORLEANS

Industries
Why industry heads south to New Orleans. 32p il '50 New Orleans chamber of comm 315 Camp st New Orleans free

NEW YORK (state)

History
Cinderella island, by R. R. MacLeod. 52p il '50 Oakfield pubrs Grand Island N Y $1
History of Grand island in the Niagara river

NORTHWESTERN university
Introduction to Northwestern university. 48p il nd Northwestern univ Office of admissions 1740 Orrington av Evanston Ill free

NURSERY school children
How a child feels about entering a nursery center. 9p '48 N Y com on mental health 105 E 22d st N Y 10 15c
A pamphlet for parents

NURSERY schools
How can nursery school be expected to benefit a child, by Barbara Biber. 8p '49 Bank st schs 69 Bank st N Y 14 15c
Reprint from "Journal of pediatrics," January 1949
What nursery school is like. 10p '48 N Y com on mental health 105 E 22d st N Y 10 15c
A pamphlet for parents

NURSES and nursing
Nursing, career with a future for you. 12p il '50 Com on careers in nursing 1790 Broadway N Y 19 free
Single copy free; additional copies 5c each
Nursing offers you a choice on the health team. 6p il '50 Com on careers in nursing 1790 Broadway N Y 19 free
Single copy free; additional copies 3c each

NUTRITION
Understand nutrition and live longer, by William Darby & others. (No 636) 18p '50 Univ of Chicago Round table Chicago 37 10c
Text of radio discussion

O

OCCUPATIONS

Bibliography
Selected sources of occupational information, by T. E. Christensen. 19p '50 Nat assn of secondary-sch principals 1201 16th st Washington 6 D C 20c
Preprinted from "Bulletin," v34 no 171

OFFICES

Lighting
Lighting the office, by C. L. Crouch. (Pubn 3) 8p il '50 Nat socy for the prevention of blindness 1790 Broadway N Y 19 free
Single copy free; additional copies 5c each. Reprint from "Sight-saving review," v20 no 1

OLD age pensions
Administration of old age security in California, by Margaret Greenfield. 92p '50 Univ of Calif Bur of pub adm Berkeley 4 Calif $1.25 [mim]

OPTOMETRISTS
Monograph on optometry. rev ed 20p '50 Am optometric assn Jenkins bldg Pittsburgh 22 free
Information on careers in optometry
Your outlook: optometrist. 3p '47 Am optometric assn Jenkins bldg Pittsburgh 22 free
Brief notes on requirements and opportunities for optometrists

ORRUM, Elley
Mistress of the mansion, by A. B. Addenbrooke. 39p il '50 Pacific bks Box 558 Palo Alto Calif $1
Biographical sketch of frontier woman who shared early riches of the Comstock mine

P

PAINTING, Flemish
Portraits by Flemish masters in American collections, by J.-A. Goris. 46p il '49 Belgian gov inf center 630 5th av N Y 20 free to lib
Introductory sketch, with reproductions of portraits

PAKISTAN
Pakistan—democracy in Asia, by Liaquat Ali Khan. 8p '50 Chicago counc on for rel 116 S Michigan av Chicago 3 30c

PARENT-child relationship
Discussion guide; temperate zone: three plays for parents about the climate of the home, by L. K. Frank. 31p '50 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 50c
Discussion guide for "Fresh, variable winds"; "High pressure area"; "Scattered showers" listed below
Fresh, variable winds, by Nora Stirling. 26p '50 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 $1
Dramatic sketch about parent's relations with school-age children. Intended for parents' meetings
High pressure area, by Nora Stirling. 27p '50 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 $1
Dramatic sketch about parental difficulties with teen-agers. Intended for parents' meetings

Scattered showers, by Nora Stirling. 27p '50 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 $1
Dramatic sketch about parental difficulties with pre-school children. Intended for parents' meetings

PART time employment
Importance of part-time employment, by P. H. Casselman. 8p '50 The author 112 Onslow crescent Ottawa Can 10c
Reprint from "American journal of economics and sociology," April 1950

PEACE
Peace and militarization. 76p '50 Com against militarization 5706 S University av Chicago 37 $1.50 [mim]
Psychological techniques for maintaining peace, by Walter Johnson & others. (No 635) 18p '50 Univ of Chicago Round Table Chicago 37 10c
Text of radio discussion. Includes "Plea for a rational approach to the problem of war and peace," by Ranyard West

PEANUTS
What do you know about peanuts? rev ed 15p il nd Planters nut & chocolate co 632 S Main st Wilkes-Barre Pa free

PENS
How to cut a quill, by Ralph Douglass. 1p il '50 Yankee goose farm Box 123 New Haven Conn 10c
Directions for cutting a goose quill for drawing or writing

PENSIONS, Industrial
UAW-AFL recommended pension plan. 4p '49 Int union United automobile workers of Amer 429 W Michigan st Milwaukee 3 free

PERSONALITY
Guide to self-discovery, by Louis Hlavacek. 25p '50 Guide pubns 53 W Jackson blvd Chicago 4 $1.15
Popular girl. (Reader serv bklet no9) 13p '49 Seventeen Reader serv dept 488 Madison av N Y 22 10c
Suggestions to teen-age girls on subject of popularity

PETROLEUM

Conservation
Saving your oil. 20p il nd Interstate oil compact comm Box 3127 State capitol Oklahoma City 5 Okla free
Examples of conservation achievements of the states as told by their governors

PETROLEUM industry and trade

France
France and the problem of oil. (News from France F 15 '50) 8p '50 French embassy Press & inf div 610 5th av N Y 20 free

United States
Facts on the importation of oil into the United States and the policy of Standard oil company (New Jersey) on oil imports, by Eugene Holman. 31p '49 Standard oil co (N J) 30 Rockefeller plaza N Y 20 free
Statement filed May 23, 1950, with Oil imports sub-committee of the Select committee on small business of the U.S. House of representatives
Oil producing industry in your state. 61p maps '50 Independent pet assn of Amer 1437 S Boulder st Tulsa 1 Okla free
Statistical survey of each state

PHYSICS

Study and teaching
Films selected for first-year college physics, by R. L. Weber. 5p '49 Pa state coll Dept of physics State College Pa free
Reprint from "American journal of physics," October 1949

PITTSBURGH, Pennsylvania
Recreation guide to the Pittsburgh region, by Gilbert Love. 108p il '50 Recreation cons & pk counc Magee bldg Pittsburgh 22 50c

PLAYGROUNDS, Home
Kit on how to plan a home playground. 37p il '50 Canadian welf counc 245 Cooper st Ottawa Can 50c [mim]

POLITICAL campaigns
President and mid-term elections, by B. W. Patch. (v 1 '50 no22) 18p '50 Editorial res reps 1205 19th st Washington 6 D C 75c to lib; $1 to others
Contents: Truman and mid-term election of 1950; Presidential intervention in 1918 and 1938; President as party and national leader

POPULATION

United States
Fifty million more Americans, by J. S. Davis. 17p '50 Stanford univ Food res inst Stanford Calif free
Comments on underestimation of U.S. population increase. Reprint from "Foreign affairs," April 1950

POSTURE
Blue prints for body balance. 16p il '42 Samuel Higby Camp inst for better posture Empire state bldg N Y 1 free
Human back . . . its relationship to posture and health. 16p il '44 Samuel Higby Camp inst for better posture Empire state bldg N Y 1 free

POTASH industry and trade
Recent developments in the economics of the Potash industry, with particular reference to Carlsbad, New Mexico, by L. H. Kurrelmeyer. 108p '50 Univ of N Mex Dept of gov Div of res Albuquerque N Mex 70c [mim]
Thesis presented to faculty of Department of economics, University of New Mexico

POTTERY
Ceramics and pottery making for everyone, by Carol Janeway. 127p il '50 Tudor pubg co 221 4th av N Y 3 pa $1; cl $3

PRAYER
Biblical principles of prayer, by K. L. Brooks. 32p nd Am prophetic league 4747 Townsend av Los Angeles 41 25c
A question and answer course

PRESBYTERIAN church in the United States of America
Changing South and the Presbyterian church in the United States, by E. T. Thompson. 221p '50 John Knox press 8 N 6th st Richmond 9 Va $1

PRESCHOOL children
Adventure in education of pre school children in India, by K. K. Bhoota & others. 95p il '49 Agricl missions 156 5th av N Y 10 75c
Report of the All India women's conference

PRESSURE, Political
Group action and its impact on the nation, by H. W. Steinkraus. 12p '50 Chamber of comm of the U S Publicity dept Washington 6 D C free

PRICE discrimination
Some notes on the Robinson-Patman act, by G. H. Whitney. (Rep ser no31) 25p '50 State bar of Calif Central tower San Francisco 3 30c
Includes "Fair trade versus free enterprise," by W. H. Knight; and "Some problems under Unfair practices act," by F. M. Wheat. Reprint from "Los Angeles bar bulletin," May 1950

PRINTING

Italy
Printers and readers in Italy in fifteenth century, by Victor Scholderer. 23p '49 Oxford univ press 114 5th av N Y 11 $1
Annual Italian lecture of the British academy, 1949

PRISON libraries
Librarian goes to San Quentin, by Bertha Marshall. 4p '50 H K Spector c/o Calif state prison San Quentin Calif free
Reprint from "California library bulletin," March 1950

Bibliography
Employees library. 10p nd H K Spector c/o Calif state prison San Quentin Calif free [mim]
List of professional material in employees' library in California state prison

PROFESSIONAL education
Applications to the professional schools and colleges for the fall term 1949, by W. S. Guthrie. 55p '50 Ohio state univ Coll of arts & scis Columbus 10 Ohio free
Manual of information for faculty advisers and counselors of pre-professional students

PROGRESS
What progress may we expect in the next half century, by G. V. Denny jr & others. (Town meeting v 16 no5) 24p '50 Town hall inc 123 W 43d st N Y 18 10c
Text of radio discussion

PROSTITUTION
Your community vs. the prostitution racket. (Pubn no A-756) 13p '50 Am soc hyg assn 1790 Broadway N Y 19 25c

PSYCHOANALYSIS
Report of the five year period, 1942-1947. 68p '48 Inst for psychoanalysis 664 N Michigan av Chicago 11 free

PSYCHOLOGICAL warfare
Contest for the world, by Alfred Crofts. (Journeys behind the news v 12 no38) 6p '50 Soc sci found c/o Univ of Denver Denver 10 5c [mim]
Psychological warfare techniques as observed on a world tour

PUBLIC relations
Public relations in business, by Nugent Wedding. (Bul 71) 46p '50 Univ of Ill Bur of econ & bus res Urbana Ill free
Study of activities of large corporations

PUBLIC utilities
Who pays for street and utility installations in new residential areas. (Tech bul no 13) 8p il '50 Urban land inst 1737 K st Washington 6 D C $2
A survey of municipal policy

R

RACE prejudice
Human rights problems in resort areas. 27p '50 Governor's comm on human rights State capitol Madison Wis free [mim]
Proceedings of Conference of Tri-state council on human rights, Madison, Wis, January 23, 1950
Industry's opportunity: improving group relations. 8p il '50 Nat conf of Christians & Jews 381 4th av N Y 16 free
Information on program to reduce racial and religious tensions in plants, factories and stores

RACE relations
First five years of the Mayor's friendly relations committee, 1943-1948, by J. E. Smith. 37p '50 Mayor's friendly rel com City hall Cincinnati 2 25c [mim]
Your three cents' worth: how the Mayor's friendly relations commitee served all the people of Cincinnati in 1949. 15p '49 Mayor's friendly rel com City hall Cincinnati 2 10c [mim]

Study and teaching
Instruction in race relations in American colleges and universities. 25p '50 Am counc on race rel 4901 S Ellis av Chicago 15 10c [mim]

RADIO apparatus

Repair
Rapid radio repair, by J. D. Burke. 101p il '50 John D Burke co 168-08 90th av Jamaica 3 N Y $1.25

RADIO frequency modulation
FM; its genesis and growth, by G. K. Thompson. 16p '50 The author c/o Western reserve univ Sch of lib serv 11111 Euclid av Cleveland 6 10c [mim]
Annotated bibliography

RAILROADS

Employees
Railway labor crisis, by F. C. Donnell & others. (Am forum of the air v 13 no25) 12p '50 Ransdell inc 810 Rhode Island av Washington 18 D C 10c
Text of radio forum

Finance
Investment in transportation, by H. A. Harrison. 133p '50 J S Duncan c/o Univ of N Mex Dept of econs Albuquerque N Mex 70c [mim]
Study of investment and financial problems of railroads and highways

United States
Review of railway operations in 1949. (Sp ser no80) 43p '50 Assn of Am rrs Transportation bldg Washington 6 D C free

RAILROADS and state

Bibliography
Nationalization of railways: 1939-1949. 30p '49 Assn of Am rrs Transportation bldg Washington 6 D C free [mim]
A list of references

RECREATION
Second annual California recreation conference, 1950. (Recreation in Calif pubn no7) 103p '50 Calif state recreation comm 909½ 8th st Sacramento 14 Calif free
Supply limited

REFUGEES, Child
Homeless children, by Therese Brosse. (UNESCO pubn no573) 76p il '50 Columbia univ press Int docs serv 2960 Broadway N Y 27 50c
Postage extra when payment does not accompany order
Report of proceedings of Conference of directors of children's communities, Trogen, Switzerland, July 5-10, 1948

RENT laws
Radio forum conducted by the Congress of industrial organizations on "Should federal rent control be extended," by A. L. Miller & others. (Amer united v6 no9) 11p '50 Cong of indl orgs 718 Jackson pl Washington 6 D C free

REPORTERS and reporting
Reporter. 4p il '50 Voc guidance centre 371 Bloor st W Toronto 5 Can 10c
Send payment with order. Information on reporting as career in Canada

REPORTS

Preparation
Plan before you write, by R. H. Moore. 84p '50 Rinehart & co 232 Madison av N Y 16 65c
Written with college student who needs remedial help primarliy in mind, but offers sufficient diversity in illustrative detail to make it also useful to non-college students

RESTITUTION claims (1933-)
On the restitution of looted property to Poland. (Docs & reps on Poland no6) 20p '50 Polish res & inf serv 250 W 57th st N Y 19 free
Two notes by the Polish ambassador to the U.S.
Restitution and compensation legislation in Austria, by Nehemiah Robinson. 22p '49 Inst of Jewish affairs 1834 Broadway N Y 23 35c [mim]
A survey of enactments
Restitution legislation in Germany, by Nehemiah Robinson. 59p '49 Inst of Jewish affairs 1834 Broadway N Y 23 35c [mim]
A survey of enactments

ROADS

Finance
Are highway-user taxes adequate, by H. D. Abbott. 8p '49 Calif state bd of equalization Sacramento 14 Calif free [mim]

RUBBER
Natural versus synthetic rubber, by C. S. Marvel & others. (Reviewing stand v 14 no 19) 11p '50 Northwestern univ Radio dept Evanston Ill 10c
Text of radio discussion

RUSSIA
Behind Soviet power: Stalin and the Russians, by Jerome Davis. rev ed 126p il '49 Readers press 489 Ocean av West Haven Conn $1

Statistics
International organizations and Soviet statistics, by Naum Jasny. 18p '50 Stanford univ Food res inst Stanford Calif free
Supply limited. Reprint from "Journal of the American statistical association," March 1950
Soviet statistics, by Naum Jasny. 9p '50 Stanford univ Food res inst Stanford Calif free
Reprint from "Review of economics and statistics," February 1950

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SAFETY devices and measures
Happy vacation. 8p il '50 Nat safety counc 425 N Michigan av Chicago 6 10c
Informal advice on vacation safety precautions

ST LOUIS

Charter
Increased efficiency and greater home rule provided in new St Louis charter. (Dollars & sense in gov no67) 4p chart '50 Govl res inst Paul Brown bldg St Louis 1 free

SALESMANSHIP
Job of selling America to the Americans, by H. W. Steinkraus. 19p '50 Chamber of comm of the U S Publicity dept Washington 6 D C free

SCHOOL finance
New sources of local revenues for public schools. 23p '50 Nat educ assn 1201 16th st Washington 6 D C 25c
Send payment with order

SCOTLAND

Description and travel
Scottish scene: a pictorial journey, ed by B. H. Humble. 62p il nd Universal distributors co 52 W 13th st N Y 11 $1

SEAMEN
How to get a job on a ship, by F. E. Tyarks & R. L. Pepperburg. 4th rev ed 44p '50 Harian pubns 10 Broadway Greenlawn N Y 50c

SECRET service

Bulgaria
Breakdown. 31p '50 Nat com for free Europe 350 5th av N Y 1 5c
Bulgarian tells how "confession" was extracted by Communist secret police

SEVENTH day Adventists
Your friends the Adventists, by A. S. Maxwell. 96p il '50 Pacific press pubg assn Mountain View Calif 20c

SEX crimes
Psychiatrist looks at sex offenses, by Philip Piker. (Pubn no A-702) 8p '49 Am soc hyg assn 1790 Broadway N Y 19 10c
Reprint from "Journal of social hygiene," November 1947
Sexual psychopath, a civic-social responsibility, by P. W. Tappan. (Pubn no A-791) 23p '49 Am soc hyg assn 1790 Broadway N Y 19 15c
Discussion of definitions, with comments on existing and needed legislation and treatment resources for abnormal sex offenders. Reprint from "Journal of social hygiene," November 1949

SEX delinquency
Women sex offenders in New York courts, by Bascom Johnson. (Pubn no A-772) 12p '49 Am soc hyg assn 1790 Broadway N Y 19 10c
Notes on current procedures in specialized courts dealing with women sex delinquints in New York city. Preprint from "Journal of social hygiene," November 1949

SEX instruction
Parent-teacher guidance in social hygiene education for family life, by T. W. Galloway. (Pubn no A-792) 33p '50 Am soc hyg assn 1790 Broadway N Y 19 35c
Excerpts from author's book "Biology of sex"
Short guide to Christian sex education. 24p '49 Morehouse-Gorham co 14 E 41st st N Y 17 45c
Drawn up by Education committee of the Oxford diocesan council for moral welfare

SHELLS (conchology)
Romance of sea shells, by E. T. Smith. 25p il '46 The author 1313 1st st Fort Myers Fla 50c
Describes more than 100 Florida and Bahama sea shells

SIGHT
What is school doing to your child's eyesight, by A. Q. Maisel. 7p '50 Am optometric assn Jenkins bldg Pittsburgh 22 free
Reprint from "Woman's home companion," January 1950

SKATING
Skating and skate dancing, by W. A. Radspinner. 102p il '50 The author Box 36 Village sta N Y 14 N Y $1

SLUMS
Neighborhood reclamation. 16p il nd Nat assn of real estate bds 1737 K st Washington 6 D C 15c
A working guide for local programs

SOCIAL hygiene
Penicillin is not enough, by R. A. Koch. (Pubn no A-799) 15p '50 Am soc hyg assn 1790 Broadway N Y 19 10c
How San Francisco is undertaking to deal with venereal disease and sexual promiscuity thru community program based on family life education. Preprint from "Journal of social hygiene," October 1950
Social hygiene and the police. (Pubn no A-797) 18p '50 Am soc hyg assn 1790 Broadway N Y 19 10c
Report of Commitee on social protection, International association of chiefs of police, 56th annual conference, Dallas, Tex, September 11-15, 1949

Bibliography
Social hygiene and the family case worker. 4p nd Am soc hyg assn 1790 Broadway N Y 19 free
Books, pamphlets, films, and exhibits selected for use by nursing and social work professions

SOCIAL psychology
Wanted: a pattern for modern man, by Weston La Barre. 13p '49 Nat com for mental hyg 1790 Broadway N Y 19 20c
Reprint from "Mental hygiene," April 1949

SOCIAL sciences
Social worlds of knowledge, by V. G. Childe. (L T Hobhouse meml trust lect no 19) 26p '49 Oxford univ press 114 5th av N Y 11 60c

SOCIAL work
Opportunity, security, responsibility—democracy's objectives, by L. B. Granger. 14p '49 Nat urban league 1133 Broadway N Y 10 5c
Address at opening general session, National conference of social work, Atlantic City, April 23, 1950

Case work
Casework recording as a reflection of casework practice, by C. M. Wechsler & F. T. Dover. 7p '49 Jewish child care assn of N Y Pub rel dept 1646 York av N Y 28 10c
Reprint from "Child welfare," November 1949
Family counseling: practice and teaching. 48p '50 Family serv assn of Amer 192 Lexington av N Y 16 $1
Papers presented at 75th anniversary conference of Jewish family service, April 7, 1949

SOCIAL workers
Social work as a profession. rev ed 31p '50 Am assn of soc workers 1 Park av N Y 1 10c

SOCIALISM

United States
Road ahead: America's creeping revolution, by J. T. Flynn. 207p '49 Com for constitutional gov 205 E 42d st N Y 17 $1

SOFTBALL
Official softball guide, 1950. 144p il '50 Amateur softball assn 11 Hill st Newark 2 N J 50c
Includes rules adopted by Joint rules commitee of softball
Official softball rules, 1950. 48p il '50 Hillerich & Bradsby co 434 Finzer st Louisville 2 Ky free to lib; 10c to others

SPANISH language
"Lloyd" traveler's language guide: English-Spanish, by W. M. Wusza. 210p '50 Orbis pubg co 132 White st N Y 13 $2
Repasemos, by E. I. Amateau; ed by Louis Cabat. 271p '49 Republic bk co 115 E 53d st N Y 22 45c to lib; 60c to others
Review of first two years of high-school Spanish

SPECIAL teachers
Practices and problems in recruiting teachers of the handicapped in large cities, by J. S. Orleans & Sondra Finkelstein. (Res pubn no2) 12p '49 Coll of the city of N Y Div of teacher educ 695 Park av N Y 21 free [mim]

SPEECH

Study and teaching
Films for speech and hearing instruction, by H. K. Sigurdson. (Repr no611) 4p '49 Volta bur 1537 35th st Washington 7 D C 10c
Reprint from "Volta review," May 1949

SPORTS
Sport of orienteering, by Stig Hedenstrom & Bjorn Kjellstrom. 120p il '48 Silva inc La Porte Ind $1.50
Ideas from Sweden for outdoor recreation, instruction, and competitive games for purpose of developing ability in use of map and compass

STATE governments

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American state government and administration, comp by W. B. Graves & others. (BX-275) 79p '49 Counc of state govs 1313 E 60th st Chicago 37 $1 [mim]
State by state bibliography of significant general and special works

STATELESSNESS

Study of statelessness. (UN pubns '49.14.2) 190p '49 Columbia univ press Int docs serv 2960 Broadway N Y 27 $1.25
Postage extra when payment does not accompany order

STEEL industry and trade

Some technological and economic problems of the steel industry, by R. E. Zimmerman. 13p '50 U S steel corp 71 Broadway N Y 6 free

STREET railroads

Employees

Street car operator and bus driver. 4p il '50 Voc guidance centre 371 Bloor st W Toronto 5 Can 10c
Send payment with order. Occupations of street car operators and bus drivers in Canada

SUCCESS

Your job and your future, by J. H. Janis. 52p il '50 N Y univ Sch of comm, accounts & fin Washington sq N Y 3 free
Suggestions for self-help in getting ahead in business

SUNDAY schools

New superintendent, by J. B. McMichael. 45p '50 John Knox press 8 N 6th st Richmond 9 Va 50c
Emphasis on new function of superintendent in modern Sunday school, as contrasted with function in school of two or three decades ago

T

TEACHERS

Salaries, pensions, etc.

Coming action on social security. 4p '50 Teachers ins & annuity assn 522 5th av N Y 18 free
Comments on proposed bill to extend old age and survivors insurance to employees of educational institutions

Planning a retirement system. rev ed 32p '50 Teachers ins & annuity asn 522 5th av N Y 18 free
For guidance of college pension committees

Tenure

Teacher tenure manual. 40p '50 Nat educ assn 1201 16th st Washington 6 D C 25c

TEACHERS in literature

Teacher in fiction; comp by Antoinette Ciolli. 11p '49 Brooklyn coll lib Bedford av & Av H Brooklyn 10 N Y free [mim]
Annotated bibliography

TEACHING

Aids and devices

Sources of free and inexpensive teaching aids, by Bruce Miller. rev ed 36p '50 The author Box 222 Ontario Calif 50c

TELEVISION

Seven rules for viewing television. 4p il '50 Am optometric assn Jenkins bldg Pittsburgh 22 free
Suggestions for visual comfort in viewing television

TEXTBOOKS

Prejudice in textbooks, by M. S. Stewart. (Pam no 160) 31p il '50 Pub affairs com 22 E 38th st N Y 16 20c

TOURIST camps, hostels, etc.

Ray A. Walker's recommendations. rev ed '50 The author Haverhill 1 Mass 10c
Directory of cabins, cottages, and motor courts in New England, New York, and on route south to Florida

TRADE agreements

Procedure for settling disputes under National maritime union agreements. 23p '50 Nat maritime union of Amer 346 W 17th st N Y 11 free

Welfare plans

Welfare plans and collective bargaining, by J. W. Whittlesey. 43p '50 Chamber of comm of the U S Employer-employee rel div Washington 6 D C 50c

TRADE unions

Winning grievances. 34p il '49 UAW-CIO Educ dept 28 W Warren av Detroit 2 15c
Picture strip illustrating grievance procedure for union stewards

Political activities

Labor in politics. 39p '50 Chamber of comm of the U S Employer-employee rel div Washington 6 D C 50c

Public relations

Public relations for labor. 8p '50 Int union United automobile workers of Amer 429 W Michigan st Milwaukee 3 free

Social work

Strike relief. 42p '50 Nat CIO community servs com 1776 Broadway N Y 19 $1 [mim]
Outlines program for union to mobilize resources of union and community to meet needs of striking workers

Europe

Report from Europe by the rank and file delegation of the International longshoremen's & warehousemen's union. 108p '49 Int longshoremen's & warehousemen's union 150 Golden gate av San Francisco 2 50c

TRAFFIC courts

Traffic law enforcement from the standpoint of the courts, by A. T. Vanderbilt. (David Beecroft meml lect) 22p por '49 Socy of automotive engrs 29 W 39th st N Y 18 $1

TRAFFIC regulations

Directing traffic: signals and gestures. 9p il '49 Northwestern univ Traffic inst 1704 Judson av Evanston Ill 15c

Directing traffic: vehicle movements. 21p il '50 Northwestern univ Traffic inst 1704 Judson av Evanston Ill 15c

Two suggested traffic ordinances. 14p nd League of Minn municipalities c/o Univ of Minn lib Minneapolis 14 free [mim]

U

UNEMPLOYMENT

Relief measures

Act now to halt unemployment. (Econ outlook v 11 no5) 8p '50 Cong of indl orgs 718 Jackson pl Washington 6 D C 15c
CIO program for action

When unemployment hits. (Pubn no 174) 14p il '50 Cong of indl orgs Dept of educ & res 718 Jackson pl Washington 6 D C 10c
Manual for CIO councils and local unions on developing services to meet immediate help and welfare needs of unemployed members

UNITED nations (organization)

UN story: toward a more perfect world, by D. B. Robins & F. A. Weed. 104p charts '50 Am assn for the United nations 45 E 65th st N Y 21 25c
Designed to meet needs of secondary school teachers and students of social studies for factual information on background and development of UN

U.N. struggle for peace, by Walter O'Hearn. (Behind the headlines v 10 no2) 21p '50 Canadian inst of int affairs 230 Bloor st W Toronto 5 Can 15c

Program suggestions for churches, synagogues and other religious organizations. 8p '50 Church peace union 170 E 64th st N Y 21 free
Suggestions for observance of United nations week, October 16-24, 1950

UNITED STATES

Congress

Outstanding roll calls in the House, January-June 1950, by R. M. Boeckel & Anne Munson. (v 1 '50 no24) 7p '50 Editorial res reps 1205 19th st Washington 6 D C 75c to lib $1 to others [mim]
Interim report

Outstanding roll calls in the Senate, January-June 1950, by R. M. Boeckel & Anne Munson. (v 1 '50 no23) 4p '50 Editorial res reps 1205 19th st Washington 6 D C 75c to lib; $1 to others [mim]
Interim report

Economic conditions

Where's our economy headed, by Owen Brewster & others. (Am forum of the air v 13 no24) 12p '50 Ransdell inc 810 Rhode Island av Washington 18 D C 10c
Text of radio forum

Economic policy

Economic crisis and the cold war, ed by J. S. Allen & others. 113p '49 New century pubrs 832 Broadway N Y 3 $1.06
Report of conference at Jefferson school of social science, May 14-15, 1949, presenting Marxist interpretation of U.S. postwar economy

Foreign policy

Can we maintain a bipartisan foreign policy, by Kenneth Colegrove & others. (Reviewing stand v 14 no20) 11p '50 Northwestern univ Radio dept Evanston Ill 10c
Text of radio discussion

Post office department

Postal deficit, by R. K. McNickle. (v 1 '50 no21) 16p '50 Editorial res reps 1205 19th st Washington 6 D C 75c to lib; $1 to others
Contents: Perennial problem of the postal deficit; Questions of rates and subsidies; Savings through better management

V

VETERANS guidance centers

Converting a veterans guidance center, by G. D. Barahal. 99p '50 Stanford univ press Stanford Calif $1.50

VISUAL instruction

How we use the tachistoscope, by F. T. W. Woolley. (Repr no222) 4p il '49 Am hearing socy 817 14th st Washington 5 D C 10c
Reprint from "Hearing news," October 1949

VOCATION (in religious orders, congregations, etc.)

Counseling for church vocations, ed by H. W. Ewing. 52p '50 Interboard com on Chr vocations Box 871 Nashville 2 Tenn 25c

Idea of Christian vocation. (Inf serv v29 no23) 4p '50 Fed counc of the churches of Christ in Amer 297 4th av N Y 10 10c

VOCATIONAL education

Vocational education in the junior college. 88p '49 Calif state dept of educ Sacramento 14 Calif free [mim]

W

WAR measures

United States

Stand-by laws for war, by W. H. Chartener. (v2 '50 no1) 18p '50 Editorial res reps 1205 19th st Washington 6 D C 75c to lib; $1 to others
Contents: Advance planning and modern warfare; Status of U.S. mobilization program; Proposals for stand-by legislation

WATER pollution

Pollution abatement policy, by T. R. Camp. (Proc Separate no 10) 9p '50 Am socy of civil engrs 33 W 39th st N Y 18 50c

WATER rates

Metered water and sewer charges in fourteen large cities of the United States. 15p '50 Bur of munic res of Philadelphia 311 S Juniper st Philadelphia 7 $1 [mim]

WATER rights

Whose water? 15p '50 Irrigation districts assn of Calif Pacific bldg 4th & Market sts San Francisco 3 free
Court testimony and judge's opinion concerning water rights in California

WATER supply

California

Where rivers are born, by C. E. Fox. rev ed 64p il '49 Calif state dept of natural resources Div of forestry Sacramento 14 Calif free
Non-technical story of California's watersheds

WEST

Pictorial record of the old West; 11, the Leslie excursions of 1869 and 1877: Joseph Becker, Harry Ogden and Walter Yeager, by Robert Taft. 29p il '50 The author c/o Univ of Kan Lawrence Kan $1
Reprint from "Kansas historical quarterly," May 1950

WORDS

"Contest" glossary of four and five letter words, comp by Rolene & Lial Wirick. 31p '49 Dictionary res reps 212 Broadway N Y 7 $2

"Contest" glossary of seven letter words, comp by Rolene & Lial Wirick. 71p '49 Dictionary res reps 212 Broadway N Y 7 $2

"Contest" glossary of six letter words, comp by Rolene & Lial Wirick. 39p '49 Dictionary res reps 212 Broadway N Y 7 $2

WORKERS' education

Jobs in workers education, by Orlie Pell. 8p '50 Am labor educ serv 1776 Broadway N Y 19 10c
Reprint from "Adult education journal," April 1950

Trends in university programs for labor education, 1946-1948. 16p '49 Am labor educ serv 1776 Broadway N Y 19 15c
Reprint from "Industrial and labor relations review," October 1949

White collar workshops; annual report, 1949. 9p '49 Am labor educ serv 1776 Broadway N Y 19 free [mim]
Report of summer school for office workers

WORKMEN'S compensation

Analysis of provisions of workmen's compensation laws and discussion of coverages. rev ed 59p '50 Chamber of comm of the U S Ins dept Washington 6 D C 50c

State workmen's compensation laws, by W. R. Dittmar. (Legal almanac ser no 19) 80p '50 Oceana pubns 461 W 18th st N Y 11 pa $1; cl $2

WORLD health organization

United nations and world health, by C. H. Moore. (Journeys behind the news v 12 no34) 8p '50 Soc sci found c/o Univ of Denver Denver 10 5c [mim]
Operations of World health organization

Y

YOUTH

How to solve your problems, by R. H. Seashore & A. C. Van Dusen. (Life adjustment bklet) 49p il '50 Sci res associates 228 S Wabash av Chicago 4 40c
Send cash with order. Suggestions to aid young people in solving their own problems. Instructor's guide available for 30c

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Soviet statistics (Russia—Statistics)
Special room for hard of hearing children (Deaf—Education)
Speech perception in present day education for deaf children (Deaf—Education)
Spiritual values through family living (Family life)
Sport of orienteering (Sports)
Sporting news dope book, 1950 (Baseball)
Stand-by laws for war (War measures—U.S.)
Standards and recommended practices: aeronautical telecommunications (Aviation—International aspects)
Standards of the National board of fire underwriters for the installation of air conditioning, warm air heating, air cooling and ventilating systems (Fire protection)
State and local finance in Virginia (Local finance)
State workmen's compensation laws (Workmen's compensation)
Statistical analysis of publicly offered foreign dollar bonds (Bonds, Foreign)
Sterling balances (Money—International aspects)
Story of clipper ship sailing cards (Clipper ships)
Street car operator and bus driver (Street railroads—Employees)
Strike relief (Trade unions—Social work)
Students of liberty (Liberty)
Study of statelessness (Statelessness)
Summary of state legislative action in 1949 (Motor vehicles—Laws and regulations)
Symposium on dentistry's participation in health plans (Dental service)

Talking to a child (Children—Management and training)
Teach the whole child (Children, Abnormal and backward)
Teacher in fiction (Teachers in literature)
Teacher tenure manual (Teachers—Tenure)
Teamwork for maturity (Maturity, Social)
That we may have freedom from floods (Flood control)
These, our youngsters (Children—Mental hygiene)
This is the adolescent (Adolescence)
This land of ours (Conservation of resources)
This little isle—this England (Great Britain)
Tolstoi and India (India)
Traffic law enforcement from the standpoint of the courts (Traffic courts)
Trends in university programs for labor education, 1946-1948 (Workers' education)
Trust and non-self governing territories (International trusteeships)
Truth about public housing (Housing)
Twenty questions on civil liberties (Civil rights)
Two suggested traffic ordinances (Traffic regulations)

UAW-AFL recommend pension plan (Pensions, Industrial)
UN story: toward a more perfect world (United nations organization)
U.N. struggle for peace (United nations organization)
Understand nutrition and live longer (Nutrition)
Uniform vehicle code (Motor vehicles—Laws and regulations)
Union of Europe (Europe, Western—Union)
United nations and world health (World health organization)
Universities and industrial relations (Industrial relations)
Urban league's responsibility to the future (Negroes in the U.S.)
Use of tests in employee selection (Employment systems)

Vocational education in the junior college (Vocational education)
Vocational rehabilitation of the psychiatrically disabled (Mentally handicapped—Rehabilitation)
Volunteer work with psychiatric patients (Hospitals, Psychiatric)
Volunteers in mental hospitals (Hospitals, Psychiatric)

Wanted: a pattern for modern man (Social psychology)
War and peace (Communism)
Wards of the UN: trust and dependent areas (International trusteeships)
Way to cut is to cut (Budget—U.S.)
Way to good vision (Eye—Care and hygiene)
We have the inflation habit (Inflation)
Welfare plans and collective bargaining (Trade agreements—Welfare plans)
Western European union and the Atlantic community (Europe, Western—Union)
Western Germany on trial (Germany, Western)
What can the small businessman do for private enterprise in his community (Free enterprise)
What do you know about peanuts (Peanuts)
What is Benelux (Benelux economic union)
What is happening to our war babies (Children—U.S.)
What is school doing to your child's eyesight (Sight)
What nursery school is like (Nursery schools)
What progress may we expect in the next half century (Progress)
When are we too old to work (Age and employment)
When unemployment hits (Unemployment—Relief measures)
Where rivers are born (Water supply—California)
Where's our economy headed (U.S.—Economic conditions)
White collar workshops; annual report, 1949 (Workers' education)
Who pays for street and utility installations in new residential areas (Public utilities)
Whose water (Water rights)
Why be a librarian (Librarians)
Why industry heads south to New Orleans (New Orleans—Industries)
Wings over the world (Aviation—International aspects)
Winning grievances (Trade unions)
Wise owl clubs multiply (Eye—Protection)
Withholding a tax on dividends (Dividends—Taxation)
Women sex offenders in New York courts (Sex delinquency)
World labor's new weapon (International federation of free trade unions)

You and your home (House decoration)
Your child must see well to grow well (Eye—Care and hygiene)
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SRC - Publications

November 27, 1950

Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

In my school, Roosevelt High School, our history class is beginning to study America's race problem. In order to better understand the southern point of view, would you please send me the pamphlet, Understanding Our Neighbors.

Thanking you, I am

Yours truly,

Mary Burbank

Mary Burbank

Out. Sent
pub. list 11/30/50

Mary Burbank
1504 Forty-first Street
Des Moines, Iowa

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Please send me 25 copies:

Safety Security and the South.

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Cordially
Hugh A. Brimm

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Dear Sir:

Would it be possible for your office to send me some literature on Understanding Our Neighbors? Any information that could be given would certainly be appreciated.

Our History Class is studying the problem of racial Prejudice & I am collecting all information possible on this subject.

I thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,
Joyce Hill

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The Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
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Gentlemen:

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GETTING ALONG TOGETHER
LET'S PULL TOGETHER, KENTUCKIANS
UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS
UNITY BEGINS AT HOME
THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

We would like to have them for use in our Public Health Education Department.

Thank you very much.

Yours very truly,

A. C. Whisenton

A. C. Whisenton, Director
Techniques Laboratory
Department of Public Health Education

Sent 12/4/50

ACW:bg

SRC - Publications

Duke University Library
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December 2, 1950

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Please send with bill the items noted below.

Very truly yours,

Gertrude Merritt

Gertrude Merritt
Chief of the
Processing Division

ct:GM

Item: New south
Vol. 4, Nos. 4 and 7, April and July, 1949.

Sent 12/5/50

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Churches Speak
Darlington County

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OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

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Gentlemen:

Is there still available from you the following pamphlet: The South - America's Opportunity, No. 1, 1945? If you could spare us a copy for our files we would be very grateful.

Sincerely yours,

G. Trayser

(Mrs.) Gladys Trayser
Administrative Assistant

GT:vmr

Sent 12/7/50

SRC - Publication

December 5 1950

Dear Sir:

Send pub. 12/12/50

I am studying American Minority Groups. I would be grateful if you would send some free literature to me: Janet Robinson
4359 St. Ferdinand apt. 1
St. Louis 13, Missouri

SRC - Publication

Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Gentlemen:

please send me a pamphlet or any information on "Unity Begins at Home."

Send 12/6/50

Yours truly,
Foster Simpson

Southern Regional Council, Inc. SRC - Publications
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Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am a student at the Alabama State College, at Montgomery, Alabama. I am interested in the fiel fields of English and American History. I shall appreciate any type of free material that you can send me, pertaining to the two subjects.

Send pub. 12/6/50

Yours truly,
(Miss) Jorietta V. Hill
1107 Payne Street
Montgomery, Alabama

SRC - Publications

INTERNATIONAL HOUSE

500 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27

RECEIVED
DEC 8 1950
Southern Regional Council

December 6 1950

Gentlemen:

Could you please send me a copy of the survey on Negro opinion conducted by Alexander F. Miller and Professor Mozell Hill which was published on December 4

With many thanks,

Very sincerely yours
Hans E. Panofsky
(HANS E. PANOFSKY)

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

12/12/50

SRC—Publications

5522 S. Manzanar St.
Pico, Calif.
Dec. 6, 1950

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir,

I would, for the present, like to order the following pamphlets. I will order others later.

1. The Home Town Self-Survey.
2. Brothers In Black.
3. Getting Along Together.
4. Let's Pull Together, Kentuckians.
5. Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
6. Unity Begins At Home.
7. The Fellowship of The Concerned.
8. What Kind of The South Do You Want?

Your helpful and courteous service is appreciated very much.

Yours sincerely,
Shirley Williamson
5522 S. Manzanar
Pico, Calif.

Sent 12/12/50

RECEIVED
DEC 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

Gentlemen:

My teachers informed me of your address. As I have to make a term paper for one of my classes, I was wondering if you could send me all the information you have on Negro Prejudice.

June Davis

Please send it to:
June Davis
Route 3, Box 197
Bothell, Washington

Sept 1950

Dear Sir:

I am studying Racial Prejudice in school and I wondered if you could send me any information about it. I would appreciate this as soon as possible. My address is:

Eileen Hillestad
P.O. Box 492
Bothell, Washington

Sincerely,
Eileen Hillestad

SRC - Publications

The Inn at BUCK HILL FALLS
In the Pocono Mountains

Black Bros
1/7/80

Bishop Walker sent them to
my home address & I'm
forwarded them on to me.
Perhaps you can find
something for them

Sent Here first
& pub

Dorothy Tilly

Gentlemen:

At my school, Bothell Senior High, all the juniors have to make a term paper report on Negro Prejudice.

I seemed your name through my English teacher. So would you please send me all the information you have about Negro

Thank you
Lucille

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BETTY Z. CAMPBELL
Dean of Girls

Dec. 7, 1950

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Unity Begins at Home

Yours truly,
(Miss) Estermary Brown,
Librarian

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SRC Publications

Box 564
Umatilla, Oregon
December 10, 1950

Southern Regional Council (63)
Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Would you please send me the pamphlet, "Understanding our Neighbors"?

I am making "race prejudice" my topic for a research paper and any information you might send would help me a great deal.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
(Miss) Darlene Amsler

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Barbara J. Hudson

Barbara J. Hudson
Librarian

~~117 Library Building~~
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Southern regional council.

Survey of Negro opinion on improving conditions of safety and security for Negroes in the South. 1950.

Sent 12/14/50

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University of Hawaii
Honolulu 14, T. H.

Date Dec. 13, 1950

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C. Crawford

CAROLYN C. CRAWFORD, Librarian
University High School

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Maryville High School
Maryville, Tenn.
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63 Auburn Ave.
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(Miss) Helen Alf

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Gentlemen:

The Christian Science Monitor, for December 6 features an article on "Better Police Protection for Negroes" based on a study which you published.

We should like to obtain a copy of this study and would appreciate having one sent to us. If there is a price, kindly advise before sending publication.

Very truly yours,

THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY

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Irene H. Peterson, Chief
Business & Civics Department

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Getting Along Together
Universal Declaration of Human Rights
Unity Begins At Home
The Fellowship of the Concerned

12/26/50

My address is 6317 S. Blackstone Avenue, Chicago, 37, Illinois.

Victor B. Howard

SRC: Publications

INTERNATIONAL HOUSE

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NEW YORK 27

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December 20, 1950

Dear Sir,

Thank you for "Safety, Security and the South".

Could you kindly send me one copy each of

"Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940" by Luther P. Jackson

"The Negro in America" Public Affairs Pamphlet No 95

"The Negro Press" by Robert Durr.

With many thanks,

Very sincerely yours,

Hans E. Panofsky

(HANS E. PANOFSKY)

Sent 12/22/50

SRC-Publications

Albany State College
Albany, Georgia
January 4, 1951

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me a copy of "Safety, Security and the South" by A. T. Miller and Mozell Hill.

Sincerely yours,
(Mrs.) Iroas Lewis Latimer

1/8/51

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Southern Regional Council - The Condition of our Rights.

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Associate Librarian

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High School Library

Clawson Michigan

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Libertytown, Maryland
January 16, 1951

Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send me a copy of your pamphlet, "Understanding Our Neighbors". I would like to understand better the racial prejudices of our nation and would appreciate any information you can send me. Thank you.

Yours truly,
(Miss) Jean Wastler
Libertytown, Maryland.

Send pub. 1/24/51

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SRC Publication

Mitchell, Ga
Jan 15, 1951

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Please send me any free leaflets and booklets on many phases of Negro life.

Mrs T. A. Walden

Chm - Community Mission
Baptist W. M. S.

Sent pub list 1/17/51

Jan. 25, 1951.

Gilbert W. Davies,
Baxter Hall, Willamette U.,
Salem, Oregon.

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February 1, 1951

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Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

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We would like a shipment of additional materials including the following:

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Please send these immediately and bill us for cost of materials and mailing.

Sincerely yours,

I. D. Jenkins
Secretary-Treasurer
Louisiana Division SRC

IDJ:jms

SRC Publications

Miami Florida
1/23/51

Gentlemen:

Please send the booklet "Economic Conditions of the Negro to the South" to the following address

Miss Eleanor Houghton
[illegible] N.W. 5th St.
Miami, Florida

Thank you,
Miss Houghton

Sent 2-23-51 JP7

SRC - Publications

Palo Alto Unified School District
Box 149, Palo Alto, California
February 7, 1951

Dear Sirs:

Please send me your catalogue or price list of free and/or inexpensive materials published by your company for use in elementary and secondary schools. Thank you very much.

T. Eldon Jackson

T. Eldon Jackson
Director of Curriculum
and Instruction
Palo Alto Public Schools

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Yours respectfully

Pauline Jones

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Stowe Teachers College
St. Louis (13) Mo
Feb. 3, 1951

Dear Sirs: We are trying to build up our library for our class in American Minority Groups. Please be kind enough to send us samples of your most recent material and your bibliography list.

Thank you.

Mrs. F. R. Brown, Associate Professor

Sent 2/12/51

SRC – Publication

322 Wilson St.
Lexington Ky

Dear Sir:

I would like very much to have free pamphlets and a list of your literatures. I am a student of Hunter High in Lex. Ky., and the information in which you give me will be very helpful.

Thanks

Yours
Wilburtous Jackson

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Southern Regional Council,
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Gentlemen:

Kindly send me a copy of your pamphlet "Understanding Our Neighbors."

Sincerely,

E. E. Erickson
Principal

Out. Sent pub. list 2/22/81.

EEE/gb

2/16/51 SRC-Publi

RESEARCH & ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT, UAW-CIO
7375 WOODWARD AVENUE, DETROIT 2, MICH.

We need the publications listed below for use in this Department and understand that you have them for free distribution. If so, we shall be grateful if you will send this material for our Library. If there is any charge, please notify us in advance.

liu72cio

Patricia Humphrey,
Librarian

Safety, security and the South, by A.F.Miller & Mozell Hill 1950. 28p

Sent 2/22/51

SRC -Publication

Please send me a copy of Safety, Security and the South.

RECEIVED
FEB 19 1951
Southern Regional Council

Elizabeth Richardson

Elizabeth Richardson
Librarian
Girls' High School
Anderson, S. C.

Sent 2/22/51

SRC Publi

February 27, 1951

Miss I. D. Jenkins
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Miss Jenkins:

Thank you for your letter of a few days ago asking us to send you 100 copies each of "What Kind of South Do you Want?" and the small question and answer leaflet.

We are awfully sorry that our supply of "What Kind of South" is so low we were unable to send you more than 50. We are having it reprinted, and if you should want additional copies we should have them soon. Will you let me know if you do want more?

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Rogers
Secy. to George Mitchell

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
SOUTHERN BRANCH P. O.
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF WOMEN

February 22, 1951

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please send me the following immediately:

50 sent 100 copies -What Kind of South Do You Want?

100 copies- The SRC and What It Is.

Sent 2/26/51

Sincerely yours,

I. D. Jenkins

I. D. Jenkins
Secretary, Louisiana
Division SRC

March 1, 1951

Mr. D. R. Larson, Chairman
Department of Government
University of Miami
Coral Gables (University Branch) 46, Florida

Dear Mr. Larson:

Thank you for your order of literature on February 28. We are sorry that we cannot send you the full supply which you requested, but are sending you 350 copies under separate cover. This pamphlet is temporarily out of stock, and we will notify you when it is reprinted. We are also sending you a few of our pamphlets called "The Condition of Our Rights" without cost to you, and hope that ~~it~~ they will also be useful to you in your work.

Enclosed is our most recent publications list which you also requested.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Bertha L. Johnson
Membership Secretary

Encl.

Sent + Billed 3/1/51

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1951
Southern Regional Council

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES (UNIVERSITY BRANCH) 46, FLORIDA

SRC Publi

February 28, 1951

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us, at our regular 6¢ price, 600 copies of your pamphlet "To Secure These Rights."

We are still finding this particular publication extremely helpful in our teaching.

Please send us your most recent list of other publications.

Sincerely yours,

D. R. Larson

D. R. Larson, Chairman
Department of Government

DRL:mah

THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS · AUSTIN

The item listed below has not been received by the Library. Will you kindly have a copy forwarded at your earliest convenience?

Sent 3/6/51

SRC - New South

SRC Publications

NEW SOUTH

All of 1950 except Number 12

RECEIVED
MAR 6 1951
Southern Regional Council

SERIALS ACQUISITION

AA-10

Gentlemen: Sent Publication list 3/8/51

I am writing for free copies of various pamphlets you are able to send me regarding rural sociology and the problems of the South. I will use these leaflets in my classwork. Thank you sincerely,

A. Mulvey, Nurses' Home
Mountain Sanitarium
Fletcher, N.C.

RECEIVED
MAR 8 1951
Southern Regional Council

SRC Publ

Rec'd 3/12/51

SRC Publi

MARYGROVE COLLEGE
MONROE CAMPUS
MONROE, MICHIGAN

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find stamps (10 ¢) NH for the publications listed below, to be sent at your earliest convenience.

I should appreciate a duplicate complete price list of all your publications. We are using material of this type in various college courses in the social sciences, geography, politics, economics, sociology, etc., and in teacher training courses. If any of your materials are supplied gratis would you please forward a copy or two of each? Please include a list of audio-visual aids which you sponsor or distrubute together with conditions for loan.

Would you kindly keep me on your mailing list at the above address to receive gratis publications as they are issued and notices of other material with the prices?

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Sister M. Xaveria

Sister M. Xaveria

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Publication: Safety, Security and the South

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1951
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Publications

June 18, 1951

Martin S. Simon
850 East 31 Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Simon:

Enclosed is our publication list. Arthur Raper's Machines in the Cotton Fields, which you have received, is closest to your problem.

We would be happy to fill your order for any of our other publications if you feel that they will help meet your need.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

RECEIVED
JUN 18 1951
Southern Regional Council

850 East 31 Street
Brooklyn 10, New York
June 16, 1951

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am in the process of writing a master's thesis for New York University whcih will be concerned with the economic effects of mechanization in general and the mechanical cotton picker in particular on the raw cotton industry. As a result, I am interested in obtaining all available information on this subject.

I have already received and am familiar with Dr. Arthur Raper's admirable Machines in the Cotton Fields, published in 1946 by your organization. I was wondering, however, whether you have published any similar material since that time. I am especially interested in obtaining or compiling a list of all relevant publications and any help in this respect would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you for your interest.

Very truly yours,

Martin S. Simon

Martin S. Simon

be appealed to the Supreme court.

SOLVE RACE ISSUE, SOUTH IS ADVISED

Chattanooga Times

Area Urged to Take Lead in Improving Relations

NASHVILLE, July 15 (AP)—Dr. Guy B. Johnson of Atlanta, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, told the Fisk University Institute of Race Relations today that the South must "take the initiative" in working on problems of race.

"The problem is broader than race relations," he added. "Education and health are basic in whipping the problem of human relations. Progressive peoples of both races are coming together to see what they can do to eliminate the glaring inequities and inhumanities."

He cited the adding of Negro policemen to forces in Tampa, Fla., Norfolk and Richmond, Va., and Asheville, N. C., and efforts of white leaders to allow Negroes to vote in the Georgia primary as examples of interracial co-operation and improvement.

Emily Woodward of Atlanta, director of the University of Georgia division of forums, said success in a democracy depends upon debate and that national race problems should be constantly in the arena of discussion to clarify the issues.

"Entire communities," she said, "should be used as laboratories to discover the forms of social change essential to the demands of living which the atomic age, now upon us, demands."

BODY LEADERS

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Pubs — Orders

March 13, 1950

Dr. Luther Jackson
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Luther:

Here are ten(yellow jackets!) Thank you. They are fetching us quite a number of orders.

I send also a bonus of five copies of your fine pamphlet.

It helps me a lot to have the fresh news from you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

March 10, 1950

Dear George,

Kindly send me eight of those folders announcing the SRC publications, one copy of which I received today. This looks very attractive to me. The current issue of New South likewise is attractive. Shall expect to continue to send newspaper clippings of interest. Will keep you informed on Virginia doings generally.

Sincerely yours,

Luther P. Jackson

Luther

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1950
Southern Regional Council

Publications
~~Self Survey~~
Orders

December 17, 1951

Mrs. Dewey Rogers
Young Adult Director, YWCA
6 North Fifth Street,
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dewey:

I'm sorry to be so late in answering your recent letter asking for copies of our publication, "Your Community Looks At Itself". But we have just finished our Annual Meeting and Board Meeting and, being a good YWCA person, you know what meetings are.

The manual for which you asked is a complete guide for doing a "Home Town Self Survey" and sells for fifty cents. Because the Council's budget is so small, we cannot send out these things without cost but charge only enough to cover cost of printing and postage. Under separate cover I'm sending you one. If you would like more, we'll be glad to have your order. The price is 50¢ each. We also have a pamphlet on the Greenville Survey - called "Greenville's Big Idea". It sells for 20¢

I hope that things at the YWCA are going well. Please give my regards to the girls when you see them, also to Ruth Burson and Mrs. Lee.

Best wishes for a happy holiday season.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary- Treasurer

ks

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

MEMBER OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

Six North Fifth Street . . . Richmond 19, Virginia

November 27, 1951

RECEIVED
DEC 8 1951
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us several copies of your publication,"Your Community looks at Itself."

Yours sincerely,

Dewey Rogers

Mrs. E. Glenn Rogers
Young Adult Director

DR/kr

SRL Orders

June 18, 1952

Mr. Richard E. Gross
School of Education
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dear Mr. Gross:

Thank you for your letter of June 14. We are delighted that you want to publicize our Council in your summer workshop.

Unfortunately, "What Kind of South Do You Want?" is just about all gone, but I send you our remaining twenty copies.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Sec'y. to Exec. Dir.

The Florida State University

Tallahassee

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

RECEIVED
JUN 17 1952
Southern Regional Council

June 14 '52

Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We wish to publicize the work and printed materials of the Southern Regional Council in our Social Studies workshop this summer.

Accordingly I would like to request 40 copies of the brochure - "What Kind of A South Do You Want" - for distribution to students.

Thank you,

Sincerely

Richard E. Gross
Specialist in Social Studies Education

SRC Orders

June 19, 1952

Rabbi Moses Cyrus Weiler
Temple Israel
c/r. Paul Nei & Claim Sts.
Off Clarendon Circle.
Johannesburg
SOUTH AFRICA

Dear Rabbi Weiler:

We will be glad to send you New South for the coming year, and hope it will be helpful to you.

We had here lately Mr. Alexander Campbell of Johannesburg, who is associated with one of the American magazines. He can tell you all about the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

The United Jewish Reform Congregation of Johannesburg.

(AFFILIATED WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN UNION FOR PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM)

CHIEF MINISTER:
RABBI MOSES CYRUS WEILER, B.A., B.H., D.D.

MINISTER:
~~THE REV. SAM KIBBERS~~ Rabbi David Arrow

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:
B. STALSON, B.A., B.ECON., COMMISSIONER OF OATHS

SECRETARY:
~~S. KIBBERS~~ N.Becker

TELEPHONES 44-1453/4
TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS: "TEMPISRAEL"

Offices:
Temple Israel,
c/r. Paul Nel & Claim Sts.,
Off Clarendon Circle,
Johannesburg.

RECEIVED
JUN 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S.Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

14th May 1952.

Dear Mr.Mitchell,

Thank you very much for your letter of April 24th, which was received during my absence in Southern Rhodesia. I wish to thank you for your ready response.

I wonder whether you could put me on your mailing list without having to pay. You know how difficult it is for us to obtain foreign currency due to the shortage of dollars in South Africa.

Thanking you in anticipation of a favourable reply,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,

M.C.W.

MOSES CYRUS WEILER

SRC - New South
Subs.

April 24, 1952

Rabbi Moses Cyrus Weiler
Temple Israel
Corner Paul Nei & Claim Sts.
Johannesburg
SOUTH AFRICA

My dear Rabbi Weiler:

I am delighted to have your letter of April 18. We are getting off to you today our small publication NEW SOUTH for the past year.

If you find it of interest, do subscribe, and we will be glad to keep it coming to you. There is a blank at the back of the brown leaflet with the map.

I put in also a copy of what is probably our most successful publication--RACE IN THE NEWS. It has transformed the Southern white press in their handling of Negro news.

I am myself deeply interested in all African and South African matters, and try to follow your complex situation as best I can at this distance. Incidentally, I benefit much from RACE RELATIONS NEWS.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

The United Jewish Reform Congregation of Johannesburg.

(AFFILIATED WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN UNION FOR PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM)

CHIEF MINISTER:
RABBI MOSES CYRUS WEILER, B.A., B.H., D.D.

MINISTER:
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Rabbi David Arrow

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:
B. STALSON, B.A., B.ECON., COMMISSIONER OF OATHS

SECRETARY:
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ N.Becker

TELEPHONES 44-1453/4
TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS: "TEMPISRAEL"

Offices:
Temple Israel,
c/r. Paul Nel & Claim Sts.,
Off Clarendon Circle,
Johannesburg.

RECEIVED
APR 24 1952
Southern Regional Council

The Editor,
"New South",
The Southern Regional Council,
63, Auburn Avenue, N.E.
ATLANTA 3, Georgia.

18th Apr.1952

Dear Sir,

A member of the South African Institute of Race Relations was good enough to give me your name, stating that I would find your paper interesting.

I wonder if you could send me a copy so that I can see it, for which my thanks in advance.

Yours sincerely,

M. C. Weiler

MOSES CYRUS WEILER.

June 23, 1952

Mr. Robert C. Sweet
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
Fisk University Office
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Sweet:

Thank you for your letter of June 21. We are delighted that you want to publicize SRC at your Institute.

I'm sending you today fifty copies of the NEW SOUTH you requested and fifty membership application forms.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George Mitchell

SRC Pubs - Orders

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

ROBERT C. SWEET
EDUCATION AND PROMOTION

June 21, 1952

RECEIVED
JUN 23 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As the Ninth Annual Institute of Race Relations draws near, we are interested in obtaining free literature which may prove to be of interest to the membership. In a recent issue of NAIRO Reporter there was a listing of your December, 1951 issue, which contained the article, "Toward the South of the Future."

I wonder whether it would be possible for the Institute to obtain 50 copies of this issue of New South. We would also be glad to receive membership application forms to bring to the attention of Institute members.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Sweet

Robert C. Sweet
Education and Promotion

RCS:asw

SRC - Orders

July 14, 1952

Dr. Dan W. Dodson, Director
Curriculum and Research
NYU School of Education
157 W. 13th St.
New York 11, NY

Dear Dr. Dodson:

We are sending copies of our monthly bulletin NEW SOUTH issued in the past year(under separate cover).

If we can supply any further information, please contact us.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl.

SRC orders

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE
STATE COLLEGE, PA.

THE COLLEGE LIBRARY

July 22, 1952.

Georgia Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

The College Library will appreciate the courtesy if you can send one copy of the following publication.

"Block Voting" (A pamphlet) Georgia Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation

If there is a charge, kindly advise before sending. Please address:

Order Department
College Library
The Pennsylvania State College,
State College, Pennsylvania.

Very truly yours,

THE ORDER DEPARTMENT

Frederick A. Fry

Frederick A. Fry
Order Librarian

dk

Sent 7/25/52

SRC - Orders

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
AUG 28 1952
Southern Regional Council

August 27, 1952

Miss Anna Holden, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 25 regarding the availability of a series of pamphlets. I would love to have copies in quantity of all the titles listed in your letter. However, I have access to no funds with which to pay the express charges. I have not been able to talk with Dr. King since receiving your letter, although I suspect his situation is like mine. Dr. Rose is on leave this year.

Thank you for calling this opportunity to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

J. S. Himes Jr., Professor of Sociology

J. S. Himes Jr.

SRC Pub. orders

Jane Reinheimer
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Sept. 4, 1952

25 cc. June-July NEW SOUTH @ 5¢ $1.25

Sent to: AFSC Neighborhood House
1707 Truman St.
North Richmond, Calif.

September 4, 1952

Jane Reinheimer
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Jane:

Many thanks for your note of August 28 and the order for the Neighborhood House at North Richmond, California.

We have sent on 25 copies of the June-July issue of NEW SOUTH to her.

They are five cents apiece, postage free, and here is a billet doux.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
SEP 2 1952
Southern Regional Council

August 28, 1952

George Mitchell
Executive Director
New South-Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George Mitchell:

Helen Baker of the American Friends Service Committee's Neighborhood House in North Richmond, California has asked us to find out whether it is possible to secure additional copies of the article "Blighted Housing and Bomb Violence" which appeared in the June-July issue of "New South". Would you be good enough to send 25 copies of this issue or of any reprint of the article to Helen Baker at Neighborhood House, 1707 Truman St., North Richmond, California? Please bill us for these copies.

Sincerely yours,

Jane Reinheimer

Jane Reinheimer

JR:ggm

September 10, 1952

Miss Mary Slattery, President
League of Women Voters of Greenville, S. C.
206 Butler Ave.
Greenville, S. C.

Dear Miss Slattery:

We are sending you today 175 copies of "Making Democracy Work in South Carolina." We hope they will be useful to your League members.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Sec'y. to Exec. Dir.

SRC Pubs Orders

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF GREENVILLE, S. C.

SEP 10 1952
Southern Regional Council

206 Butler Avenue
Greenville, S. C.
Sept. 8, 1952

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

As you know South Carolina must vote to Amend the Constitution of 1895 as to repeal Section 5 of Article XI of the Constitution, thus taking this clause from the constitution and putting the public schools subject to the wishes of the people through their representatives.

The League of Women Voters of Greenville are vitally interested in this question, and we have gathered quite a lot of material to place before our members.

Now what we are anxious to know is: Would it be possible for us to obtain about 175 copies of the speech delivered at the 1951 annual meeting of the South Carolina Division of the Southern Regionnl Council by Mr. Marion A. Wright - "Making Democrary Work In South Carolina". We would like to receive these copies free is possible because our funds are mil at present. The reason we especially want these is to send our members so they can know this side of the question; and be ready to ask questions at our Open Meeting to be held Sept. 18th at which time we will have two outstanding speakers; one for the amendment; and one against the amendment.

We are very anxious to help our members try to think through the problem of whether there is any possible alternative to a public school system.

If you can let us have these we would appreciate it very much.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Slattery

President

P.S. I forgot to say this Open Meeting is open to the public but we are anxious to get Mr. Wright's speech in the hands of our members before this meeting. I want to mail the speech out with a letter we are sending, therefore would appreciate your sending this material to me just as quickly as possible Miss Mary Slattery

SRC pubs-orders

WISCONSIN STATE COLLEGE
WHITEWATER

11-14'52

RECEIVED
NOV 17 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 1, and for the packet of printed materials which you sent. I have been going over the latt r and find in it much interesting data.

K.S.

I am enclosing a check for $1.56 for the packet of materials.

Last week's Saturday Evening Post (November 8) had an article by Mr. V. Dabney which quoted you personally to great length---the article contained data which helps me.

Sincerely,

J. T. von Trebra

J. T. von Trebra
Government & Sociology Inst.

December 8, 1952

Mr. Tom O'Meara
Catholic Action Secretary
Conception Seminary
Conception, Mo.

Dear Mr. O'Meara:

We are happy to send a file of issues of the magazine NEW SOUTH for 1951-52 for the library at Conception Seminary.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

see orders

CONCEPTION SEMINARY
Conception, Missouri
December 3, 1952

RECEIVED
DEC 5 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dear Friends,

With the advent of the present decade Catholicism has met with never more increasing attacks from Communism and secularism; the attacks have become so wide spread that God has been denied His rightful place in the school, family and government only to be locked up in the Church buildings.

Pope Pius XI foresaw these events and took definite action. His first move was to dedicate the whole Catholic world to the duty of being Catholic Action minded; the duty of spreading the faith. Since then many Catholic Action cells and study clubs have been organized throughout the world. The effect of these cells and study clubs cannot be measured in actual accomplishments; only God knows in His Almighty Wisdom the results of their labors. We do know, however, that they have aided considerably in the restoration of the world to Christ.

Since it is necessary for the priest to be well versed in this apostolic work, a voluntary Catholic Action study club has been organized here at Conception for the seminarians. This year the club is studying the interracial problem; a problem of utmost importance in the Church today. If the world is ever to be restored to Christ it must first be restored to charity and justice.

For the seminarian, the majority of his knowledge must come from text books, and in particular is this true of a study club. Now this is why I am writing to you. Our present seminary library is in dire need of books on the Negro and racial problems. We are, therefore, writing to our friends and asking for books, either new or used, that may help build up a special Catholic Action library. We hope that, through your generosity and the activities of the club, we can not only profit from the books received, but also leave something at Conception from which students in the future can profit.

Yours sincerely for the restoration of all things

In Christ,

Tom O'Meara

Tom O'Meara
Catholic Action Sec.

SRC Pub = orders

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

Department of Rural Sociology
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

31 December 1952

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I would very much appreciate having a copy of your publication, Wanted: A Healthy South.

Very truly yours,

Donald G. Hay

Donald G. Hay
Social Science Analyst

DGH:jp

Done
Sept 2

SRC - folders

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

RECEIVED
JAN 8

January 6, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As you may recall, Cornell University is undertaking, under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, a ten-year study of changes in intergroup relations in community life. In order to broaden our understanding of the problem we wish to study, and to remain up to date with current events in intergroup relations, we would greatly appreciate being placed on your mailing list. We feel your publications will be of invaluable assistance to us.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

John P. Dean

Dr. John P. Dean
Field Director of Research

JPD:als

see G. pubs. & orders

January 19, 1953

Mrs. G. Comer Fenhagen
The Homewood
Baltimore 18, Md.

Dear Mrs. Fenhagen:

At the request of Mrs. St. Julien Childs, we are sending you a recent issue of our publication.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to Executive Director

Sent. 1-19-53 Jan. ~~20~~ 15.
1953

Dear Mrs Calhoun,

Would you send me a copy of the number - A Georgia Story, and another copy to Mrs. G. Comer Jenkagen, The Homewood, Baltimore 18, Md, and bill me for same?

It was good to meet you, and sweet of you to write. Do come back -

Faithfully yours,
Margaret H. Childs

January 22, 1953

Mr. George R. Wendt
504 E. Daniel St.
Champaign, Ill.

Dear Mr. Wendt:

Mighty kind of you to send us the two dollars. We appreciate it. Glad to do anything we can for you in the future.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

RECEIVED
JAN 22
Council

504 E. Daniel Street
Champaign, Illinois
January 20, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell,

Thank you so much for your recent communication with me. Your letter was instructive, the materials very interesting. I shall probably be contacting you in the future.

Enclosed is a check for two dollars ($2.00) to cover the cost of the materials which I received.

Thank you again.

Cordially and sincerely,

George R. Wendt

George R. Wendt

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

PROCESSING DEPARTMENT
EXCHANGE AND GIFT DIVISION

Refer to: AG

January 26, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 30

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Librarian of Congress has requested me to acknowledge, with many thanks, the gift mentioned below which you have so generously made to the Library.

Very truly yours,

Frances F. Page

for Alton H. Keller
Chief, Exchange and Gift Division

The gift received: a collection of ten of your publications. We are looking forward to receiving all of your future publications.

SRC Pub. Orders

February 11, 1953

Mr. Elmer W. Henderson
American Council on Human Rights
1130 Sixth St., N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Henderson:

We do greatly appreciate your letter about the January, '53, NEW SOUTH.

Two hundred copies have gone up to you with a bill for them at four cents apiece, plus postage. The ordinary price is five cents apiece, but for quantity orders for the American Council on Human Rights, we shave to four. We have remaining about 1,200 copies and could send you as many of those as you might want.

I do hope you will get at least the 200 and some more around. It is of the very greatest importance to keep up the steam on the matter of voting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Alpha Kappa Alpha Alpha Phi Alpha Delta Sigma Theta Kappa Alpha Psi Sigma Gamma Rho Zeta Phi Beta

American Council on Human Rights

1130 Sixth Street, N.W. Washington 1, D. C. COlumbia 7307

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February 10, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 11
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend Mitchell:

I have received and read your very significant report on Race and Suffrage To-day. It is a very balanced statement and points up one of the most pressing needs to-day. Of course, there are good reasons for the apathy that exists, but regardless of the reasons, the apathy must be removed else all of the laborious effort of recent years will come to nought.

I shall try to give your report as wide distribution through our organization as I can. Please send me two hundred copies and bill me for them. Also please send me a quotation on larger quantities.

Best wishes for your continued good works.

Sincerely yours,

Elmer W. Henderson
Director

SRC- orders

February 13, 1953

Mrs. J. M. Dunbar
Daingerfield, Texas
Box 285

Dear Mrs. Dunbar:

Here is the latest issue of NEW SOUTH and a few other things about the Council. We'll be glad to send you any of the other pamphlets listed on the publications list.

Our main project right now is working with committees of church women all over the South, who are reading the blue booklet on law enforcement and taking it in person to talk with their sheriffs about it. As far as we know, only one sheriff in Texas (Harris County) has been visited, but we hope there will be more soon.

We would love to have you as a member of the Council. Information about that on the back of the light blue pamphlet.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to Executive Director

Encls.

SRC - orders,

ROSS WILLIAMS
ATTORNEY AT LAW
~~1415 PAN AMERICAN BANK BUILDING~~ Security Building.
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA
TELEPHONES
2-3694 ★ 82-1097

At home after office hours.

March 3, 1953.

Honorable Harold Fleming,
The Southern Regional Council,
65 Auburn Avenue, Northeast,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I will deeply appreciate the kindness on your part if you will give me a copy of the report mentioned in the enclosed letter and clipping and a copy of any other such report you may be willing to give me. I am from Ga. Been here since 1917. Konow a large number of people in Atlanta, I feel you know. Kindly return letter and clipping.

Sincerely,

Ross

Sent 3/6/53 HF

Pubs
SRS

May 18, 1953

Professor M. A. F. Ritchie
Department of Human Relations
University of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Florida

Dear Miller:

Good luck to you up yonder in that part of the world! We will miss you in this part.

Grand news that you've really got a Dade County Council on Community Relations.

Here are some more copies of the minutes of the last meeting of the human relations agencies.

I have asked Katherine Stoney to put together the best she can do for you in the way of a complete file of NEW SOUTH, going back to 1946. But a good number of issues are just clean out of print, and for one or two we hafen't even got file copies. What she will do is to furnish you with the title of the principal article in each missing issue, and you could put that in in its proper place, and then if you ever really need what's in the missing issue, you could, in some grave emergency, scratch one out of a library.

I make you a flat price of $6.00 for the best we can do.

Come to see us and write us anytime we can be helpful.

Red letter days in the Mitchell family are still lime pie days.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES 46, FLORIDA

May 12, 1953

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN RELATIONS

RECEIVED
MAY 15
Southern

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of April 15 to which this is a belated reply. I amespecially grateful for the enclosure relative to the Southwide meeting of the Human Relations Agencies. There is some very solid stuff in that report. I am sending it on to Mike Ross.

You will be glad to know that our Dade County Council on Community Relations has been chartered by the Courts, and it has been officially organized. The other night a meeting was held for the acceptance of bylaws and the actual election of officers. Approximately 200 persons attended the meeting representing organizations in various parts of Dade County.

It would seem that the organization of the Council is on its way if it can secure either private or public money on the proper basis.

Would you send me several additional copies of this report since I would like to leave my copy in Mike's hands.

Also, I would like to make a special request. Will you please have someone put together copies of the New South for the past five years and send me this collection togetherwith a statement of whatever it amounts to, and I will reimburse you. The reason I make this request is that I shall be called on innumerable times to interpret the South in the New York area. It will be quite an inescapable function and may be valuable if I am to do a good job. I know of no better source of information than the New South, and I should like to have a complete file to use as a sort of Bible on southern social

change. We have stacks of the publication here in the office, but we do not have a complete file, and I want to make sure on that point. There are a number of interesting problems that now face us in Miami, and I regret leaving in the middle of them. I know that Mike Ross and others here will be calling on you for sound advice from time to time.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

M.A.F. Ritchie, Chairman
Department of Human Relations

sn

THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR
Evening
AND
THE MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE
Morning and Sunday

RECEIVED
JUN 1

May 1953

Dear Sirs:

You'll recall each year we publish a GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF WORLD AFFAIRS for the 1,600 Upper Midwest teachers who use the year-long classroom study plan on current world news events.

As you know, we recommend pamphlets and inexpensive books in the GUIDE which seem well suited to the international and domestic topics we develop.

We have listed your publications in previous GUIDES and appreciate your co-operation in acquainting us with your publications.

We would like to ask you to inform us of any materials which you have published since last June for possible inclusion in the new GUIDE. We are now beginning selection of the topics, a number of which will carry over. If your publication is suited, we'd like to include it.

The World Affairs program is co-ordinated with class studies in 1,400 schools in Minnesota, the Dakotas and Wisconsin. In addition, the Program is also sponsored by the San Antonio News and the Des Moines Register.

Sincerely,

William C Rogers

William C. Rogers
Director, World Affairs Program

Director, Minnesota World Affairs Center, University of Minnesota

Sent New South May-June '52 - May '53 HA

WAtkins 4-0505

SRC Pubs NS orders

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

1133 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

June 8, 1953

Southern Regional Council
163 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Many thanks for the copies of the Mar.-Apr. 1953 issue of the NEW SOUTH in which the article entitled "Law vs. Practice in Interstate Travel appears, and which we received the latter part of last week.

Very truly yours,

Erma C. Porter

Erma C. Porter
Secretary to Reginald A. Johnson
Director, Department of Housing
Activities

SRC

June 25, 1953

Mr. Harry V. Richardson
Gammon Theological Seminary
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Richardson:

I am mailing you separately some leaflets for the Summer Group.

One or two of the men expressed interest in the survey manual. I told them it cost fifty cents, but that did not deter them. So I put in four copies of it. Sorry to bother you with collecting fifty cents for them if they sell, but they do sell well, and we haven't got many left, so they are really worth cash money to us.

I enjoyed the group and appreciated your letting me talk with them last night.

The RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT is fifteen cents, but we can make a special price to these good men of ten cents apiece. The other things are for free.

For quick summary, the thick white ones are fifty cents, and the blue cover ones are ten cents.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SRC Pubs - orders

June 30, 1953

Miss Helen Louise Cohen
94 Oliver St.
Rochester 7, N. Y.

Dear Miss Cohen:

I send you up, with much pleasure, ten copies of the May 1953 issue of NEW SOUTH. We are glad to get them up to you, and they can be scot-free, but if you want to send down a quarter or so in postage, that will be helpful.

Nobody sent me the letter in the NEWS AND COURIER, but I will take a guess that our good friend Mrs. St. Julien Childs wrote it?

We've got you straight now and won't confuse you again. In any case, t'other lady is now Mrs. Myron Schwartz. I think her husband runs a community relations council in St. Louis.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

(not to be confused with the other one you know!) June 20 '53

HELEN LOUISE COHEN - 94 Oliven Street - Rochester 7, New York

Dear Dr. Mitchell:-

Is it possible for me to obtain about 6 copies of Your South for May 1953 (Vol. 8 No. 5)? You could let me know the cost - I have a bit of propaganda in mind - (nothing that can hurt the cause, guaranteed!) If not 6, just send what can be spared. Hope you saw the excellent letter in the Charleston News & Courier quoting Dr. Johnson's talk - "What will happen in wonder-land" (Helen L. Cohen)

August 28, 1953

Lt. J. A. Lindquist
Berkeley Police Department
Hall of Justice
Berkeley, Calif.

Dear Mr. Lindquist:

In reply to your letter of August 24, we do not distribute free copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, but will be glad to send you a copy for fifteen cents.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to Executive Director

SRC Pub. Orders

BERKELEY POLICE DEPARTMENT

HALL OF JUSTICE

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

J. D. HOLSTROM
CHIEF OF POLICE

REFERENCE NUMBER

RECEIVED AUG 28 Southern Regional Council

August 24, 1953

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Berkeley Police Department would greatly appreciate the receipt of the publications noted below for free distribution. If this material may be obtained only by purchase, will you kindly quote the price before sending?

Thank you for your courtesy.

Very truly yours,

J. A. Lindquist

J. A. LINDQUIST, Lieutenant
Personnel and Training Officer

L7/117

Race and law enforcement: a guide to modern police practice.

Sept 3/53

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Gentlemen:

As a teacher of high school seniors in classes in American Problems, -economic, social, & political,- I should greatly appreciate receiving information (by check-list, order blank, or other) on free or inexpensive materials available through your organization, and which might be of value to such student groups.

Yours very truly,

William R. Howell

William R. Howell
Mamaroneck High School
Mamaroneck, New York

Sent 9-9-53
E.C.

SRC Orders

September 4, 1953

Dr. George D. Flemmings
915½ Calhoun Street,
Fort Worth, Texas

Dear Dr. ~~Calhoun:~~ Flemmings:

Mr. Fleming has asked that I reply to your letter of August 21st.

Under separate cover I am sending you some issues of NEW SOUTH which report progress in human relations during 1952 and 1953. Our research assistant is on vacation just now, but when she returns she may be able to send you further information gleaned from our file of newspaper clippings which she keeps. If you would like information in any specific fields, please let us know and we will try to send it.

Next week we expect to put out as an issue of New South a pamphlet, "Questions and Answers on The Schools and The Courts". This will deal with the status of our schools and possible changes following the Supreme Court's decision. Additional copies of this pamphlet will probably be available at 15¢ each.

I have entered your subscription for New South for which receipt has already been sent. You should receive your first issue in about a week.

Very truly yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks

Dr. Geo. D. Flemmings
Dentistry
915 1/2 Calhoun Street
Fort Worth 3, Texas

Office
2-6576
Residence
2-2401

21 August 1953

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

My personal check, in the amount of $1.50, for subscription to the New South for one year is attached.

Please mail me whatever information you have gathered for the year relative to gains made in race relations or civil rights attainment for 1952-53.

I am compiling data for Social Action activity and whatever you have in this connection for accomplishments in the field of social action or human relations, please forward to me at once.

Very truly,

Geo. D. Flemmings

GDF/rhb
attachment

ok

Requests from us

March 6, 1950

The Librarian
Tennessee State Planning Commission
417 Seventh Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Madame:

Please send me Industrial Trends in Tennessee.

I enclose one dollar ($1.00) in currency to cover cost of same.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Requested of us.

November 27, 1950

UNESCO Relations Staff
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Would you be kind enough to send us five of each of the posters illustrated on the back cover of the UNESCO News for November? We have opportunities from time to time to use them at public meetings.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SRC

MAILED
MAY 1 - 1952
DIV. OF DOCS.

RECEIVED
MAY 5 1952
Southern Regional Council

April 21, 1952

Superintendent of Documents
US Government Printing Office
Washington 25, DC

Gentlemen:

On February 29, 1952 we ordered the following US Office of Education publication:

Theresa Wilkins, EDUCATION DIRECTORY 1951-1952, PART 3, HIGHER EDUCATION. 184pp. 1952

FS5.25:1952

Forty-five cents in coin was enclosed in payment.

We have not yet received the DIRECTORY. Would you see that the order is filled as we are anxious to secure information in the publication.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Enclosed
To be mailed later
Refund
Coupon

DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS, GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Thank you for your inquiry regarding your order. In response, we are supplying the following information:

We sincerely appreciate your calling our attention to the nonreceipt of your order. Another shipment is enclosed, and we regret any inconvenience the delay has caused you.

We are unable to explain what happened to your original order. It is possible that it has gone astray or has been delayed in the mails. Enclosed is a shipping label which requires no postage for your possible use in returning the original shipment if it is also received.

We regret we are unable to send you a personal letter, but hope this reply is satisfactory.

Superintendent of Documents.

GPO 16—59405-2

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SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS
WASHINGTON

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

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PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, $300
(GPO)

Superintendent of Documents,
Attention: Customers Service Section,
Government Printing Office,
Washington 25, D. C.

FROM—
Southern Regional
Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Form SD-37

16—45519-1

OCTOBER, 1945
VOL. VI No. 1

THE NEW FRONTIER

Is The South's 20% Democracy Enough?

By Stetson Kennedy

IN 1944 there were an estimated 14,500,000 potential voters in the eight poll tax states,* but only 2,700,000, or 19 per cent, of them voted. In contrast with this, 57 per cent of the potential voters in the free voting states took part in the election. In the 1940 election, 22 per cent of the potential voted in the poll tax states ,as compared to 82 per cent in the free voting states. Taking 82 per cent as a maximum, it follows that 8,698,560 possible voters did not cast ballots in the poll tax states in 1940; in the 1942 election, the total of "unused" ballots rose to 10,000,000.

However, even when the 57 per cent 1944 wartime free state vote is taken as a maximum, it means that 5,500,000 did not vote in the poll tax states that years. The ratio of whites to Negroes not voting is approximately three-to-two.

The Realities

Some have argued that in the Solid South the Democratic primary provides the real contest, and that it draws a heavier vote than the general election. At least the latter half of this proposition is incorrect. In 1944 the total primary vote in the eight poll tax states was 1,334,000, as compared to 2, 767,000 votes cast in the general election. In other words, the primary vote was less than half the general election vote, or 7.7 per cent of the potential as compared to 19 per cent. It should be remarked, however, that of the 79 Congressional districts in the eight poll tax states, 25 did not conduct primaries in 1944 and in 15 others the primary candidates had no opponents. In 36 districts the Democratic nominees were unopposed in the general election.

Deliberate Disfranchisement

That the poll tax is intended to be a means of disfranchisement rather than a fiscal measure or financial 'test' is conclusively demonstrated by the fact that advance notice of its being due is seldom, if ever, given either publicly or individually and once the deadline for payment has passed the state makes no effort to collect the tax. The constitution of Mississippi, as a matter of fact, expressly provides that "No criminal proceedings shall be allowed to enforce the collection of the poll tax." If the poll tax were a bona fide attempt to raise funds, there is no reason why it should not be collected, as is being done in North Carolina and 23 other states, without making denial of suffrage one of the penalties for non-payment.

Not for Revenue

Facts do not bear out contentions that the poll tax has any substantial value as a fiscal measure. The all-time high percentage of a poll tax state's revenue obtained from this source was only 1.8 per cent, collected by Virginia in 1937. Alabama, a more typical example, derives only 0.6 per cent of its revenue from the

*"Potential" voters here means all persons of voting age. The eight poll tax states were Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Georgia repealed its poll tax in February, 1945.

THE COST OF VOTING IN DOLLARS AND DAYS' WORK

State	Annual Poll Tax Payment	Maximum Poll Tax Payment	Per Capita Income, 1940	No. of Days' Work to Pay Poll Tax for Man and Wife Who Are 1 Year Delinquent
Alabama	$1.50	$36.00[1]	$268.00	6¾
Arkansas	1.00	2.00	247.00	5
Mississippi	2.00	6.00[2]	220.00	11
South Carolina	1.00	1.05	287.00	2¼
Tennessee	1.00	2.58	320.00	3
Texas	1.00	1.75	423.00	2½
Virginia	1.50	5.01[3]	455.00	4

[1] Cumulative from age 21 to 45.
[2] Cumulative 2 years; counties can levy another $1.
[3] Cumulative 3 years.

While the amount of the poll tax may seem insignificant to persons in the upper income brackets, its discriminatory and even prohibitive nature stands out clearly against the background of per capita income. If the poll tax were levied on the basis of earnings, the upper income groups would more fully appreciate the burden the tax imposes upon the poor.

poll tax.

Equally unsubstantiated is the allegation that the poll tax makes an important contribution to education. In none of the poll tax states does the tax provide as much as five per cent of the state's educational fund. The Birmingham Teachers Association resolved in 1945, "Although the revenue received from the poll tax goes to education in Alabama, the oligarchic practice should no longer be allowed to stifle the achievement for which education exists — freedom to act wisely. It will mean more to education in Alabama to have the citizens we have trained take part in the settling of political questions than to receive the pittance from the tax and then see the vital matters of the state decided by only 10 to 30 per cent of the people, many of whom have been prodded by political leaders to dig up the price of the tax."

In 1943 Justice Neil of the Tennessee supreme court said, "The point is made that the revenue derived from poll taxes must be set aside as part of a sacred fund and shall not be diverted to any other purpose. . . . This is a pure fiction. It is a well-known fact that there has been no such fund in existence for more than fifty years. The legislature has not thought of the poll tax as a source of revenue for school purposes and set it aside as a separate fund for more than a generation."

The Real Reasons

Judicial recognition of the real nature of the poll tax has likewise been forthcoming from other states. For example, the Supreme Court of Appeals in Virginia has held* that the imposition of the poll tax was not intended primarily for the production of revenue but to limit the right of suffrage. Similarly, a subcommittee created by the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council (an official body created by the legislature) reported in 1941 that:

"The poll tax requirement was introduced into the present constitution for the express purpose of serving as a restriction on the free exercise of the suffrage; and it continues beyond any reasonable doubt to constitute a restriction in practice. The most cursory study of the proceedings of the constitutional convention of 1901 will easily establish the frank intention of those who introduced the poll tax stipu-

*Campbell v. Goode, 172 Va. 463, 2S.E. (2d) 156.

(*Continued on page 4*)

What About Human Equality?

By W. Hardin Hughes

IN COUNTLESS WAYS, men are unequal. White people are no exception to the rule. They are tall and short, weak and strong, intelligent and idiotic, cultured and uncultured, saintly and sinful. With respect to every measurable characteristic, they cover the entire scale. Other peoples — black, brown and yellow — are correspondingly dissimilar among themselves. The principle of individual differences, in short, applies to every people of the globe.

But why elaborate the individual differences of men; differences which are as much in evidence in one race as in another! Are not the common aspects of human nature and of society at least as important as the variables? The common needs, the common values, the common goals—these are the equalities in question. Everywhere, the commonality of mankind is unmistakable. The races are so similar as to be rightly classified as a single species. The same physiological principles apply to all.

The Expectations

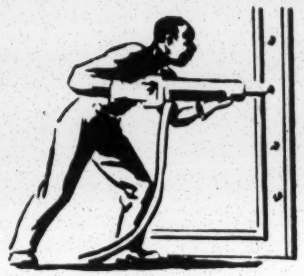
Likewise, the same psychological factors need be taken into account in any scientific analysis of human conduct and relationship. Everywhere and in all time men strive, however blindly, for the realization of certain human values. Whether happiness is **the** universal goal, or whether it is the natural accompaniment of the good life, it is nevertheless **a** universal goal. Furthermore, neither happiness nor unhappiness can be segregated. Unhappiness anywhere in society has its unhappy effects elsewhere. No majority, however numerous and powerful, can insure its own continuous happiness by restricting the happiness of others. The Golden Rule has become a social necessity.

An essential condition of happiness is freedom. From earliest infancy, men respond unhappily to arbitrary and unnecessary, and especially to inequitable, limitations of freedom. Necessary limitations are in a different category, but they must be recognized as equitable. There is no greater source of unhappiness in the family, the community, the nation, and in the family of nations throughout the world, than the feeling on the part of some members that they are discriminated against. Discriminations are always violations of human freedom.

Correspondingly universal is the common need for security. If happiness is to be realized in any considerable measure, freedom and security must go hand in hand. Unlimited freedom would inevitably lead to insecurity; while absolute security would invalidate the very conditions under which progress and happiness are attainable. Men need, however, to be secure in their physical lives and in the economic possibilities for sustaining them. They need, furthermore, to be secure in the common rights to "liberty and the pursuit of happiness" guaranteed, at least on paper, by the supreme law of the land. Like happiness and freedom, security cannot be segregated. There can be no sharp line of demarcation between those who are secure and those who are insecure. A state of insecurity anywhere endangers security everywhere.

New Directions

No less important is the need for social identification. Beginning in early childhood, the individual develops a feeling of "consciousness of kind," and a sense of oneness with his primary group. These early experiences, similar as they are throughout the world, account in large measure for the common ethical ideals of mankind. The in-group characteristics—mutual aid, fair dealing, truthfulness, sympathy, loyalty, and the like—become the ethical bases for all religions. Only in a society in which there is mutual identification of its members can there be a full realization of these ideals. Mutual understanding and a true "consciousness of



THEY WORKED . . .

A strong plea for the rights of Negroes in the South is made here by a soldier—a white Southerner speaking in behalf of the Negroes who fought and worked to win a war against would-be oppressors of mankind and who are coming home to find still far too little of the Democracy in whose name they served.

The Veteran Speaks Out

Editor:

It seems queer to me that in peacetime in the South (I am from Texas) we stop to think of the color or creed of a man before we'll permit him to be educated properly or to hold office. But when there is a war to fight, we never think of creed or color. We say that all men must fight for their freedom.

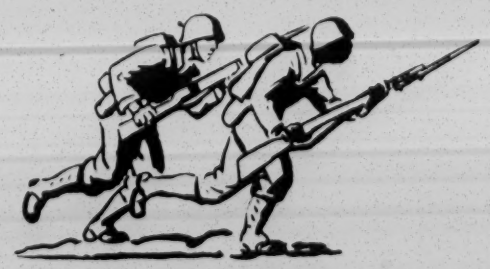
I wonder just what kind of freedom our colored troops fought and died for! Texans can't give a decent answer to this question, for there is no freedom for the Negro. He is paid as low wages as he can be browbeaten into accepting, and there are some who would work him for nothing, if such were possible.

I am neither colored nor a religious fanatic, but I have seen what the colored troops have done. Without their help, in many instances, the white boys would have lost out.

Perhaps it is best that we keep white and colored segregated in our schools, but it is wrong that we do not offer them the same educational advantages that our own children are given. It is wrong, too, to say that a man who is colored can not work here or there and that, just because he is colored, he can not draw as good wages as the white man.

I am afraid that all race prejudice is gone from the boys who have fought this war, and it isn't going to be wise for any man, regardless of race, color, creed or profession, to try to abuse the colored people any more. The veterans of this war have learned that freedom means more than just freedom for the white man.

The South should wake up and build schools for the children of the colored veterans who fought and died to keep America safe from Fascism. Give them the same kind of education given our children. It is not their fault that they are uneducated. It is our fault and that of our forefathers, who brought them as slaves into this country. White boys who have seen Negroes die to save their "buddies" and to help keep America free, are not in favor of the "Jim Crow" law. The politicians had better get busy and get that law off the books, if they want to hold public office. If you don't believe me, find a boy from the South who served overseas in and around colored units during combat—I don't mean a fellow who served in a rear echelon—and ask him his opinion.



THEY FOUGHT . . .

This is written in all sincerity by a veteran of four years and seven months' service in the Army, 11 months of it overseas and nine in combat; and he's still overseas.

S/Sgt. Joe J. Gilmer,
Co. C, 301st Med. Bn.

(And here is another letter, especially encouraging because it comes from a veteran from Mississippi, which was recently published in "Yank," the Army magazine. Sergeant Jones' statement is made particularly strong by his frankness and keen sense of right.)

Dear Yank:

I received a copy of your magazine and read that the AMG is letting the Germans go back to school. After that, I read in *Mail Call* about the Jim Crow treatment of colored American soldiers.

Now, I am from Mississippi. Until I came into the Army I hated Negroes. It wasn't anything they did to me; I just didn't like them. Since I have been in the ETO I have fought from D-Day to VE-Day with Negro soldiers. I was wounded twice in one foxhole and a Negro saved my life by using his first-aid kit on me. Then he carried me to where a doctor would work on me. This was under heavy fire. Later, he died. He was from New York and he knew I was from the South where he had no freedom.

. . . AND DIED

Many Negro soldiers have died on the front for American soldiers who thought Jim Crow was right. So, if the Germans can have freedom after they have caused so much suffering and destruction, why not let the Negro race have what they fought for? I feel that they should, and a lot of Southern GIs feel the same way.

T/Sgt. Willie Jones.

Germany.

SRC Annual Meeting Set for November, New Publication Program Recommended

SRC's Executive Committee, at a special called session in Atlanta September 18, voted to set back the Council's annual meeting from the originally scheduled October 10 date to November 14 and heard proposals for a promotional campaign for new members and a revised publication program with greater emphasis on leaflets for popular consumption.

The Committee, with Dr. Charles S. Johnson presiding, voted to recommend that a "streamlined" publication program outlined by SRC's recently appointed Director of Public Relations, Ray Warwick, be put into effect.

Present at the special session, called because the regular August meeting had to be postponed, were Dr. Johnson, Chairman; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mr. C. H. Gillman, Mr. Leonard Haas, Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara; and SRC staff members—Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director; Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Associate Executive Director; Miss Emily H. Clay, Secretary-Treasurer; and Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director of Veterans Services.

Dr. Howard W. Odum, President, and Mr. Carter Wesley, Vice-President, both of whom had planned to come, were unable to attend because of last-minute developments.

Phi Beta Kappa Members Debate Action on Segregated Schools

Dr. Broadus Mitchell, Acting Director of Research for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Virginius Dabney, editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, debate in the autumn issue of Phi Beta Kappa's *The Key Reporter* whether the society should deny charters to colleges which do not admit Negro students.

Dr. Mitchell suggested in a letter that Phi Beta Kappa, before granting a charter, "demand that a condition for receiving one be that no discrimination on account of race, creed, color or national origin be practiced." He based the suggestion on a recent resolution by the Senate of Phi Beta Kappa which said, "The Senate would deplore in colleges holding or applying for charters of Phi Beta Kappa discriminations affecting the faculties or student bodies in such a way as to limit the spirit of free inquiry and teaching."

Mr. Dabney, in a reply letter written at the request of *The Key Reporter*, said "it would be unwise for Phi Beta Kappa to forbid the establishment of any future chapters at institutions which are operated for one race only. . . . The question . . . is whether . . . pressure of the sort proposed by Dr. Mitchell would be helpful or harmful. . . . Today many white Southerners are trying to work out the horribly complex race problem to the mutual benefit of both races and the nation. . . . It cannot be stressed too often, however, that as far as the South is concerned, the worst way to promote a fair deal for the Negro—and it must be freely conceded that he has not had such a deal—is through the application of drastic pressure from outside the South. This may seem silly and even outrageous to those who are unfamiliar with the situation, but is is indisputable."

Louisiana Vote Case Dismissed As Court Battles Continue

Judge Caillouet last month dismissed without opinion the complaint filed in the case of Edward Hall against the registrar of voters in St. John the Baptist Parish, Louisiana. The complaint alleged that Hall, a qualified Negro, was denied the right to register by T. J. Nagel, registrar, who subjected Hall and other Negroes to tests not required of white registrants.

The complaint on behalf of Hall and other Negro citizens asked for a declaratory judgment, an injunction and $5,000 damages. NAACP lawyers are preparing to appeal the case to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

In a similar case from Tuskegee, Alabama, filed on behalf of William P. Mitchell against local registrars of Macon County, Alabama, argument on motion to dismiss took place in federal court in Montgomery on September 20th. Counsel for the registrar, including former Judge "Speed" Callaghan, judge of the Scottsboro trials, argued that the federal court did not have jurisdiction to consider a case on the refusal to register Negroes because of race or color. He argued that the case should be tried in the local state courts. After completion of the argument, the case was taken under advisement and a decision is expected within two weeks.

In Atlanta, Ga., it was discovered that although the case filed by the NAACP against the local registrar brought about the sending of the lists of Negro voters to the precinct polls on election day, September 5th, nevertheless election officials refused to permit Negroes to vote in the "white primary." NAACP lawyers are preparing for filing additional cases against the local election officials. At the same time, they are insisting that the Department of Justice prosecute these election officials for violation of federal statutes.

Georgia Committee Announces Affiliation with SRC

The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation announced this month its affiliation with the Southern Regional Council. The announcement said: "Our cause is strengthened by this affiliation. In matters of general concern, the program of the Council and the Georgia Committee is one. We urge our members to cooperate with the Council in its efforts for a better South."

R. L. Russell of McDonough is state director and George Clary of Savannah is chairman of the Georgia committee.

The committee's news letter reported that the Gainesville committee of the Georgia committee was organized by State Chairman Clary last month. The Gainesville committee started with 33 members. Urging members to help the State committee attain its goal of 10,000 members, the letter reported also that the Fulton-DeKalb committee had reached a membership of more than 200 and that the Augusta committee was steadily increasing membership.

Court Rules Negro in Demo Party

Circuit Judge Joseph H. White, West Palm Beach, announced last month that he would issue a writ directing the county registration supervisor to list J. H. Terrell, Negro dentist, as a member of the Democratic Party. The decision came after a hearing, pending since March, in which Terrell complained in a petition that he had been denied registration as a Democrat.

"The South Can Produce," was the title of a recent editorial in the *Atlanta Journal* commenting on the wartime increase of car-loadings of freight in the Southeast. Statistics showed that loading of canned goods rose from 8,386 cars in 1939 to 44,295 in 1944; pulp and paper products averaged 93,831 cars a year during the four war years, compared to 77,390 in 1939; grain products increased from 56,029 cars in 1939 to 81,184 in 1944.

Returning Negro Veteran Faces Special Problems

The Negro veteran seeking to establish himself in civilian life will face difficulties "at three points . . . not encountered by white veterans," says William A. Caudill in *Negro GIs Come Back*, a study distributed by the American Council on Race Relations. The 18-page mimeographed booklet analyzes the problems and possibilities of veterans' services and job and educational opportunities the Negro veteran may find on his return home.

The study lists these generalized problems that may apply specifically to the Negro soldier-turned-civilian:

"First, he will have less access to places in which he may obtain information about his benefits and where he should apply for them. Second . . . he will be subject to careless treatment and possible discrimination in the offices where his rights are administered. Lastly, he has the very special problem, particularly in the South, that, even if he were to obtain sufficient information, if he were to meet absolutely no differential treatment in the offices of administering agencies, he would still not have the wide choice of school, loan institutions, or jobs open to the white veteran."

South Carolina Committee Hears Progress Report

Reports of progress in interracial activity in some sections of South Carolina and predictions of further gains were heard at the recent meeting in Columbia of the executive board of the state committee of SRC.

The group also adopted a resolution urging the state legislature to grant appropriations to the State College "sufficient to maintain and improve an accredited college on the undergraduate level for the Negro youth of the state," and to consider and communicate with other Southern states on the possibility of a tax-supported regional graduate school for Negroes.

Baptist Writer Hits "Ham" Legend In Attack on "Home-Made Myths"

The old, hard-dying misconception of the Bible story of Ham as a rationalization of race prejudice was struck another blow by R. Lofton Hudson in the *Tennessee Baptist Reflector* last month, along with other "home-made myths" about the Negro.

"Many are saying these days that the South's number one moral problem is the Negro," wrote Mr. Hudson. "It is a problem for the North and East also, but our first concern is on our own doorstep. . . ."

The misconception that the Negro is a descendant of Ham was dismissed by Mr. Hudson as "unscriptural, unscientific and unjust." He also attacked the fallacious notions that the Negro race is biologically inferior, that Negroes want "intermarriage" and that Negroes have the same opportunities as white persons. "In 1940, in nine Southern states," he told his readers, "the average annual expenditures, for education, per white student, was $58.69, and only $18.82 per Negro."

Negro Policewomen for South Carolina

The campaign for Negro police officers made a small gain in South Carolina when Columbia's police commissioner, Gary Paschal, announced that two Negro policewomen would be appointed this month, at the same rate of pay as white policewomen. *The Carolinian*, published at Raleigh, N. C., reported that the women would perform the same duties as other women on the force: with the title of "truant officers," they will supervise school traffic at dangerous intersections and when possible check on truancy.

Forty-one Negroes were among the 184 students who qualified for the Amos Lewis scholarship loans of $400 a year, Florida superintendent of schools Colin English announced recently. Students under the Lewis scholarships give notes for each year in return for the $400, and one note is cancelled, after graduation, for each year of service as a teacher.

SRC Commended by Education Group

The Intercultural Education Workshop of the University of Minnesota recently commended the Southern Regional Council for "the stimulation given to good inter-group practices."

"We are sincere in our appreciation of your many attempts to perpetuate and make more meaningful the American creed of freedom, equality and brotherhood," the formal commendation stated.

A total of 4,829 Negro students completed college courses during the 1944-45 school term, NAACP's *Crisis* magazine reported after a recent survey.

Alabama Negro students will be aided in taking graduate and professional training in other states by a $25,000 annual fund made available this month, an announcement from Montgomery reported.

20 Per Cent Democracy

(*Continued from page* 1)

thousands of poll taxes may be fined as little as five dollars. That political machines and corporate interests frequently purchase large blocks of poll tax receipts for distribution to those who will promise to vote according to instruction is a matter of common knowledge. The Governor of Virginia frankly recognized this situation in a speech in 1940.

How to Get Rid of It

Georgia, under the leadership of Governor Ellis Arnall, abolished its poll tax statute in 1945. But in the remaining seven poll tax states the tax can only be repealed by amendment of the state constitutions, which requires a two-thirds (in some states three-fifths) majority of the legislature and then approval by a majority of voters in the next election.

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Info - EC Pub

March 14, 1946

Mr. Edwin T. Randall
David C. Cook Publishing Company
Editorial Department
Elgin, Illinois

Dear Mr. Randall:

We have received your letter which was addressed to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The Commission was absorbed by the Southern Regional Council in February of 1944.

We do not have a complimentary mailing list but we do have a mailing list subscription for $2.00 a year which entitles one to all of our pamphlets, any which may be published during the year, and our monthly publication, New South.

The material you requested is no longer in print but we are offering as a substitute the enclosed leaflet, Information, Please. If we can be of further service, please let us know. We would be glad to add your name to our list of subscribers.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. Charles D. Saxon)

encl.

DAVID C. COOK PUBLISHING COMPANY

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

ELGIN · ILLINOIS

RECEIVED
MAR 11 1946
Southern Regional Council

March 6, 1946

Commission of Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen

We should greatly appreciate your sending to the undersigned a copy of the material that appeared on page nine of the February MOTIVE.

Also, may we ask you to put us on your mailing list for any material that we might use, or be interested in reading, that comes from your organization. This, too, should be addressed to the undersigned.

Sincerely yours

DAVID C. COOK PUBLISHING COMPANY

Edwin T. Randall

Edwin T. Randall
Editorial Director

ETR:VW

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

March 20, 1946

Mr. Edwin C. Berry
Portland Urban League
6 S. W. 6 Ave.
Portland, Oregon

Pamphlets being mailed today.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Successor to
Commission on Interracial Cooperation
~~52 Auburn Avenue, N. E.~~
~~Atlanta, Georgia~~

March 21, 1946

Miss Dorothy Wacker
725 S. Harvey Avenue
Oak Park, Illinois

Dear Miss Wacker:

At the request of President F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute, we are sending you under separate cover some of our literature.

Sincerely yours,

Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

#1, Packet, Publications list, adv. re The South, Jan. and Feb. New South.

CW
3-12-46

March 21, 1946

Dr. F. D. Patterson
President, Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Patterson:

In Dr. Johnson's absence from the office, I wish to acknowledge receipt of your recent letter. Thank you for sending us the name os Miss Dorothy Wacker, of Oak Park, Illinois. We are very glad to send her some of our literature.

Sincerely yours,

Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

March 6, 1946.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 7 1946
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Please send copies of publications that you may have for free distribution to the person whose name is listed below.

Miss Dorothy Wacker
725 S. Harvey Avenue
Oak Park, Illinois

Yours very truly,

F D Patterson
President

/ml

The Southern PACKET

A Monthly Miscellany of Southern Books & Ideas

Edited by Virginia Terrell Lathrop. Published in *Asheville*

Volume II JUNE 1946 Number 6

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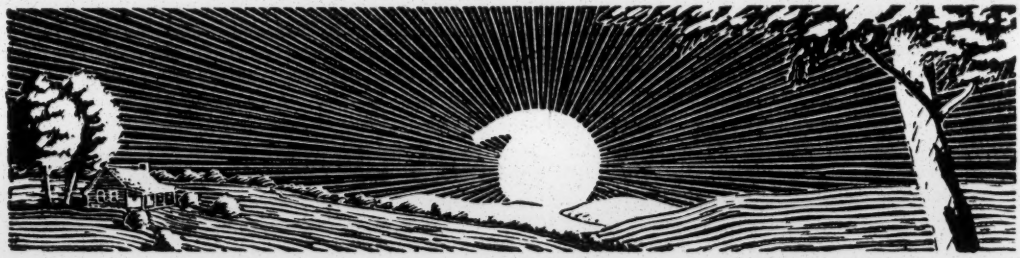

CHART FOR RESEARCH

RESEARCH AND REGIONAL WELFARE. Edited by Robert E. Coker. The University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 229 pp. $3.00.

BY DON C. SHOEMAKER

We can build a firmer foundation under our feet in the South, in the United States, and throughout the remotest regions of the world with the modern fruits of research, and through the methods of creative intelligence that research exemplifies.

—David E. Lilienthal

RESEARCH IS TO THE SOUTH WHAT the philosopher's stone was to the Alexandrian Greeks. It is a promise of vast transformation. It is the quest for the fullest realization of all material and human endowments. But its pursuit, unlike the long and unavailing search of the alchemists (unless their answer is at Oak Ridge) is by no means as futile. Last year at Chapel Hill the University of North Carolina marked the most significant phase of its sesquicentennial by gathering together men who had a vision of a South regenerated by the industry of its laboratories. This book, which gathers together the widely reported addresses made at that time, is both a chart and a charter for research in the South.

It is shocking to be reminded, for instance, that the Southern region spends only a tiny fraction of its income in the effort, as Dr. Charles F. Kettering once defined it, "to find out what we are going to do when we can no longer keep on doing what we are doing now." Yet the South has only 298 of the Nation's 2,300 industrial research laboratories. Only eight of the 255 scientists awarded the star of distinction in the 1944 *American Men of Science* were Southerners. In the last decade only three per cent of the patents granted in the United States went to the Southern region. One failing, of course, is that we export too many of our best brains. As Milton H. Fies tells us in his chapter, "Research and Industry in Southern Development," approximately 60 per cent of Southerners listed in *Who's Who* and who have left the region for graduate training never come back to it.

As one of Chapel Hill's sesquicentennial publications, *Research and Regional Welfare* is remarkably readable for all the scientific material it presents. President Willis Compton of Washington State College has brought out the West's community of interest with the South in an excellent chapter on "The Usefulness of Useful Knowledge." More than a dozen other authorities in fields of industrial research, regional development, food and

(Continued on back page)

REVIEWS . . .

THE CREOLE KITCHEN COOK BOOK. By Virginia M. Cooper. The Naylor Co. 1946. 248 pp. $2.50.

GOOD FOOD IS A TRADITION of the South. Each section may have its specialties; sea food dishes on the coast, fruit where fruit abounds; cookies, cakes, jams, jellies, pickles where the housewife has old family recipes; dishes made famous by the hotels which have served them for long periods of time; or by cities in which they are best-known.

In *The Creole Kitchen Cook Book* Miss Cooper has made an exceptional collection of recipes. She has used the cookery of New Orleans as her basic ingredient, but she has flavored it with well-known dishes from many parts of the South. And, since good food is not just Southern, she has included in it recipes that anybody, from any part of the country, will enjoy.

As a connoisseur of cook books rather than of food, we found this book more practical than any we have ever tried to use. Not every person, by any means, is a born cook, and there are many, alas, who learn the art the long and hard way, and then seldom become the kind of cook who can throw a few things together, by pinches and the grace of God, and produce masterpieces.

Such cooks, and we include ourselves among them, struggle laboriously, reading the recipes syllable by syllable, hands covered with sticky flour or juice, nose itchy with blobs of flour, and usually come out with a concoction such as the author of the cook book never dreamed of. Or, worse yet, we can't find the recipe we need, at all, because the excellent cooks, who prepare the books, know so well how to make the simple things that they assume everyone else does. We remember with dismay how, when first learning to cook, we searched in vain for a recipe for vegetable soup.

Miss Cooper has a recipe for scrambled eggs. Who in the world would need a recipe for scrambled eggs? A lot of us —practically everybody, if the scrambled eggs we have encountered here and there in the world, including our own kitchen, are any example.

So—there are simple recipes, and recipes for the most delicious fruit dishes, hot breads, cakes, pies, jams, jellies, sea food delicacies, and all sorts of wonderful sounding concoctions that many of us have eaten in New Orleans, recipes come down from the French and Spanish settlers, that we are delighted to have and cherish.

Josephine Shepherd

MUCH IN LITTLE ON THE UNITED STATES NAVY. By Ruby Lee Adams. Published By the Author. 1946. 106 pp. $3.50.

THIS IS THE SECOND VOLUME OF A SERIES under the general title *Much In Little,* the first devoted to the United States Army. The subjects of those to come have not been announced, but the author is interested in producing a series of books which cut through details and get quickly to the point, particularly interesting children in their nation's history. The first two are highly condensed, fully illustrated treatments of two popular subjects.

Much In Little on the U. S. Navy succeeds in condensing naval history, outlining it not only from the beginning of the United States Navy, but showing the early use of boats as far back as the Ark, and the Phoenecians, and bringing the U. S. Navy up to the end of World War II. The text is accurately done, and the accompanying illustrations, prints and photographs are well chosen and clearly reproduced.

The section dealing with World War II, illustrated by official Navy and Marine Corps photographs, has a special interest for readers at present. The book is well-made and attractive looking, but it would seem that a lowering of the present price, $3.50, for an octavo volume of 106 pages might secure a wider distribution.

Millard Ward

The Southern Packet will be glad to order these books for you without postage charge. Simply send payment as listed.

TAR ON MY HEELS. By Bill Sharpe. The Tar Heels. 1946. 229 pp. $3.00.

NORTH CAROLINA IS FILLED WITH GOOD stories, and good folks. Its 500-mile length meanders through mountain coves and valleys, through sandhills, pine woods, country lanes, through great fruit orchards, through the smoke of industrial plants, into swamps, lakes, inlets, sand dunes, and finally into the Outer Banks and the Atlantic Ocean. Legends, yarns, facts and fancies abound in the history of the state, beginning with the first English colony on Roanoke Island, and coming up to date in the industrialization of many of its larger towns.

Bill Sharpe has ridden its highways and skyways; he has tramped its mountains. He has delved into mountain coves, and climbed its peaks. He has talked with its old timers and story tellers. He has sat on the porches of country stores, and farm houses. He has run down stories, and stayed with them as good newspaper reporters are taught to do. Perhaps no one knows North Carolina as does Bill Sharpe. It is his business, but it is his pleasure, too. He loves North Carolina, and enjoys talking about it.

Tar On My Heels is a collection of stories Mr. Sharpe has written at various times, and that have been printed in newspapers and magazines. He has picked a few choice ones, representative of many parts of the state, and illustrated them with excellent photographs by John G. Hemmer. There are stories about the mountains: Uncle Billy's Fire, that has never gone out; Lamar Lunsford, the Minstrel of Turkey Creek; Tweetsie, the little train that for so many years served its mountain community. There are ghost stories. There's a splendid one on that most famous of all North Carolina landmarks, Hatteras, the Graveyard of the Atlantic. There are tales about bears and oysters and churches. But mostly they are about people, and people, after all, make a state.

There ought to be more books about North Carolina. It's an old story now that Irvin Cobb said all North Carolina needed was a press agent. But it's just as true now as it was then, except that something's being done about it. Bill Sharpe is the answer.

Virginia T. Lathrop

SOUTH

South, the Magazine of Travel, is an attractive publication designed to stimulate travel to and interest in the South and Latin America. The May issue, sent to The Southern Packet with a congratulatory letter from Ray M. Thompson, Editor, contains articles on Acapulco, Mexico's Pacific Playground; Cajun Country; a week-end fishing trip in Esperanza; Land of the Sky, western North Carolina; and the colorful Procession of the Lord of Miracles in Lima. *The Packet* extends congratulations in return to *South.*

BOOK LIST

THE WILSON ERA. YEARS OF WAR AND AFTER 1917-1923. By Josephus Daniels. University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 653 pp. $4.00. To be reviewed in forthcoming issue.

ALL THESE PEOPLE. By Rupert Vance. University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 503 pp. $5.00. To be reviewed in forthcoming issue.

MISSISSIPPI FARMERS. By Herbert Weaver. Vanderbilt University Press. 1945. 139 pp. $2.50. A second book resulting from a group of studies on the plain people of the Old South.

THE SOUTH AND THE NATION. By Slappey, Pearce and Slappey. Stratford House, Inc. 1946. 462 pp. $3.50. A History of American Democracy, written as a school history, from the viewpoint of the South.

LIVING BY THE LAND. By John C. Gifford. Glade House. 1945. 139 pp. $2.50. A discussion of the conservational and farming methods best suited to the particular needs of Florida, the southern United States and the Caribbean region.

PRINTING THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. By Samuel T Farquhar. University of California Press. 1946. 56 pp. $2.00. The story of the mechanics of producing for the world, the charter which, instead of being written by hand, appeared first in printed form, in five languages.

LILLIE OF SIX-SHOOTER JUNCTION. By Florence Guild Bruce. The Naylor Co. 1946. 232 pp. $3.00. Biography of Lillie Drennan, first licensed woman truck operator in Texas, with much background material on the section of Texas in which she lives.

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The Stephens Press
48 WALNUT STREET, ASHEVILLE, N. C.
Virginia Terrell Lathrop, *Editor*
Burnley Weaver, *Art Director*
George Myers Stephens, *Publisher*
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Entered as second-class matter March 22, 1946, at the post office at Asheville, N. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

(Continued from page one)
nutrition, biology, the humanities and the social sciences have contributed chapters which are given continuity and pattern by the skillful editing of Dr. Coker. Reuben B. Robertson, North Carolina industrialist, has stated a most convincing and provocative case for research in industry which lifts the thesis out of any dry, academic context. It is difficult to associate research with the coastal fishing industry (which the South has not even begun to develop) yet one of the most engaging chapters, by Harden F. Taylor, deals with this subject in a manner so compelling as to deserve special attention.

The South has an enormous capacity for self-criticism, by which is meant self-analysis. The sum of this analysis, together with an un-selfconscious estimate of accomplishments and potentialities, is set forth for the first time, I believe, in these pages. It is unfortunate that a volume which could serve so well as a textbook on resources utilization is not indexed for casual readers as well as scholars. For its greatest usefulness will be in such popular application as its ideas may suggest.

Returning to David E. Lilienthal, who writes on "The Moral Responsibility of Research" from his great vantage point in the Tennessee Valley: "The direction of research is secure only in the hands of those, in private business and public agencies, who have faith in people. Research must be carried on by methods and for ends that are in furtherance of that faith in people." In the laboratories of university and factory, as in the mind of the South, that home truth must register indelibly. For the South is people.

Noted In *The Tar Heel Banker*

The Tar Heel Banker, published by the North Carolina Bankers Association, Raleigh, N. C., carries in its June issue two articles of particular interest to Southerners: Little Machines in the Great Transitions of Modern History, excerpts from an address by Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the Greater University of North Carolina; and Establishing New Rural Industries and Services in North Carolina, by Paul W. Chapman, Dean, College of Agriculture, University of Georgia, Athens. *The Tar Heel Banker* is published at Raleigh, N. C.

WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION. By Rupert B. Vance. Southern Regional Council, Inc. 30 pp. paper. 25 cents.

THIS PAMPHLET, THE MARCH ISSUE OF "New South" is a condensation of "All These People" published by the University of North Carolina Press, and bears an introduction by Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia.

Although in condensed form, it presents a comprehensive survey of the economic quandary in which the South finds itself today. It also offers a future through which the South can not only solve many of these problems, but may be the means of leading the Nation to a greater prosperity.

The author shows the present low income economy of the South as growing out of its agricultural system of small one-crop farms which do not provide an income adequate for the present farmer, nor offer any inducement to keep the rising generation on the farm. As a solution Vance advocates an intensification of the present trend toward larger "family" farms with greater attention to food crops and diversified "cash" crops.

The present high rate of population increase in the South, coupled with the agricultural trend suggested above, Vance thinks, will make it more than ever the manpower source of the nation. Only by industrialization can this excess manpower be absorbed, with an accompanying increase in average income and in individual buying power. Thus will a market be provided for the increasing food crops, as well as an inducement for the local manufacture of those consumer items now imported from other parts of the country. The educational system must be expanded technologically to meet its responsibility in preparing youth for the coming of industry.

The author finds that the goal of the South must be a balanced program bringing higher utilization of resources, both material and human, and higher standards of living for the total population. Through such a program can the interests of the North and the South be reconciled to the greater benefit of the country as a whole.

Albert H. Lathrop.

SRC Publications

September 4, 1946

Miss Ethel Winfield
Woman's Missionary Union
Southern Baptist Convention
1111 Comer Building
Birmingham, 3, Alabama

Dear Miss Winfield:

Thank you for sending us the copy of the proof containing the listing of Southern Regional Council pamphlets. As you will see, I have struck out several items which are now out of print, and I have attached a sheet showing several other pamphlets and a packet which you might want to add to the list.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

Woman's Missionary Union
AUXILIARY TO SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
1111 COMER BUILDING - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

MRS. GEORGE R. MARTIN
President
4908 Powhatan Ave.,
Norfolk 8, Va.
MISS KATHLEEN MALLORY
Executive Secretary
MRS. W. J. COX, Treasurer
235 Patterson, Memphis 11, Tenn.
MRS. WILFRED C. TYLER
Recording Secretary
MRS. J. FURNISS LEE
Assistant Recording Secretary
MISS JULIETTE MATHER
Young People's Secretary
MISS MARY CHRISTIAN
W. M. U. Representative
MISS ETHEL WINFIELD
Assistant to Executive Secretary
Secretary of Literature Dept.
MRS. EDGAR GODBOLD
Community Missions Chairman
MRS. IRVIN LAWRENCE
Mission Study Chairman
MRS. CLYDE V. HICKERSON
Stewardship Chairman
MR. J. IVYLOY BISHOP
Royal Ambassador Secretary
MISS RACHEL J. COLVIN
Art Editor

August 30, 1946

RECEIVED
SEP 2 1946
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Friends:

We are bringing out a revised edition of a small book dealing with community problems which must be considered a responsibility of all Christians.

In one section the author has listed some material concerning Negroes. I should like to be sure that titles and prices are accurate, so it occurred to me today to ask that some one in your office check this proof. Of course, if any titles are out of print please mark them off. If you have new publications that should be added, or substituted, please list them.

I hope I am not too presumptuous in making this request. On other occasions I have had gracious and helpful response from you and I shall be grateful if you can help me this time to the end that the little book may be as accu rate as possible.

Please be sure to return the proof sheet.

Sincerely yours,

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY UNION, S.B.C.

By Ethel Winfield

Suggested Additions

AMERICA'S TENTH MAN ..... .10
The Negro's Part in American History

ECONOMIC VALUE OF THE NEGRO TO THE
SOUTH ..... .05

WANTED: A HEALTHY SOUTH ..... .25
A Survey of Health Problems

PACKET OF MISCELLANEOUS LEAFLETS..... .10

JAN 17 1947

PUBLICATIONS OF
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PERIODICAL

New South - issued monthly — Subscription $1.00 a year

PAMPHLETS

Name	Price: Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
The Southern Regional Council: Its Origin and Purpose. Statements of the Durham, Atlanta, and Richmond Conferences, which resulted in the organization of the Council, are included in the appendix.	free	$.50	$3.50
America's Tenth Man. A brief survey of the Negro's part in American History. New printing February, 1947.	10¢	$1.00	$7.50
Understanding Our Neighbors. A factual survey of America's major race problem.	10¢	$1.00	$7.50
Economic Value of the Negro to the South- Past, present, and potential. By W. Hardin Hughes.	5¢	$ .50	$4.00
Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation. 30-page study of the South's problems and potentials. By Rupert B. Vance.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
Wanted: A Healthy South. 30-page study of the South's health problems. By Dorothy Dickins.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
Machines in the Cotton Fields. 30-page study of the effects of mechanization on the social and economic life of the South. By Arthur Raper.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
The South - America's Opportunity Number One. Addresses delivered at a Conference on the South's Post-War Economy, Atlanta, Ga., April 11-12, 1945.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
Singers in the Dawn. A brief anthology of American Negro Poetry. Compiled by Robert B. Eleazer.	10¢	$1.00	$7.50
Brothers in Black. By J. McDowell Richards; sermon preached as retiring Moderator before the Presbytery of Atlanta.	5¢	$ .50	$3.50

	Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
Unity Begins At Home - World charter and individual character.	free	$ .25	$1.50
SRC Annual Meeting Charts Course for 1947. Speeches and reports delivered at annual meeting of members of the Southern Regional Council, November 13, 1946. New South, December 1946.	10¢	$1.00	$7.50

LEAFLETS

A Survey of Veteran Services for Negroes in Arkansas. By Harry L. Wright, Field Representative, Veterans Service Division of SRC.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
Services for Negro Veterans in Louisiana. By George S. Mitchell, SRC staff.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
A Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Louisiana. By Harry L. Wright.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
Facing Facts in South Carolina. Facts about what S. C. wants to be, should be, and actually is. By Marion A. Wright, Conway, S. C.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
Black GI Joe Comes Home. Problems facing the Negro veteran and the Nation in making readjustment to the Negro veteran. By Rufus E.Clement.	free	$ .10	$ .50
After the War? Things which may be done to alleviate racial tensions.	free	$ .10	$ .50
Which Way is Better? Reprints of two newspaper articles on the Ku Klux Klan.	free	$ .10	$ .50
Unhealthy Roots - of our prejudice against the Negro. By Elta C. Roberts.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
It Seems Queer. The Southern veteran speaks.	free	$ .10	$ .50
What One Woman Can Do to Prevent Lynching.	free	$ .10	$ .50
Let's Pull Together, Kentuckians! A digest of the Report of the Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs, 1946.	5¢	$ .50	$3.50
Information Please. Questions and answers concerning Negro-Americans. By R. B. Eleazer; issued by the Department of General Church School Work, Methodist Church.	free	$ .10	$1.50

SRC publication

May 19, 1947

The Interracial Review
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Gentlemen:

It occurred to me that you might be interested in receiving copies of the Southern Regional Council's series of leaflets on services to Negro veterans in various Southern States.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

ABINGDON-COKESBURY PRESS

NEW YORK - NASHVILLE

PAT BEAIRD, MANAGER
J. V. PILKINGTON, ASSISTANT
C. D. JONES, ASSISTANT
JOHN C. ZIPFEL, ASSISTANT

June 9, 1947

OFFICE OF
J. V. PILKINGTON
150 FIFTH AVE.
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Alburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am quite disturbed by the greatly delayed action on the letter received from Mrs. Martha Dawson instructing us to make up 3,000 sheets featuring WHITE MAN-YELLOW MAN for special distribution through your agency.

I have been out of town a great deal of the time, and while in town I have been in the hands of my doctor.

If use can still be made of the 3,000 sheets, and if you will be good enough to prepare the "copy" as you would like to have it appear on the sheets, we will rush them through for you.

A self-addressed stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience in writing me about the matter.

Sincerely,

Jos. V. Pilkington

Jos. V. Pilkington
Assistant Manager

JVP:lw

G.B.J. wrote him that since it is so long since the book appeared and since we published a review in April '47 New South, it is not worth the expense of printing special leaflets. Thanks, etc.

GBJ

September 3, 1947

PUBLICATIONS OF
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PERIODICAL

New South - issued monthly — Subscription $1.00 a year

PAMPHLETS

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The Southern Regional Council: Its Origin and Purpose. Statements of the Durham, Atlanta, and Richmond Conferences, which resulted in the organization of the Council, are included in the appendix.	free	$.50	$3.50
America's Tenth Man. A brief survey of the Negro's part in American History. New Printing February, 1947.	10¢	$1.00	$7.50
Economic Value of the Negro to the South - Past, present, and potential. By W. Hardin Hughes.	5¢	$ .50	$4.00
Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation. 30 page illustrated study of the South's problems and potentials. By Rupert B. Vance	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
Wanted: A Healthy South. 30-page illustrated study of the South's health problems. By Dorothy Dickins.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
Machines in the Cotton Fields. 30-page illustrated study of the effects of mechanization on the social and economic life of the South. By Arthur Raper	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
Wanted: An Educated South. 24-page illustrated summary of what's wrong with Southern education and what is needed to improve it.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
"By the People" - Jacksonville Looks At its Negro Community. Illustrated story of an action program for community development. Available about June 20.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
The South - America's Opportunity Number One. Addresses delivered at a Conference on the South's Post-War Economy, Atlanta, Ga., April 11-12, 1945.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
Singers in the Dawn. A brief anthology of American Negro Poetry. Compiled by Robert B. Eleazer.	10¢	$1.00	$ 7.50

	Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
Getting Along Together By Kendall Weisiger	5¢	$ .50	$4.00
Brothers in Black . By J. McDowell Richards; sermon preached as retiring Moderator before the Presbytery of Atlanta.	5¢	$ .50	$3.50
Unity Begins At Home. World Charter and individual character. By W. B. Stubbs	free	$ .25	$1.50
SRC Annual Meeting Charts Course for 1947. Speeches and reports delivered at annual meeting of members of the Southern Regional Council, November 13, 1946. New South , December 1946.	10¢	$1.00	$7.50
LEAFLETS			
A Survey of Veteran Services for Negroes in Arkansas. By Harry L. Wright, Field Representative, Veterans Services Division, SRC	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
Services for Negro Veterans in Louisiana. By George S. Mitchell, SRC staff.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
A Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Louisiana. By Harry L. Wright	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
A Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Oklahoma. By Harry L. Wright	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
A Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Florida. By Wesley R. Brazier, Field Representative, Veterans Services Division, SRC	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
Facing Facts in South Carolina. Facts about what S. C. Wants to be, should be, and actually is. By Marion A. Wright, Conway, S. C.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
Black GI Joe Comes Home. Problems facing the Negro veteran and the Nation in making readjustments to the Negro Veteran. By R. E. Clement	free	$ .10	$ .50
Which Way is Better? Reprints of two newspaper articles on the Ku Klux Klan.	free	$ .10	$ .50
It Seems Queer. The Southern Veteran Speaks on race relations.	free	$ .10	$ .50
What One Woman Can Do To Prevent Lynching.	free	$ .10	$ .50
Let's Pull Together, Kentuckians! A Digest of the Report of the Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs, 1946	5¢	$ .50	$3.50
The Curse of Ham. A conversation concerning a myth that dies hard. By R. B. Eleazer.	free	$ .10	$ .40

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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MRS. INEZ B. TILLISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Dear Sir or Madam:

You teach. Some of us here at the Southern Regional Council are also teachers.

Your classes need up-to-date material on Southern problems. We have such materials. Our shelves are loaded with pamphlets that you can use. You have doubtless seen them. Some of the best are:

Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation. By Rupert Vance
Wanted: A Healthy South. By Dorothy Dickins
Machines in the Cotton Fields. By Arthur Raper
Wanted: An Educated South.
America's Tenth Man
The South: America's Opportunity Number One

Several colleges have sent us sizable orders for these and others.

We are not sending free samples generally, but if you are interested in any of the material listed on the enclosed price list, please write us and we'll send you, free, the samples you want.

We are confident you will find something your students should have. Will you let us know?

Sincerely yours,

Agnes McKoy

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

SRC - Publications

April 19, 1948

Miss Frances Clemens
Church of the Brethren
Christian Education Commission
22 South State Street
Elgin, Illinois

Dear Miss Clemens:

Thank you very much for your inquiry of April 12 concerning the inclusion of Council publications in your new general catalog.

For your convenience, we are attaching a current listing so that you may select such items as will fit in with your general plan of coverage. We shall be glad to send you sample review copies of any that you may request.

Please let us hear from you further if we can serve you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosure

GENERAL BROTHERHOOD BOARD

Raymond R. Peters, General Secretary

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION COMMISSION

CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

22 South State Street, Elgin, Illinois, Phone 5010

~~February~~ April 12, 1948

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Brethren Publishing House is compiling a new general catalog for late summer publication. The attached clippings represent your publications which were included in our present catalog. Will you please check each item as to price and availability within the next eighteen months. If you have forthcoming items which you think would meet our needs and should be included in the new catalog, please send us description or samples. Your return of these sheets at the earliest possible date would be appreciated.

Frances Clemens

Frances Clemens
for Christian Education Commission

American Tract Man
10 cents

RECEIVED
APR 16 1948
Southern Regional Council

RUTH SHRIVER, *Director of Women's Work and Family Life*
R. E. MOHLER, *Executive Secretary of Men's Work*

E. G. HOFF
EDITH BARNES
GENEVIEVE CRIST
KENNETH MORSE
Editors
FRANCES CLEMENS, *Administrative Assistant*

DON SNIDER, *Youth Director*
DESSIE R. MILLER
Children's Director

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

SRC Publication

June 28, 1948

TO: GSM

FROM: GSM

RE: 1948 Publications list

Housing
Hill-Burton
Care of Feeble Minded
Condition of Our Rights
Digest
Suffrage
Small Community Self-Survey
Newspaper Manual
Economic Value of Negro
to the South
Police Round-up
Farm Tenancy
Intercultural Education
Churches Speak.

SRC-Publications

July 30, 1948

PUBLICATIONS LIST
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PERIODICAL

NEW SOUTH. A small monthly magazine which keeps Council members and all interested people up to date on Southern problems and progress. — Subscription $1.00 a year

PAMPHLETS

Name	Price: Single copy	Price: one dozen	Price: One hundred
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. A brief account of what the Council is and how it came to be, of how it works and what it accomplishes. 8 pages.	free		
THE SOUTH: AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY NUMBER ONE. More than a "problem", the South is a land of economic promise in industry, agriculture, housing, business, foreign trade. How she can fulfill her promise is the theme of this symposium. 44 pages. 1945.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION. Probably the best short study of the South's economy available, this pamphlet gives the main facts on what keeps the Southern region from giving its human and natural abundance to the nation, and from getting in return the things it so badly needs. By Rupert B. Vance, with an introduction by Ellis Arnall of Georgia. 30 pages, illustrated.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
WANTED: AN EDUCATED SOUTH. Southern children need better education which reaches more of them. This pamphlet shows what is lacking and gives ideas for spreading basic learning to all Southern people. 24 pages, illustrated.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
WANTED: A HEALTHY SOUTH. The South has conditions of poor health she cannot afford to neglect. This presentation of causes and the ways that lead to cure has been found useful for classes in sociology, current problems, and nursing. 30 pages, illustrated. Prepared by Dorothy Dickins.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
MACHINES IN THE COTTON FIELDS. The changing face of Southern agriculture; what can be done to make mechanization less devastating to displaced farm workers and more constructive for the South as a whole. By Arthur Raper. 32 pages, photographs and charts.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
AMERICA's TENTH MAN. This brief survey throws the light of fact and history on the part played by the Negro, and his contributions to American life.	10¢	*	*

	Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
SINGERS IN THE DAWN. Negro poets from slavery times to our own, writing of the things all poets know, and also of the special hurt, courage, and pride they themselves have learned. This inexpensive pamphlet anthology has become one of our most popular publications. Compiled by Robert Eleazer. 24 pages.	10¢	*	*
THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. Public Affairs pamphlet No. 95. A 32 page, illustrated summary of Gunnar Myrdal's authoritative study. Ideal for classroom use.	10¢	*	*
BROTHERS IN BLACK. A minister's statement on the Christian commandment to brotherhood. By J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia. 10 pages.	5¢	$ .50	$3.50
BACKGROUND FOR BROTHERHOOD. An introduction to racial understanding on the basis of fact, religion, and democracy. Persuasively written, with discussion questions appended, this pamphlet is good for all groups, but especially suited for classes in current problems and for church and club discussion groups. Associated Press.(YMCA). 31 pages. Supply limited.	15¢	*	*
"BY THE PEOPLE." Pioneers in self-examination and self-improvement, the people of Jacksonville, Florida, made a detailed survey of every aspect of local Negro life--health, education, sanitation, law enforcement, transportation, recreation. Their thoroughness and the specific character of their recommendations helped bring better conditions quickly. As the self-survey idea spreads to civically aware citizens in other communities, this summary of the Jacksonville report is being widely used for study and discussion. Line drawings add to the interest. 33 pages.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
JACKSONVILLE LOOKS AT ITS NEGRO COMMUNITY. The Jacksonville survey in full, including numerous carefully documented charts of statistics and detailed information on self-survey methods. An ideal blueprint for the use of social agencies and planning councils in examining their own communities. Prepared by the Jacksonville Council of Social Agencies, who directed the survey, with SRC acting as professional consultant. 113 pages, Supply limited.	$1.00	*	*

	Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
"TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS". Here is a digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights which presents the Committee's findings in clear, convenient form, and faithfully reflects the original. Southerners the region over are using this pamphlet version in learning what the Committee actually reported and recommended in our four basic areas of civil rights, and for guidance in study and discussion of them. 27 pages.	10¢	*	*
THE CONDITION OF OUR RIGHTS. From the files on civil and human rights in the South. A pamphlet of organized data on civil rights practices, incidents. and court decisions, designed to document study and discussion, and to serve as a companion release to the Council's Civil Rights Report digest.	20¢	*	*
COLOR, CLASS, AND PERSONALITY. By Robert L. Sutherland for the American Youth Commission. An excellent, 135 page summary of what the Commission found, through its thorough and extensive survey, about Negro youth's life and attitudes throughout the rural and urban nation. Good photographs. Limited supply.	30¢	*	*
TO STEM THIS TIDE. The tide referred to is that of racial friction, whose nationwide manifestations are described in this survey by the Institute of Social Sciences at Fisk University. Factual data is given on individual incidents in many areas, among them industry, housing, public carriers, politics, police treatment, and recreation. By Charles Johnson and Associates. 142 pages. Limited supply.	30¢	*	*
THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. How the nation has denied him equal opportunities in industry, labor, and education. Prepared by the Council for Democracy, 1945. 21 pages. Limited quantity, 3¢ to close out.	3¢		
THE NEGRO PRESS. Materials on the development, character, and function of an important educating force and molder of public opinion. As presented by Robert Durr. 8 pages. Limited quantity.	10¢		
VOTING RESTRICTIONS IN THE 13 SOUTHERN STATES. An outline, by State, of the obstacles interposed between the Southern voter and the ballot box. Report of the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South. 1945. 22 pages. Limited quantity, 5¢ to close out.	5¢		

	Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
"REPAIRERS OF THE BREACH." A story of the tangible things Southern church women, white and Negro, have done together for Negro welfare and interracial understanding. 56 pages, photographs. 1941. Limited supply.	10¢	*	*
GETTING ALONG TOGETHER. A distinquished Southern business and civic leader discusses our need for racial understanding. By Kendall Weisiger. 8 pages.	5¢	$ .50	$4.00
LET'S PULL TOGETHER, KENTUCKIANS. Kentucky's Governor appointed a bi-racial commission to study conditions under which Kentucky Negroes live. This is a summary of what the commission found, with recommendations that serve as a challenge for all Southern states. 6 pages.	5¢	$ .50	$3.50
FACING FACTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA. A South Carolinian looks at his state and decides that state pride should work for a better life there, and not for the ignoring of unpleasant truths. By Marion A. Wright, Conway. Limited quantity.	3¢		
TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS. This is the report in full of the President's Committee on Civil Rights which is issued by the Government Printing Office. Illustrations and charts, readable format. 178 pages.	$1.00		
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS, 1944. An exciting document in the history of progressive Southern movements, this report outlines accomplishments of the Council's first year. Limited supply.	3¢	*	*
THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF LYNCHING. A documented review of lynchings, 1931-1941, this pamphlet emphasizes the changes taking place in the geographic areas where lynchings occur, in the offenses charged against victims, in the size and other characteristics of the lynch mob. By Jessie Daniel Ames. 65 pages. Limited supply.	15¢	*	*
HOUSING IN THE SOUTH. A clearly organized, graphic description of the condition of the roofs over our heads. Census findings are given human meaning in this 18 page, illustrated pamphlet. Prepared by Helen Bridgman.	20¢	*	*

	Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
RACE AND SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1940. Based on a first-hand study of voting practices in the South, this pamphlet traces state by state the increase in Negro voting, its meaning for the Negro and for the South. 26 pages, 2 charts. By Luther P. Jackson.	25¢	$2.75	$23.00
HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION AND HEALTH IN THE SOUTHERN STATES. A discussion of hospital and health needs in the South and the progress which the states are making with federal aid under the Hill-Burton Act. Prepared by Jane P. Simpson.	5¢	*	*

FREE MATERIALS

(As long as they last)

WHICH WAY IS BETTER? Reprints of two July 4 news articles present two appraches in human relations to a nation made up of many peoples.

A SURVEY OF VETERAN SERVICES FOR NEGROES IN ARKANSAS. By Harry L. Wright, former field representative, Veterans Services Division, SRC.

SERVICES FOR NEGRO VETERANS IN LOUISIANA. By George S. Mitchell.

A SURVEY OF VETERANS' SERVICES FOR NEGROES IN OKLAHOMA. By Harry L. Wright.

THE MOB STILL RIDES. The lynching record, 1931-1935.

*Footnote:

We regret that greatly increased costs of paper and printing have forced us to discontinue discounts on quantity orders for our most recent publications and reprintings. (No discounts are given on pamphlets distributed, but not published, by the Council.)

SPC - Publications

November 16, 1948

Miss Virginia Trumper
Serials Librarian
The Library of The Woman's College
of the University of North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Miss Trumper:

We are in receipt of your postal card of October 20 in which you state that you have not received any copies of New South since the November 1947 issue received in January, and that this was reported in June of 1948, but you received no reply. You also state that you have had no copies of the pamphlets since No. 8. We have searched our files but have been unable to find any subscription listed either in your name or that of the Library of The Woman's College of the University of Notth Carolina. Won't you please therefore, tell us how this subscription was listed so that we may search for it further?

Pamphlet Number 8 which was the March 1947 issue of New South is the last pamphlet on which a numbering system was used. Numbering has been discontinued,so that if you received your full compliment of New South issued up through November, you would not have missed any pamphlets which would be included in a subscription to New South.

We regret very much our failure to reply to your notice which you say you sent us in June, but we are unable to establish that it was ever received here. We shall be glad to make good on any missing issued called for by your subscription as soon as information from you enables us to identify it.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

XJII-399

THE LIBRARY OF Oct. 20, 1948
THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
GREENSBORO, N. C.

We have failed to receive: any copies of the NEW SOUTH since the November 1947 issue received in January. We reported this in June but received no reply. We also have had no copies of the Pamphlets since no.8. (Mch.-47.

If you can favor us by sending a copy, the courtesy will be greatly appreciated. Should you be unable to supply this, kindly notify us.

Very truly yours,
Virginia Trumper
per BW

Serials Librarian

SRC - Publication

J. E. BLANTON
R. F. D. 1 - BOX 99
CORDOVA, ORANGEBURG COUNTY, S. C.

Dr George S Mitchell 12-24-48.
Executive director
S.R.C. Inc.
Atlanta Ga

RECEIVED
DEC 28 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr Mitchell:

This arrived yesterday and I am returning just as soon as possible since tomorrow is Xmas - no delivery etc.

I think it is very - very - much to the point and should add greatly to our already good work.

On page 3 - section headed "Equal public services"

It seems to me - that there are so many places where we are not yet getting the square break yet - That it would be more to the point to say. "SRC works to get a square break" etc.

other than that it seems to me to be very much to the point, and it certainly expresses our position as I have understood it as a charter member.

Wishing you a Merry Xmas I am

Sincerely

J. Beanton

A GROUP OF SOUTHERNERS, representing both races and many faiths and denominations, got together in 1943...

and decided...

IT'S UP TO US, as Southerners, to join together, face up to the South's problems honestly, and work to solve them...

That's how the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was born.

SRC belongs to its members. It is non-profit, non-denominational, non-political. It is Southern in its make-up and its work.

SRC is not, however, an "isolationist" movement to separate the South's problems from the Nation's. It welcomes support and understanding from all sincere people, wherever they are. But voting membership is limited to persons living in the South.

SRC members include people from all walks of life — white and Negro, city and country, men and women, church people, businessmen, educators, labor men, and plain everyday citizens.

SRC BELIEVES that the South can be prosperous and healthy, freed of poverty, prejudice, and fear...

It believes in the ideals of democracy for which this Nation was founded...

It believes that the South, by holding back the Negro, is holding back its own development...

It believes -- in the name of democracy, Christianity, and common decency -- that the Negro must have equal opportunity in the schoolroom, on the job, and at the polls...

SRC BELIEVES THAT DEMOCRACY IS SAFE ONLY WHEN EVERYBODY CONTRIBUTES TO IT AND EVERYBODY SHARES IN IT.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS, the Southern Regional Council works THROUGH--

* Its local groups

SRC has State Divisions and affiliated committees in eleven Southern States, and smaller groups in communities over the South...

* Its Regional Office

SRC's headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, guides the work of the local groups, advises private and official agencies, issues timely statements and publications...

* A monthly bulletin

NEW SOUTH keeps members and friends of SRC informed about Southern problems and progress...

* Special pamphlets

These give the facts, based on careful study of the region, in simple, illustrated form...

* Public opinion

SRC helps create a better climate of opinion through newspapers, radio, speakers...

* Cooperating Groups

SRC works with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and other groups to bring about wholesome improvements...

* Home Town Self-Surveys

SRC helps local groups organize to collect the facts about their communities -- and to follow through with corrective action.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS, the Southern Regional Council works FOR--

* Better understanding between the races

SRC helps lessen the violence that has plagued the South by providing a meeting ground where people of good will, white and colored, can come together, air their common problems, achieve honest solutions... When trouble brews, SRC members know whom to reach and what to do...

* Equal justice

SRC watches the courts... points out injustices... works for fair police practices... has successfully urged the hiring of Negro policemen in towns and cities throughout the South...

* Equal public services

SRC helps (works to) get a square break for ALL our people in--

Schools...

Hospitals and medical care...

Housing...

Jobs...

Farming opportunities...

Veterans services...

* Full citizenship for everyone in

Voting...

Jury service...

Representation on official bodies...

* State government for ALL the people

SRC works for the day when our States will serve all citizens equally.

TO WORK FOR THESE THINGS, and more, the Southern Regional Council needs YOUR support. Here are three things you can do to help:

1. Join SRC and work actively with other members in your community.
2. Contribute to SRC's operating funds.
3. Get your friends to work with you and SRC.

THE SOUTH'S PROBLEMS ARE OUR PROBLEMS -- YOURS AND MINE. TOGETHER, WE CAN BUILD A MORE PROSPEROUS AND DEMOCRATIC FUTURE.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

I believe in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council and I want to become:

( ) A Member. I enclose $3.00 for one year's membership dues.

(Note: People living outside the South are enrolled as associate, non-voting members.)

( ) A Subscriber. I enclose $1.50 for one year's subscription to NEW SOUTH.

( ) A Contributor. I enclose $..... as a donation to the Council's work.

( ) I am interested in the program of the Council and would like you to send me more information about it.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....State.....

[Here follow a list of SRC officers and Board members and a list of heads of State Divisions and Affiliates.]

SRC - Publications

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

ALABAMA DIVISION

CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT A. D. BEITTEL

VICE-CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM
THE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
MONTGOMERY

SECRETARY
MRS. J. FLETCHER McLEOD
BRUNDIDGE

TREASURER
MR. ROBERT DURR
1602 - 6TH AVENUE, N.
BIRMINGHAM 3

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BIRMINGHAM

MRS. H. R. COGBURN
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TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

REVEREND WILLIAM H. MARMION
BIRMINGHAM

MR. J. E. PIERCE
MONTGOMERY

REVEREND THOMAS R. THRASHER
MONTGOMERY

REVEREND FRANK WADE
BIRMINGHAM

REVEREND DAN C. WHITSETT
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BIRMINGHAM

DR. HALLIE FARMER
MONTEVALLO

ATTORNEY CHARLES V. HENDLEY
BIRMINGHAM

DR. D. V. JEMISON
SELMA

REVEREND CARL K. KLUGE
BIRMINGHAM

MR. WILLIAM MITCH
BIRMINGHAM

REVEREND J. B. NICHOLS
PRATTVILLE

PRESIDENT F. D. PATTERSON
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

MR. D. R. PRICE
BIRMINGHAM

REVEREND A. S. TURNIPSEED
MONTGOMERY

MR. J. K. WILLIAMS
BIRMINGHAM

ALABAMA DIVISION
TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

December 24, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
DEC 28 1948

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have read carefully the text of the proposed pamphlet enclosed in your letter of December 22nd. I think Mr. Fleming has done a good job. With some attractive pictures this should prove to be a very useful pamphlet.

I am sure that we shall want to use a great many copies of this pamphlet in Alabama in order to expand our membership.

With good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel

A.D. Beittel, Chairman
Alabama Division

ADB:jh

SRC - Publications

JAMES MC BRIDE DABBS · RIP RAPS · MAYESVILLE, S. C.

December 29, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 31 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have read carefully the proposed bulletin--or pamphlet--that Mr. Fleming has prepared. It seems excellent as to the arrangement of details and expression. But it seems to me that possibly something is omitted. I have the feeling that there should be included a list of the most important concrete things the SRC has accomplished, and another list of the most important concrete things it intends , or plans, to accomplish in the near future. If the present outline is kept, these lists could be inserted at the bottom of page 3 If inserted there, it would probably be well to change the first phrase on page 4 from "To work# for these things " to "To do these things."

I realize, of course, that much of the work of the SRC lies in the broad field of changing the climate of opinion. Perhaps its best work cannot be list in the form 1, 2, 3. Nevertheless, hardheaded business men want to know, so far as possible, exactly what has been done and exactly what is proposed.

I should hate to have to omit any of the material Mr. Fleming has included in order to insert the material I suggest. I should hope that this ### material might be included without any omissions in the proposed pamphlet. Mr. Fleming has stripped down his language to the degree that I have no verbal ##### omissions to suggest.

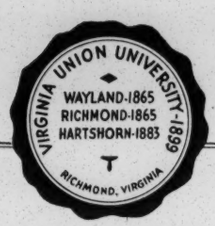
I am keeping the copy you sent; maybe I can use it to pry some contributions out of somebody before I receive the completed pamphlet.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs, Chairman
South Carolina Division.

SRC - Publications



Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Fourth January 1949

JAN 5 1949
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dr George S Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta Georgia.

My dear Dr Mitchell:

Thanks for the privilege of scanning the proposed pamphlet. It contains convincing conceptions of what the SRC should go about and I feel that it will afford quite a challenge to the"uniniated". But as always I feel that more emphasis on what we have really accomplished would greatly facilitate the attainment of our objectives.

We have been a going concern for five years and unless we can point back to some concrete achievements,people will doubt our effectiveness for the next five. It occurs to me that the SRC's program for the veterans' readjustment would be an illustration of what we have done in the concrete. The Jacksonville study and some of its results would be a very convincing argument and I am sure that other achievements could be catalogued that would by sheer weight of integrity compel serious appraisal of our attainments as well as our objectives.

The fact that we have spent more than $200,000 in carrying out our program is itself a very convincting argument that somebody believes tremendously in our program and policies. The help that the SRC has rendered local interracial groups and their programs would make interesting reading to people who always hark back to the tantamount question "What is the SRC doing?" In other words,the greatest proof that we are going to accomplish things in the future is our record of achievements for the past five years.

I feel now as I felt during the last meeting that a pamphlet setting forth what we have already done would more than any other thing win support for our work. It is my earnest hope that something can be done to financially succour our promising enterprise into which some of us have invested heavily by absorbing the epithets and calumnies and odiums cast by those who said we could not offer anyting to the already functioning organizations. We have yet to convince these"social sinners" that we have "something on the ball". A neatly wrought pamphlet along the lines suggested by your outline together with the added suggestion that said pamphlet look backward as well as forward,would in my mind turn the trick.

With high hopes for financial succour and with the assurance that I shall do my best in these parts,I remain,

Yours very cordially,

Gordon B Hancock

Gordon B Hancock

SRC - Publication

F. D. GOODWIN
Vice-President

MRS. J. EARL MORELAND
Vice-President

U. G. WILSON
Vice-President

J. A. BOSSERMAN
Treasurer

W. A. MANN
Assistant Treasurer

VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, INC.

OFFICES AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, AND BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA

JOHN M. ELLISON
J. EARL MORELAND
Department Chairmen

EMERSON C. SMITH
Department Director

Department of Interracial Cooperation

1444 East Main Street, Room 215

RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

R. B. MONTGOMERY
President

HENRY LEE ROBISON, JR.
Executive Secretary

MINOR C. MILLER
Associate Executive Secretary

Jan. 6, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have read several times the tentative text for the promotion pamphlet on the Southern Regional Council. It impresses me as being clear, concise, and to the point, and I have no suggestions for its improvement.

Sincerely yours,

Emerson

Emerson Smith, Director
Interracial Cooperation

ES:lj

3/4

Mrs. McKoy:

Let us know when you have set the price on this.

met

Rough Draft

THIS LETTER TO BE MIMEOGRAPHED AND SENT TO:

Mrs. Crate Texas
~~Guy Johnson~~
Mr. Dabbs
~~Mace Spearman~~
Minahan S.C.
Miss Reid S.C.
~~Mr. Beittel~~
Mr. Shores 1630 4th Ave Birmingham Ala
~~Paul Williams~~

~~[redacted]~~ Ga
~~[redacted]~~
Mr. Schaeffer
Mrs. Lyells Miss
~~Alfred Manders~~
Mrs. Smith Tenn Pfifer
Kenneth Pfifer (Rock Hill, SC) Oakland Ave. Presbyterian Ch Rock Hill, S.C.
Emerson Smith Va.
~~Mace Smith~~

~~Members of Executive Committee~~

Members of SRC Board, ~~other than ex officio members~~

Mrs. White Fla.
Mrs. Havens 2845 Cornthian Ave Jackson

~~Mr. Daniel~~
~~Mr. Tydings~~

Mrs. Hortense Young Ky

~~[redacted]~~

Stencil?

SRC Fellows
~~Clark Smith~~

I enclose a new and greatly altered edition of a pamphlet which the Council has had in stock under the title of "The Economic Value of the Negro to the South." The old edition is exhausted.

For reasons of economy, we have printed only a few thousand of these and, as nearly all of our members once received the earlier edition, we are not sending out to the whole old mailing list this new edition. However, I do want some people in each state to know about it. It was useful before and the new one will be useful again. If you can help us to get it sold, we will be grateful. The price is 15¢.

Sincerely,

cc HF

Mrs. McKoy

Completed 3/9/49

GSM:

Copy given to Mrs. McKoy and Harold. We haven't received a bill yet, so Mrs. McKoy hasn't set the price.

met

noted
CM

SRC - Publications

Rough Draft

THIS LETTER TO BE MIMEOGRAPHED AND SENT TO:

Mrs. Crate	Dr. Russell
Guy Johnson	Mrs. Ratliff
Mr. Dabbs	Mr. Schaeffer
Mrs. Spearman	Mrs. Lyells
Minahan	Alfred Mynders
Miss Reid	Mrs. Smith
Mr. Beittel	Kenneth Pafer (Rock Hill, SC)
Mr. Shores	Emerson Smith
Paul Williams	Mrs. Zeuch

Members of Executive Committee

Members of SRC Board, other than ex officio members

Mrs. White	Mr. Daniel	Mrs. Hortense Young
Mrs. Havens	Mr. Tydings	Pres. Atwood

SRC Fellows

I enclose a new and greatly altered edition of a pamphlet which the Council has had in stock under the title of "The Economic Value of the Negro to the South." The old edition is exhausted.

For reasons of economy, we have printed only a few thousand of these and, as nearly all of our members once received the earlier edition, we are not sending out to the old mailing list this new edition. However, I do want some people in each state to know about it. It was useful before and the new one will be useful again. If you can help us to get it sold, we will be grateful. The price is _____.

Sincerely,

cc HF

Mrs. McKoy

SRC - Publications

Also sent to Emerson C. Smith, J. E. Blanton, and H. Brent Schaeffer + A. D. Beittel

April 13, 1949

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Rip Raps
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Enclosed is a copy of the Council's new promotion leaflet, a supply of which has been sent to the officers of state Divisions and Committees.

We are most grateful to you for reading the manuscript in draft and giving us your suggestions.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

SRC - Publications

April 13, 1949

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

Here is a copy of the Council's new promotion leaflet, just off the press. I am sending separately ten additional copies for your use.

Your advice on the leaflet, at the Board meeting and in later correspondence, was invaluable to us. I only hope the finished product does justice to your suggestions.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

SRC-Publications

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

ALABAMA DIVISION

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PRESIDENT A. D. BEITTEL

VICE-CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM
THE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
MONTGOMERY

SECRETARY
MRS. J. FLETCHER McLEOD
BRUNDIDGE

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MR. ROBERT DURR
1602 - 6TH AVENUE, N.
BIRMINGHAM 3

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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MRS. H. R. COGBURN
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DEAN CHARLES G. GOMILLION
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REVEREND THOMAS R. THRASHER
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ATTORNEY CHARLES V. HENDLEY
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REVEREND CARL K. KLUGE
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MR. WILLIAM MITCH
BIRMINGHAM

REVEREND J. B. NICHOLS
PRATTVILLE

PRESIDENT F. D. PATTERSON
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

MR. D. R. PRICE
BIRMINGHAM

REVEREND A. S. TURNIPSEED
MONTGOMERY

MR. J. K. WILLIAMS
BIRMINGHAM

ALABAMA DIVISION
TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

April 16, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of April 13th and for the copy of the new promotion leaflet. The promotion leaflet is a very attractive job and should do us a lot of good.

Cordially yours,

A D Beittel

A.D. Beittel, Chairman
Alabama Division

SRC - Publications

REGIONAL COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION
201-101 BUILDING, MARIETTA STREET
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

April 19, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for copy of your fine pamphlet describing the purposes and activities of the Southern Regional Council. It is an excellent job of presentation on a very important activity.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Director

JEI:s

RECEIVED
APR 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Publications

May 23, 1949

Mr. James M. Dabbs
R. F. D. #1
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Here is a copy of a good letter that the Kentucky Division got out the other day about the "punch pamphlet". If you can help similarly, it would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

May 23, 1949

Mr. Alfred D. Mynders, Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mynders:

Here is a copy of a good letter that the Kentucky Division got out the other day about the "punch pamphlet". If you can help similarly, it would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

May 23, 1949

Mr. R. P. Daniel
1100 Florida National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Daniel:

Here is a copy of a good letter that the Kentucky Division got out the other day about the "punch pamphlet". If you can help similarly, it would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

May 17, 1949

To Officers and Directors
of the Kentucky Division
Southern Regional Council

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is the new "punch pamphlet" published by the Atlanta office as an effective means for cultivating new members.

Won't you read it over carefully, and write down the names and addresses of at least 10 people of your acquaintance who should belong to the Southern Regional Council. The enclosed self addressed envelop is for your convenience in replying.

We will check your list with our membership list, and with names submitted by other Directors, and thereby avoid duplications.

We feel that we ought to personalize the invitation to membership as much as possible and will send out an appropiate letter with the pamphlet.

Please give this matter thoughtful consideration. We need to expand our membership. We need more people who care.

Sincerely,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:ch
cc: Mr. G. S. Mitchell
Mrs. Hortense Young

RECEIVED
MAY 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Publications

September 8, 1949

Mrs. C.R. Whitaker
17 North Hawley Street
Eustis, Florida

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

We are very much appreciative of your comments on "Mobile Violence". I take pleasure in sending you several additional copies. There are more if you want them.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff

Sept 7/49

"New South" –
Atlanta, Georgia

Please send me 2
copies "Mobile Violence"
Aug 1949.
Vol. 4, No. 8.
Congratulations on your
accurate coverage of
Lake County's story,
and in such a short
period. I am sending
my own and want to
do the same with
extra copies. What is
charge per copy. –
(Mrs) C. R. Whitaker.
17 N. Hawley St.
Eustis. Fla.

SRC - Publication

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

INVENTORY

September 19, 1949

	New South (1946-1949)		Approx. No. in Stock	
January (1946)	First issue of New South		800	50
February	A Chance for The Vet. & for the South		60	
March	The South's Future for the Nation		7000	
April	G I Programs in the South (Alabama Survey)	300 free	200	
May	What Happened at Columbia	400 sale	1600	400
June	Wanted: A Healthy South	700 destroy 900	5250	
July	Education and Crime		300	
August	A Southerner looks at the South		25	
September	Machines in the Cooton Fields		800	
October	Youth in Action	200 free	300	
November	Industrial Research for Southern Progress		150	
December	SRC Annual Meeting Charts Course for 1947		300	100
	Index for '46		200	
January (1947)	Equality of Opportunity		50	
February	The Second Reconstruction	400 free	450	
March	Wanted: An Educated South		3600	
April	Mitchell Takes Up Duties		200	
May	The Will and The Way		30	
June	"By the People		600	
July	They Held Their Homes		OUT	
August	Civil Rights in the South		OUT	
September	What N.C. did about Public Health		100	
October	Negro Police in Southern Cities	200 free	500	
November	SRC Reports for 1947	200 free destroy 800	1200	200
December-January	Fourth Annual Meeting Plans Program for 1948		OUT	
December-January (1948)	Same as Above		OUT	
February	Southwide Civil Rights Meeting to be Sponsored by SRC		25	
March	Southwide Workshops Draft Civil Rights Program		100	
April	Housing in the South		4200	
May	Hospital Construction & Health in the Southern States		30	
June-July	Race & Suffrage in the South Since 1940		2800	
August	Intercultural Education		50	
September	An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy	500 free	1200	
October	SRC Reports for 1948		20	
November	SRC Annual Meeting lays Plans	400 free	600	
December-January	~~How a Virginia County made up its Mind 1948~~		~~40~~	
December-January (1949)	How a Virginia County made up its Mind		40	
February	The Right to Vote		25	
March	How secure is the Right to Safety of the Person?		OUT	
April	The Churches Speak	200 free	450	
May-June	A Recommendation for Action by the Southern Governors		900	
July	The Irwinton Story		1500	
August	Mobile Violence		1500	
Phylon &	1948 (Third Quarter) list contents.		600	

postage over 5¢ will be chgd.
free.

Publications

September 29, 1949

PUBLICATIONS LIST
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PERIODICAL

New South. A small monthly magazine which keeps Council members and all interested people up to date on Southern problems and progress. — Subscription $1.50 a year

PAMPHLETS

Postage exceeding 4¢ will be charged to the bill

Title	single copy	one dozen	one hundred
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. A brief account of what the Council is and how it came to be, of how it works and what it accomplishes. 8 pages.	free		
WHAT KIND OF A SOUTH DO YOU WANT? Aims and achievements of the Council are graphically described. 4 pages.	free		
THE SOUTH: AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY NUMBER ONE More than a "problem", the South is a land of economic promise in industry, agriculture, housing, business, foreign trade. How she can fulfill her promise is the theme of this symposium. 44 pages. 1945.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION. Probably the best short study of the South's economy available, this pamphlet gives the main facts on what keeps the Southern region from giving its human and natural abundance to the nation, and from getting in return the things it so badly needs. By Rupert B. Vance, with an introduction by Ellis Arnall of Georgia. 30 pages, illustrated. 1946.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
WANTED: AN EDUCATED SOUTH. Southern children need better education which reaches more of them. This pamphlet shows what is lacking and gives ideas for spreading basic learning to all Southern people. 24 pages, illustrated. 1947.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
WANTED: A HEALTHY SOUTH. The South has conditions of poor health she cannot afford to neglect. This presentation of causes and the ways that lead to cure has been found useful for classes in sociology, current problems, and nursing. 30 pages, illustrated. June 1946. Prepared by Dorothy Dickins.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00

	Single copy	One dozen	One hundred
MACHINES IN THE COTTON FIELDS. The changing face of Southern agriculture; what can be done to make mechanization less devastating to displaced farm workers and more constructive for the South as a whole. By Arthur Raper. 32 pages, photographs and charts. September, 1946.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
AMERICA'S TENTH MAN. This brief survey throws the light of fact and history on the part played by the Negro and his contributions to American life. 25th printing, 1947.	10¢	*	*
SINGERS IN THE DAWN. Negro poets from slavery times to our own, writing of the things all poets know, and also of the special hurt, courage, and pride they themselves have learned. This inexpensive pamphlet anthology has become one of our most popular publications. Compiled by Robert Eleazer. 24 pages. Eighth printing, September 1946.	10¢	*	*
THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. Public Affairs pamphlet No. 95. A 32 page, illustrated summary of Gunnar Myrdal's authoritative study. Ideal for classroom use, August 1944.	10¢	*	*
"BY THE PEOPLE." Pioneers in self-examination and self-improvement, the people of Jacksonville, Fla., made a detailed survey of every aspect of local Negro life - health, education, sanitation, law enforcement, transportation, recreation. Their thoroughness and the specific character of their recommendations helped bring better conditions quickly. As the self-survey idea spreads to civically aware citizens in other communities, this summary of the Jacksonville report is being widely used for summary and discussion. Line drawings add to the interest. 33 pages. June 1947.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
"TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS." Here is a digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights which presents the Committee's findings in clear, convenient form, and faithfully reflects the original. Southerners the region over are using this pamphlet version in learning what the Committee actually reported and recommended in our four basic areas of civil rights, and for guidance in study and discussion of them. 27 pages. Feb. 1948.	10¢	*	*
GETTING ALONG TOGETHER. A distinguished Southern business and civic leader discusses our need for racial understanding. By Kendall Weisiger. 8 pages.	5¢	50¢	$4.00

	Single copy	One dozen	One hundred
THE CONDITION OF OUR RIGHTS. From the files on civil and human rights in the South. A pamphlet of organized data on civil rights practices, incidents and court decisions, designed to document study and discussion, and to serve as a companion release to the Council's Civil Rights Report digest. 1948.	20¢	*	*
BROTHERS IN BLACK. A minister's statement on the Christian commandment to brotherhood. By J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia, 10 pages Revised, 1946. Limited supply.	5¢	50¢	$3.50
THE NEGRO PRESS. Materials on the development, character, and function of an important educating force and molder of public opinion. As presented by Robert Durr. 8 pages. 1947. Limited supply.	10¢	*	*
"REPAIRERS OF THE BREACH." A story of the tangible things Southern church women, white and Negro, have done together for Negro welfare and interracial understanding. 56 pages, photographs, 1941.	10¢	*	*
VOTING RESTRICTIONS IN THE 13 SOUTHERN STATES. An outline, by state, of the obstacles interposed between the Southern voter and the ballot box. Report of the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South. 1945. 22 pages. Limited supply.	5¢	*	*
LET'S PULL TOGETHER, KENTUCKIANS. Kentucky's governor appointed a bi-racial commission to study conditions under which Kentucky Negroes live. This is a summary of what the commission found, with recommendations that serve as a challenge for all Southern states. 1946. 6 pages.	5¢	50¢	$3.50
THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF LYNCHING. A documented review of lynchings, 1931-1941, this pamphlet emphasizes the changes taking place in the geographic areas where lynchings occur, in the offenses charged against victims, in the size and other characteristics of the lynch mob. By Jessie Daniel Ames. 65 pages. Limited supply.	15¢	*	*
HOUSING IN THE SOUTH. A clearly organized, graphic description of the condition of the roofs over our heads. Census findings are given human meaning in this 18 page, illustrated pamphlet. Prepared by Helen Bridgman. April, 1948.	20¢	*	*

	Single copy	One dozen	One hundred
RACE AND SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1940. Based on a first-hand study of voting practices in the South, this pamphlet traces state by state the increase in Negro voting, its meaning for the Negro and for the South. 26 pages, 2 charts. July 1948. By Luther P. Jackson.	25¢	$2.75	$23.00
"AN HONEST ANSWER IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS CONTROVERSY." Reprinted from September, 1948, New South. Vol. 3, No. 9. (Full issue of New South for that date exhausted.) The reprint carries a roundup of editorial comment on the statement of the Council about civil rights. A thoughtful, earnest review of the controversy and a proposal for its solution. The Council asks for agreement to work in three ways together: (1) in teaching everybody the importance of respecting people's rights; (2) strong laws, state and Federal; and (3) jobs and farms and homes and schools and health to underpin the rights of every individual.	5¢	*	*
THE NEGRO IN OUR ECONOMY. Apopular study of the Negro in America today with a brief historical background. The role of the Negro citizen in agriculture, labor, business and as a consumer is clearly described and documented. 19 pages, photographs. By W. Hardin Hughes. 1948 Revised Edition.	15¢	*	*
RACE IN THE NEWS. The Southern press has shown a marked improvement in the coverage of racial news. This pamphlet sets forth present practices and concrete suggestions for improvement in terms of good journalism. Important to editors and writers, it also affords the interested newspaper reader a sound basis for judgement. 19 pages, illustrated. 1949.	15¢	*	*
UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. A statement of principles approved as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations. Approved by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. 6 pages. Printed by U.S. Gov't.	5¢	*	*
A MANUAL FOR THE HOME TOWN SELF-SURVEY. A guide for local citizens interested in the improvement of their community. It includes suggestions for getting a survey started, organizing and carrying out the survey, enlisting support, getting the facts, and carrying out the recommendations. Arranged so that local people can use the Manual, it is divided into 15 different sections, each with explanatory text and covering all the different parts of community life. 79 pages.	25¢	*	*

	One copy	One dozen	One hundred
THE HOME TOWN SELF-SURVEY. A leaflet defining the home town self-survey and describing the Manual.	free	*	*
WHICH WAY IS BETTER? Reprints of two July 4 news articles present two approaches to human relations to a nation made up of many peoples. Limited supply.	1¢	*	*
UNITY BEGINS AT HOME. World Charter and Individual Character. By W.B. Stubbs	1¢	*	*
A SURVEY OF VETERAN SERVICES FOR NEGROES IN ARKANSAS. By Harry L. Wright, former field representative, Veterans Services Division, SRC. Limited supply.	1¢	*	*
A SURVEY OF VETERAN SERVICES FOR NEGROES IN FLORIDA. By Wesley R. Brazier, former field representative, Veterans Serivces Division, SRC. Limited supply.	1¢	*	*

#####

The following earlier issues of the Council's monthly magazine New South, still still in stock, contain articles of general interest.

New South, May 1946. Vol. 1, No. 5. WHAT HAPPENED AT COLUMBIA. The facts about the mob violence at Columbia, Tennessee in Feb., 1946. Widely praised as an impartial analysis of this near riot.	5¢	*	*
New South, July 1946. Vol. 1, No. 7. EDUCATION AND CRIME. Facts from Alabama experience to prove the link between poor schools and full jails.	5¢	*	*
New South, November 1946, Vol. 1, No. 11 Articles on industrial research for Southern progress, tenant farmers who became farm owners in Alabama, and on the value of Negro policemen in a South Carolina town.	5¢	*	*
New South, February 1947. Vol. 2, No. 11. A leading Southern editor pleads for cooperative effort between the North and the South to build a broadening equality within the country as a whole. In "The Case for Negro Police," leading Texas editor agrees that Negro policemen would strengthen law enforcement and justice.	5¢	*	*

New South, October 1947. Vol. 2, No. 10. A whole issue about NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES. A table of cities with their numbers of Negro policemen. Quotations from Southern police chiefs on their experience in using these officers and an account of how Negro police worked out in one North Carolina city.	5¢	*	*
New South, November 1948. Vol. 3, No. 11. The Council's plans for 1949, drafted by the annual meeting. Also an article giving the remarkable change in FARM TENANCY in the South for the last 15 years, state by state.	5¢	*	*
New South, April 1949. Vol. 4, No. 4. Statements by official Southern church groups in the field of human rights are included in THE CHURCHES SPEAK. LOPSIDED LEGISLATURES I - ALABAMA is the first in a series of articles on the legislatures in the Southern states.	5¢	*	*
New South, May-June 1949. Vol. 4 Nos. 5 & 6 A RECOMMENDATION FOR ACTION BY THE SOUTHERN GOVERNORS was prepared by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council. The statement suggests the appointment of Negro citizens to policy-making boards. LOPSIDED LEGISLATURES II - GEORGIA is the second in a series of articles on the legislatures in the Southern states.	5¢	*	*
New South, July 1949. Vol 4, No. 7. THE IRWINTON STORY is a complete account of the first lynching of 1949. In the same issue there is a discussion and analysis of proposed Federal anti-lynch laws. LOPSIDED LEGISLATURES III - SOUTH CAROLINA is also included.	5¢	*	*
New South, August 1949. Vol 4, No. 8 A thoughtful account of the eruption of violence in the Groveland, Florida area. Implications for the whole South are discussed in MOBILE VIOLENCE. Law enforcement, public opinion, Ku Klux Klan, motorized mobs, and administration of justice take on a challenging meaning for the South in the Groveland incident.	5¢	*	*

New South, September 1949. Vol. 4, No. 9. An up-to-date table of NEGRO POLICE IN SOUTHERN CITIES shows a steady increase and indicates the success of this pahse of law enforcement. Also included in this issue are a discussion of law and discrimination and a summary of the workshop of Southern church women on human rights and the community.	5¢	*	*
New South, October 1949. Vol. 4, No. 10. A round-up of the activities of Southern Regional Council state committees and divisions tells what has been accomplished on the state and local level.	5¢	*	*

####

FREE PACKET: An assortment of twelve publications is available for 14¢, the cost of postage.

Footnote: We regret that greatly increased costs of paper and printing have forced us to discontinue discounts on quantity orders for our most recent publications and reprintings. (No discounts are given on pamphlets distributed, but not published by the Council.)

Washn Star
Hartford Courant
Lowell Sun
Toledo Blade
Baltimore Sun
Boston Post
Norfolk Va-Pilot
Springfield News
Nashville Tennessean
Ft Wayne Jnl Gazette
Milwaukee Jnl
Akron Beacon-Jnl
Cincinnati Enquirer
Omaha World-Herald
St Paul Pioneer-Press
Oakland (Cal) Tribune
Hutcheson Kans Jnl-Herald
Hayton Daily News

SRC - Publications

October 31, 1949

Mr. Halbert Harvill, President
Austin Peay State College
Clarksville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Harvill:

We are happy to fill your order of October 29 for pamphlets, as follows:

5 - THE SOUTH: AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY
5 - WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION
5 - WANTED: AN EDUCATED SOUTH
5 - WANTED: A HEALTHY SOUTH
5 - AMERICA'S TENTH MAN

The bill on this is enclosed, in triplicate.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t
enclosure

SRC - Publications

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

November 1, 1949

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The BUREAU OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION LIBRARY would greatly appreciate the receipt of the publications noted below if available for free distribution to libraries. If this material may be obtained only by purchase, will you kindly quote the price before sending?

Thank you for your courtesy.

Very truly yours,

Barbara J. Hudson

Barbara J. Hudson
Librarian

117 Library Building

Southern regional council.

Study recommending the recognition of the importance of legal protection of human rights to this country's world position. Oct. 1949.

RECEIVED
NOV 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

Re - Publication

Novemb er 21, '49
Nov. 21, '49

The Revmr.

The Rev. Mr. John A. Hunter
116-N. Dunleith Ave.
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Dear Mr. Hunter,

Thank you for your kind card. I esend the following

Dec-Jan, '48-49 New South	.05
Feb, '49	.05
April	.05
May-June	.05
August	.05
July	.05
Sept.	.05
Oct.	.05
Negro in Our Economy	.15
Race in the News	.15
Various free items	
TOTAL	.75

Race in the News has done a power of good. Perhaps you can get local churches in nearby cities to use it as the basis of one-time committee visits to the editors. Great improvement always results!

We would be delighted to have you as a member. Blank on the back of the Brown-Map leaflet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

SRC - Publications

November 28, 1949

Miss Ruth A. Handy
Community Consultant
Community Association of School Districts 25 and 27
901 Classon Avenue
Brooklyn 25, N. Y.

Dear Miss Handy:

In response to your letter of November 22, we are sending separately several of our pamphlets which may be suitable for your display on human relations.

Enclosed is a complete list of our available publications. We shall be glad to supply others that may be of interest to your organization.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enclosure

Community Association of School Districts 25 and 27, Inc.

President
A. R. MELKER
Vice-Presidents
MRS. FRANCES KOHAN
HON. MYLES PAIGE
MRS. IDA SIROTA
MRS. RUTH SWANBORG
Recording Secretary
MRS. PEARL GOODMAN
Corresponding Secretary
CELE FRIEDMAN
Financial Secretary and Treasurer
J. DANIEL DIGGS
Historian
MISS H. TOBY ROSE
Executive Secretary
MRS. RUTH A. HANDY
Executive Committee
Mr. ROY BERLIN
MR. SIDNEY BROWN
FATHER RICHARD CHICHESTER
DR. BETTY GORDON
MR. HARRY KAMER
MRS. ANNIE LANG
MRS. FANNIE LANG
MRS. FRIEDA SHPRENTZ
MRS. MAE SPIELHOLZ
MR. WILFRED STACHENFELD
REV. DUDLEY WARD
School Areas
P.S. 3 - 4 - 5 - 7 - 8 - 9
11 - 12 - 41 - 42 - 44
45 - 54 - 67 - 77 - 93
133 - 138 - 157 - 167 - 241
Alexander Hamilton High School
George Washington High School
High School for Homemaking
Boys High School
Girls High School
Prospect Heights High School
Brooklyn Technical High School

Bedford-Stuyvesant ● Brooklyn Heights
Eastern Parkway ● Prospect Heights
Crown Heights ● South Brooklyn
Fort Greene ● Park Slope
Navy Yard ● Red Hook

Headquarters: 901 Classon Avenue
BROOKLYN 25, N. Y.
NEvins 8-2804-5-6

Advisors
JOSEPH C. NOETHEN
Assistant Superintendent, School Districts 25 and 27
DAN W. DODSON
Center for Human Relations
Center for Home Relations
New York University
ARTHUR J. S. ROSENBAUM
Executive Director
Brooklyn Jewish Community Council
MRS. LOUISE D. SIMSAR, Director
Brooklyn Council for Social Planning
FRANK TURNER
Asst. Director of Community Education
Board of Education

November 22, 1949

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Aubur Ave., N.E. (Room 432)
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

We are preparing reference material for curriculum building in the field of Human Relations. I should like to include whatever materials your agency can furnish me.

The exhibit will be on display in Room 138, Brooklyn High School for Homemaking, 901 Classon Avenue, Brooklyn 25, N. Y. after January 1, 1950. It will please me very much to have a representative from your organization come in and see the exhibit.

Sincerely,

Ruth A. Handy

RUTH A. HANDY
Community Consultant

RECEIVED
28 1949
Southern Regional Council

SRC Publications
Sent packet Friday 2/3/50 HCF

January 29, 1950
Waco, Texas.

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell,
Executive Secretary,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Along with many other cities throughout the South we in Waco will conduct a large "inter-faith" service on Race Relations Sunday, Feb. 12. Judging from the turnout to our recent State Meeting of the Commission on Interracial Relations we have high hopes for an even more far-reaching success on Feb. 12.

As chairman of publicity I am casting about for ways and means of promoting our cause through the newspapers and other channels of communication. Since our local press has been most cooperative in the past I have thought to run a special feature story on the history of Race Relations Sunday and such other events as there may be or have been of a similar nature. In fact, I could use any material, past or present, which bears on the subject of interracial cooperation.

My difficulty is, unfortunately, that I have very little such material at hand. Mrs. M. L. Stroud, our local President, suggested that you and the Southern Regional Council might be willing and able to lend a helping hand - hence this letter.

If you possibly can, please help us, and at your earliest convenience. With best wishes to you and all others devoted to the furthering of human brotherhood, I am

Very sincerely,

Leon Wagner

Leon Wagner
Chairman of Publicity,
Waco Commission on
Interracial Cooperation.

Leon Wagner
1801 S. 5th St.,
Waco, Texas.

WACO, TEXAS
JAN
12 30 PM
1950

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Secretary,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Ave., NE.
Atlanta, Ga.

SRC Publications

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE

~~Handled~~ Sent 2/3/50 HCF

January 31, 1950

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We would appreciate receiving up to twenty-five copies of the pamphlet "To Secure These Rights". The staff of Legislative Reference Service who work directly with Members of Congress will find this very helpful in their research as well as to answer constituent requests.

We realize this item is ten cents but we hope you can make an exception in our case and send us a small supply gratis.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours very truly,
Jean W. Donnelly
Jean W. Donnelly
Service Librarian

1-30-52

SRC Publications

UNIVERSITY of TAMPA

Tampa 6, Florida

DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY
JESSE WALTER DEES, JR.

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sirs,

Please put my name on your mailing list.

Thanks.

Jesse W. Dees
Prof. & Head Dept of Sociology
(also Tampa Urban League)

Sent Flemming & pub list
2/2/50

Sent free material + prof. list 2/3/50 HCF

SPC Publications
Dublin Ga.

Feb. 2. 1950

The Southern Regional Council Inc.
Atlanta Ga.

Will you please send me at once by return mail
Some free leaflets and booklets on many phases of negro life
And please send a lists
I am. The county Chairman of the Junior Missionary of Laurens Co.
I am holding a county meeting Feb. 14 I would like to have these by then rush special & will pay postage
Oblig

Mary Watson
309 Gray St
Dublin Ga.

Iam Colored.

RECEIVED
FEB 2 1950
Southern Regional Council

SRC Publications

DOROTHY E. NEWBY
REGISTRAR

CLIFTON A. LETHERER
TREASURER AND BUSINESS MGR.

ALLEN BOWMAN
DEAN OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

CLAYTON G. LAWRENCE
DIRECTOR OF TEACHER TRAINING

WILBER T. DAYTON
DEAN OF THEOLOGY

Marion College

WILLIAM FINNEY McCONN, PRESIDENT

MARION, INDIANA

HERMAN BAKER
DIRECTOR OF MUSIC

DELLA WATERS
DEAN OF WOMEN

JOHN J. MAIN
DEAN OF MEN

MURIEL A. KLAASEN
BOOKKEEPER

HOWARD T. NOGGLE
FIELD REPRESENTATIVE

February 3, 1950

Southern Regional Council

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
FEB 6 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sirs:

For the first time this year The Anselm Club (a group of sociology students on campus) is planning programs and displays in recognition of Brotherhood Week. Do you have posters, wall-spreads, or pamphlets that would help us in making library and hall displays and in arranging special reading tables? We would appreciate it if you would send anything that you might have. You may bill any charges to me and I will remit, or return any unused material.

Yours very truly,

John W. Reed

John W. Reed

Club sponsor

JWR:mew

Sent [illegible]

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

PROCESSING DEPARTMENT
EXCHANGE AND GIFT DIVISION

SRC Publications

Refer to: AG

February 7, 1950

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have received your letter of January 23 and volumes 1 and 4 of the NEW SOUTH.

After receiving this information, we rechecked our files and located volumes 1-3 which you sent previously. We are, therefore, returning under separate cover the extra copy of volume 1 and placing the just-bound volume 4 in the collections.

We appreciate your interest and cooperation, and we regret the inconvenience you have been caused.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis C. Coffin

Lewis C. Coffin, Chief
Exchange and Gift Division

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
FEB 10 1950
Southern Regional Council

Send pub list 2/23/50 HCK

SRC Publications

LaDue Road
Holley, New York
February 10, 1950

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am going to start my Senior essay very soon on the subject of racial discrimination.

I would appreciate it very much if you would send me the pamphlet "Understanding Our Neighbors" and any other information you could send me. Thank you..

Sincerely yours,

Gilbert Sparks

RECEIVED
FEB 13 1950
Southern Regional Council

Sent 25 Questions + answers 4/18/50 HCH

RECEIVED FEB 15 1950 Southern Regional Council

2714 St. Charles
Jackson, Miss.
February 14, 1950

SRC Publica

RECEIVED FEB 15 1950 Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Will you please send me, by return mail or as soon as you possibly can, twenty-five leaflets "The South Is Yours"? If you do not have these now send me that number of some leaflet that will explain the Southern Regional Council in brief.

I want to use these in my Circle at West Park Methodist Church Wednesday, February 22 on a program I have to give on Race Relations.

Your prompt attention to this letter will be appreciated.

If there is any cost for this please mail me the bill.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Eugenia H. Humphrey

*Unity Begins at Home
Significant comments on our readiness for participation in world government and the cause of freedom. Single copies; 8 p.
Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

A. P. HORKHEIMER
PUBLISHER

Educators Progress Service

RANDOLPH, WISCONSIN

SRC Publications

100NR

Educators Index of Free Materials
Revised Annually
EDITED BY
JOHN GUY FOWLKES, PH. D.
PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION
AND DEAN OF THE SCHOOL
OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
AND
PAUL T. CODY, M. A.

Educators Guide To Free Films
Revised each August
EDITED BY
MARY F. HORKHEIMER
AND
JOHN W. DIFFOR, M. A.

Educators Guide To Free Slidefilms
Revised Annually
EDITED BY
MARY F. HORKHEIMER
AND
JOHN W. DIFFOR, M. A.

Educators Question Book
Official Elementary Examination Questions
EDITED BY
MARY F. HORKHEIMER
AND
A. P. HORKHEIMER, PH. B.

Elementary Teachers Guide to Free Curriculum Materials
Revised Annually
EDITED BY
JOHN GUY FOWLKES, PH. D.
AND
DONALD A. MORGAN, M. A.

Introducing a Teacher to The School and Community
BY
GLEN G. EYE, PH. D.
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF
EDUCATION AND PRINCIPAL,
WISCONSIN HIGH SCHOOL,
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Feb. 18, 1950

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Enclosed are card clippings of your listings in the current edition of the EDUCATORS INDEX OF FREE MATERIALS and /or paper clippings of your listings in the current edition of the ELEMENTARY TEACHERS GUIDE TO FREE CURRICULUM MATERIALS. The former service covers both elementary and secondary school levels and the latter service covers the elementary level only, but it does include a section on *Teacher Resource Materials*.

Will you please indicate any deletions, corrections or additions to these listings planned as of August 1? We would appreciate having this information by March 1, if at all possible. You will recall that these services list only materials which will be actually furnished to schools upon request from a member of the school's administrative or instructional staff.

As you know, there is no charge or obligation placed upon you, as an issuing agency, other than furnishing, with reasonable promptness, the materials requested during the next school year. Your wishes relative to any limitations or instructions will be included in the listing.

Please send materials, and your authorization to list them, to Paul T. Cody, in care of EDUCATORS PROGRESS SERVICE, Randolph, Wisconsin. You may be interested in the enclosed pamphlet, *Presenting the EDUCATORS INDEX OF FREE MATERIALS* and the enclosed reprint, *The Significance of Source Materials in the School Curriculum*.

Yours sincerely,

John Guy Fowlkes

John Guy Fowlkes

JGF/m
Enc.

RECEIVED
FEB 23
Southern Regional Council

SRC Publications

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1950
Southern Regional Council

February 22,
1950

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

On March 22, 1950, the Long Island Council for the Social Studies is holding a meeting to demonstrate the teaching of Social Studies on Long Island. As a part of the program, the Council would like to exhibit examples of free materials available for classroom use.

I am writing at this time to ask your cooperation in obtaining at least one or two copies of the free, educational materials which you send out to teachers in the social studies field. The exhibit will interest many teachers and, I feel sure, promote the use of your materials in their classrooms.

Sincerely,

Henry R. Schoebel

Henry R. Schoebel
Malverne High School
Malverne, New York

SPRC - Publications

February 27th, 1950

Mr. D. R. Larson, Chairman
Department of Government
University of Miami
Coral Gables Branch
Coral Gables, Florida

Dear Mr. Larson:

This is in reply to your letter asking whether we would have supplies of our pamphlet, "To Secure These Rights," sufficient to provide you with as many as 1,000 copies late in February.

We do have ample supplies and will allow you the special price which Dr. Mitchell made, of 6¢ each. Since this represents the exact cost per unit of the printing alone, we would appreciate your taking care of the express charges on the shipment. Please let us know if and when you want them.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

THE UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES (UNIVERSITY BRANCH), FLORIDA

January 26, 1950

RECEIVED
JAN 30 1950
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Mr. K. Whatever has come to file

I am enclosing a check for $24.00 for our long overdue account of September 30, 1949. This payment was held up by technicalities which have delayed the depositing in our account of certain funds due us from the general University account.

I am sorry that the delay could not have been avoided, but I assure you that I shall be more prompt in the future.

I should like to know if it would be possible for you to supply us with about 1,000 copies of the pamphlet, "To Secure These Rights," late in February. If you can let me know if these will be available, I shall send you a more formal order at a later date.

Sincerely yours,

D. R. Larson

D. R. Larson
Chairman
Department of Government

DRL:mah

Enclosure

SRC Publications

April 27, 1950

Professor Emory S. Bogardus
Department of Sociology
University of Southern California
Los Angeles 7, California

Dear Professor Bogardus:

At the request of Dr. Howard W. Odum I am sending separately a packet of some of the more important publications of the Southern Regional Council.

I enclose here some material describing the Council and its work, including an excellent story which appeared recently in the New York Herald Tribune.

If we can supply you with further information, please don't hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/hf

SRC Publications

April 27, 1950

Dr. Howard W. Odum
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Odum:

Dr. Mitchell, who is out of the city, has asked me to answer your letter of April 25.

As you suggested, we have sent today to Professor Bogardus of the University of Southern California a packet of the Council's major pamphlets. Dr. Mitchell also wrote him air mail, enclosing various materials which describe the activities and accomplishments of the Council.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

April 25, 1950

Director George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mitchell:

Please rush a "set" of exhibits telling about the work of the Council to Professor Emory. S. Bogardus, Department of Sociology, University of Southern California, Los Angeles 7, California.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO:eh

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia SRC Pub.

To whom it may concern:
I would like very much to have a copy of your pamphlet "Understanding Our Neighbors" and any other literature describing your program.

My mailing address:
Edythe Minor
5207 Hillcrest
Hayward, California

Thank You
Edythe Minor

Sent pub. list 4/24/50 del.

RECEIVED
APR 24 1950
Southern Regional C

530 Conner
Detroit, 14, Mich.

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly send any material you have covering the work of your organization, as well as your correct mailing address.

Yours truly

Rev. B. K. DuBois
530 Conner
Detroit, 14, Mich.

SRC Pub

SRC Pub -

St. Ann's School Library
3rd and Olive Street
West Palm Beach, Fla.
April 19, 1950

Dear Sirs:

Please send the pamphlets, "Unity Begins at Home" listed in the Educators Index of Free Materials. Thank you for the courtesy.

Sister Rose Edwina. O. P.
Sister M. Rose Edwina
Librarian

Sent 4/24/50

SRC - Pub -

Dartmouth High School
Slocum Rd.,No. Dart. Mass.

Southern Reginal Council Inc.
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Will you please send us the following material as listed in the Mount Vernon Foundation Service; 41-c Which Way Is Better.

This is for use in our school curriculum and reference library. We sincerely appreciate your generous cooperation.

Sincerely yours,
Helen Sanford
Helen Sanford

APR 17 1950
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Now 4/19/50

SRC Pat

45 Webster St.
Westminster, Md.

Gentlemen:

For teaching purposes will you please send me any available free materials which might be useful in the study of Maryland.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly,
(Miss) Laurie E. Hyder

APR 14 1950

Sent form letter & pub. list

4/17/50 - BR

SRC Pub.

April 17, 1950

Miss Lovida Jane Sojka
701 East Jefferson Street
Washington, Iowa

Dear Miss Sojka:

Thank you for your order of materials.

Understanding Our Neighbors is out of print, but I am sending separately a copy of America's Tenth Man, a later publication which incorporates much of the same material. The price of America's Tenth Man is ten cents.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:er

Spec Pub

April 17, 1950

Mr. L. E. Aylsworth
1840 South 23rd Street
Lincoln 2, Nebraska

Dear Mr. Aylsworth:

The only thing we have in print on Negro suffrage in Georgia specifically is the enclosed leaflet. As you will see, it is published by the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation and discusses generally the question of block voting.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:er

Enc.

SRC Pub -

APR 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

April 14, 1950

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I am a student at the University of Miami studying Human Relations under Dr. Gordon Lovejoy. This course requires a term paper and I have chosen the Southern Regional Council as my topic. I would appreciate it greatly if you would send me any pertinent information about your organization relative to its adoption, organizational structure, findings, and policies. I will accept any charges incurred.

I am thanking you in advance, hoping you will give this matter your immediate attention.

Sincerely,

Robert M. Brueno

Robert M. Brueno

Return Address:

Robert M. Brueno
113 SW 31st Ct.
Miami, Fla.

4/19/50

Done

SRC Pub -

April 14, 1950

Miss Elaine McMullin
441 West Second
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Miss McMullin:

Enclosed is an issue of our publication New South which sums up pronouncements of various church denominations on the matter of race. For detailed information about their programs, I suggest that you write directly to them.

Two good people are Dr. Hugh Brimm, 2825 Lexington Road, Louisville, Kentucky, and Dr. John H. Marion Jr., Director, Committee on Christian Relations, Presbyterian Church in the United States, P. O. Box 5094, Richmond 20, Virginia.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:er
Enc.

441 West Second
Lexington, Ky.

I am writing a paper concerning the interracial cooperation in our churches.

I would appreciate it if you would send me any information you have concerning this work.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Elaine McMullin

SRC - Pub -

April 14, 1950

Miss Elizabeth Clodfelter
Post Office Box 54
Lexington, North Carolina

Dear Miss Clodfelter:

The Conference on Education and Race Relations was absorbed by the Southern Regional Council in 1944.

Most of the information you request is now out of print. We are sending you separately a copy of America's Tenth Man, as well as a complete publications list.

As you have probably discovered, the ten cents you mention in your letter failed to get enclosed. If you could send us that as the cost of America's Tenth Man, we should appreciate it.

We shall be glad to have your order for further materials.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:er

4041 Atlantic Blvd, Jacksonville, Fla
4/11-1950

Gentlemen:-

After the 18th of April change my address to my permanent home 1840 So 23rd St., Lincoln 2, Nebr.

Have you any reliable data on Negro registration and voting in Georgia? Has any other organization in Atlanta gathered & published anything thereon, including so called "block voting" by Negro voters?

Yours very truly,

L. E. Aylsworth

Post Office Box 54
Lexington, North Carolina
April 11, 1950

Conference on Education
and Race Relations
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

not enclosed - B.R

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed you will find ten cents for the collection of pamphlets concerning Negroes. I understand it includes the following leaflets:

"America's Tenth Man"
"Population Problems in the South"
"America's Obligation to Its Negro Citizens"
"Burnt Cork and Crime"
"Southern Leaders Impeach Judge Lynch"
"Southern Opinion and Race Relations"
"The Bible and Race Relations"
and others

I am writing a term paper on the part of the Negro in the development of the United States, and hope the assortment of pamphlets you offer will be able to help me in some way.

I would appreciate your sending them immediately as the paper is due May 1.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Clodfelter

(Miss) Elizabeth Clodfelter

APR 13 1950
Southern Regional Council

701 East Jefferson Street
Washington, Iowa
April 11, 1950

Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs;

We have been studying racial discrimination in Social Studies class at school. To gain a greater understanding of America's race problem we have been asked to write for further information. I would like very much to secure a copy of your pamplet "Understanding Our Neighbors." If you would send me a copy I would be indeed grateful.

Thank you,
Lorila Jane Sojka
701 East Jefferson Street
Washington, Iowa

Answ 10 new
V standy - C o K
(AIM - 3 7
2 - 6
Costs 10¢

SRC Pub

Lake Grove School
Lake Grove, Oregon
April 10, 1950

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
Ye Auburn Avenue
N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Will you please send the pamphlets entitled, "Southern Regional Council," and "Unity Begins at Home?" Please send these to the address given above. Thank You.

Yours truly,
Dorothy N. West

Done 4/19/50

RECEIVED
APR 17 1950
Southern Regional Counc

PUBLICATIONS OF
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PERIODICAL

New South - issued monthly — Subscription $1.00 a year

PAMPHLETS

Name	Price: Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
The Southern Regional Council: Its Origin and Purpose. Statements of the Durham, Atlanta, and Richmond Conferences, which resulted in the organization of the Council, are included in the appendix.	free	$.50	$3.50
America's Tenth Man. A brief survey of the Negro's part in American History. New printing February, 1947.	10¢	$1.00	$7.50
Understanding Our Neighbors. A factual survey of America's major race problem.	10¢	$1.00	$7.50
Economic Value of the Negro to the South-Past, present, and potential. By W. Hardin Hughes.	5¢	$ .50	$4.00
Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation. 30-page study of the South's problems and potentials. By Rupert B. Vance.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
Wanted: A Healthy South. 30-page study of the South's health problems. By Dorothy Dickins.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
Machines in the Cotton Fields. 30-page study of the effects of mechanization on the social and economic life of the South. By Arthur Raper.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
The South - America's Opportunity Number One. Addresses delivered at a Conference on the South's Post-War Economy, Atlanta, Ga., April 11-12, 1945.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
Singers in the Dawn. A brief anthology of American Negro Poetry. Compiled by Robert B. Eleazer.	10¢	$1.00	$7.50
Brothers in Black. By J. McDowell Richards; sermon preached as retiring Moderator before the Presbytery of Atlanta.	5¢	$ .50	$3.50

	Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
Unity Begins At Home - World charter and individual character .	free	$ .25	$1.50
SRC Annual Meeting Charts Course for 1947. Speeches and reports delivered at annual meeting of members of the Southern Regional Council, November 13, 1946. New South, December 1946.	10¢	$1.00	$7.50

LEAFLETS

A Survey of Veteran Services for Negroes in Arkansas. By Harry L. Wright, Field Representative, Veterans Service Division of SRC.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
Services for Negro Veterans in Louisiana. By George S. Mitchell, SRC staff.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
A Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Louisiana. By Harry L. Wright.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
Facing Facts in South Carolina. Facts about what S. C. wants to be, should be, and actually is. By Marion A. Wright, Conway, S. C.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
Black GI Joe Comes Home. Problems facing the Negro veteran and the Nation in making readjustment to the Negro veteran. By Rufus E.Clement.	free	$ .10	$ .50
After the War? Things which may be done to alleviate racial tensions.	free	$ .10	$ .50
Which Way is Better? Reprints of two newspaper articles on the Ku Klux Klan.	free	$ .10	$ .50
Unhealthy Roots - of our prejudice against the Negro. By Elta C. Roberts.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
It Seems Queer. The Southern veteran speaks.	free	$ .10	$ .50
What One Woman Can Do to Prevent Lynching.	free	$ .10	$ .50
Let's Pull Together, Kentuckians! A digest of the Report of the Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs, 1946.	5¢	$ .50	$3.50
Information Please. Questions and answers concerning Negro-Americans. By R. B. Eleazer; issued by the Department of General Church School Work, Methodist Church.	free	$ .10	$1.50

JAN 1 2 1947

SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHING HUMAN RELATIONS

by

B. A. Jones

Talladega College

Talladega, Alabama

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Atlanta, Georgia

Upon the initiatory experiences offered the pupil entering upon the study of a unit in human relations may well depend the ultimate success of the whole unit. Teachers should, therefore, plan their initiatory experiences in such a way as to conserve the already indicated interest of the pupil and at the same time create a more powerful and dynamic interest which will sustain him as he and the teacher cooperatively plan the details of the work together. Each teacher must know her pupils and her local situation if she wishes to get the highest type of pupil response as she launches out on a new unit. In this task a third person can go no further than to suggest a number of activities any one of which or none of which may be of help. It is with this fact in mind that the following activities are suggested:

1. 1. Attitudes tests. An attitudes test given at the outset of any unit dealing with any aspect of race has two distinct advantages. 1) It can be used to determine, in part, pupil prejudices and thus serve as the first step in the evaluation of the work under the unit. 2) It will aid the teacher in determining "clusters of opinion" on which work might or might not need to be done depending almost entirely upon whether those opinions are negative, neutral, uncertain or positive. The teacher must be careful however, in the discussion of the test results with the class not to identify any individual point of view as revealed by the test, for to do so not only violates the confidence of the pupil but might serve to defeat the purpose of the test.

1. 2. Informational tests. Informational tests worked out by the teacher and designed to discover the quantity and quality of information already in the possession of the pupil may be used to discover the areas of weakness or strength. The results of these tests in terms of the strengths and weaknesses revealed may be used in a class discussion to initiate the unit. While there are no standardized information tests on the Negro, suggested question items might be obtained from the Association for the study of Negro Life and History, 1538 Ninth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. and from the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

2. 0. Radio programs. Recordings and phonograph records. Often pupil interest can be aroused and directed toward a given subject through the judicious use of radio transcriptions. While there are not many such recordings dealing with Negroes there are some excellent ones available at little or no cost to the teacher. These recordings do, however, require special turntable equipment. There are some agencies that rent the necessary equipment. While the Secondary School Study which owns the equipment of the kind needed has been very generous in making it available to the schools of the South. Teachers desirous of borrowing this machinery should write Mr. W. A. Robinson, Director-Secondary School Study-Atlanta University-Atlanta, Georgia for information about this service.

2. 1. Play the recording of the program "The Negro in America" (Immigrants All-Americans All Series) ask pupils to identify the names they recognize. Urge them to submit bits of information about the Negro which have already been included in the radio presentation. Suggest that they begin the collection of data in order to present a similar "radio program" to the whole school.

2. 2. As an alternative recording the teacher might use the first twelve minutes of the first program in the Freedom's People series.

2. 3. Play the recorded version of the first program in the Brown Heroines series of radio programs heard over a nationwide hookup. Since this series deals with the role of Negro women in American history and particularly in the present war, raise questions dealing with the nature of a minority group. Ask pupils if they can see any relationship between our insistence upon woman's inferior role in American life and the role of the Negro. A discussion of the tactics used by women in the early suffragette movement may be used to create interest in a discussion of the techniques that might be employed by American Negroes to gain a measure of equality.

2. 4. Play the recording The Story of Toussaint L'Ouverture. Ask the students their opinion of L'Ouverture and the Haitian revolt. Raise with the pupils the question as to the probable reasons for the success of the Haitian revolt and the repeated failures of the slave insurrections in the U. S. (A word need be said here though about exercising care in the handling of the material dealt with in the recording for it can easily lead children to a desire for consideration of the life of L'Ouverture thus setting in motion a unit for which the teacher is unprepared. While the study of Haiti is a romatically interesting one and one with which the children ought to be slightly familiar, it must be remembered that the object here is to initiate a unit on the methods of integrating the Negro into American life. Recording no longer available but script sent free on request to N.B.C.

3. 0. Phonograph records- ordinary phonograph records have value also as initiatory aids.

3. 1. Play the Paul Robeson recording of Ballad for Americans. Raise with pupils the value of such recording. What does it express in terms of the American ideals to them? What reasons can they suggest for the selections of Robeson to introduce the song?

3. 2. Play several carefully selected records illustrative of the gradual evolution of modern swing music from the early blues songs and the itinerant Negro jazz bands of an early period. Raise with pupils the value of such contributions to American music and to American life in general. Ask if music is the only area to which Negroes have contributed.

3. 3. Play the musical numbers Summertime and I've Got Plenty of Nothing. Ask the pupils to describe the mental picture of the Negro which the lyrics of these songs create. Have the class make a composite of the pictures thus described and use this as a point of departure in initiating the unit.

3. 4. Play the spiritual Swing Low Sweet Chariot and the second movement from Dvorak's New World Symphony. Ask the pupils if they can recognize any similarities in theme. Point out that much of the New World Symphony is based on variations in the themes of several spirituals. Ask the pupils if they recognize any others. Raise with them the question of the influence of the spiritual upon American folk music.

3. 5. Read selected portions of Stephen Benet's narrative poem John Brown's Body using the story of John Brown to illustrate to pupils 1) the kind of driving zeal which led many a lover of human liberty to defend at all costs the rights of an oppressed people and 2) the futility of precipitate action in attempting to wreak change upon a cultural institution.

3. 6. Secure a copy of the Saturday Review of Literature for Dec. 19, 1942 and read the articles on the Negro press (Reprinted in the Readers Digest January, 1943). Secure also a copy of the magazine Common Ground (Spring Issue '43) and read Roi Ottley's reply to the articles in the Saturday Review of Literature. Ask the class to discuss the relative merits of the articles--points raised, conclusions reached and the validity of the arguments. This should lead to a discussion of the function of a newspaper and the reasons for the existence of the Negro press.

3. 7. In cooperation with the Librarian and art teacher arrange an attractive display on Negro life in the United States. Put books and other materials on the display shelf so students can pick them up and handle them. Raise questions in class about the display, its purposes, important events and personages represented and steer the discussion in the desired direction.

3. 8. Read to the class from Rackam Holts biography of George Washington Carver the story of the exchange of the boy for the horse. (The story is also told in Readers Digest February, 1937) Raise questions concerning the relative value of animals (horses) and human beings at the time of the exchange. Inquire of pupils their guesses as to what might have happened to this scientific genius and southern farm life had he not been exchanged for a horse on this particular Sunday morning. Inquire of them about the wastage of human resources because of prejudices which prevent their discovery and development and the full utilization of their potentialities.

3. 9. Read to the class the article "What a Negro Mother Faces" published in Forum magazine for August, 1938. Relate the pupils discussion to the basic American creed of the right of every citizen to a free and equal existence. Are the mother's fears justified ? Does the situation she describes epist-generally or is it an isolated situation ? Do pupils understand the basic facts underlying the real and imaginary fears of the expectant mother ?

3. 10. Recount for pupils the story of the refusal of the District of Columbia Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution to permit Marian Anderson to appear in concert at its Hall and her later dramatic appearance on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial before an audience of 75,000. Raise with the pupils the question of the ideals of the "founding fathers" as expressed in various documents (notably the Declaration of Independence) and the denial of those values in the names of these "fathers" by their great granddaughters. What were the attitudes of Jefferson, Washington, Franklin, Morris and others towards slavery in a democracy? Ask pupils if they think that the 75,000 people who attended the Anderson Concert were conscious of a positive reaffirmation of faith in the democratic ideal.

3. 11. From the report of the Director of the Selective Service read to the pupils the statistics on the number of Negroes rejected for armed service and the reasons therefor, ask pupils if they know or feel that they understand the basic reasons for these rejections.

3. 12. Secure a copy of the pamphlet Black Justice (American Civil Liberties Union-31 Union Square W. New York, N. Y. price 10¢) and read from it factual stories relating to the treatment of Negroes before the courts. Ask pupils if the denial to Negroes of basic constitutional guarantees does not impede the progress of democracy in the United States.

3. 13. Recount the story surrounding the death of Juliette Derricote because of discrimination in the administration of public health facilities (the most complete and detailed report of the facts surrounding this incident is contained in the Report of the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation regarding the automobile accident in Dalton, Georgia, November 6, 1931. (Free) For a critical analysis of this report see the editorial appearing over the signature of W. E. B. DuBois in the Crisis magazine for March, 1932).

3. 14. Read the poem "Lift Every Voice and Sing". Ask the pupils their opinion about its use as the anthem of the Negro group in America. Do Negroes need a separate anthem? Why do they often regard the music of this poem as their national anthem? (A verse from the poem and a statement about its use is given in Time for the week of September.

3. 15. Display the large map "America- a nation of many people from many countries". (The map may be secured from the Council Against Intolerance, 60 East 42nd Street, New York City; free). Ask pupils to suggest some reasons for the relative lack of occupational diversity among Negroes: Why are the greatest number of Negroes living in the South?

3. 16. Read excerpts of the War Labor Board opinion in the case of Abolishing wage differentials based upon race. Why is the decision hailed as a great democratic victory? What were the reasons for the establishment of wage differentials? Were these reasons justifiable in a democracy? Does the decision end all wage differentials based on color?

3. 17. From the pamphlets Story of Civil Liberty (secured from the American Civil Liberties Union, 42nd Street W., New York, N. Y. 10 ;) The Strange Case of Mrs. Eaton (also secured from the Civil Liberties Union; Free). Tampa-Tar and Terror (committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa-Tampa, Fla; Free) Recount factual stories that illustrate prejudices against other than racial minorities. Ask pupils what makes a minority: What causes prejudices?

3. 18. In cooperation with the English, Art and Drama teachers have the students of another class, perhaps another grade, present in dramatic form the story of some outstanding achievement by a Negro, (the work of Dr. Drew of Howard University Medical School in developing the Blood Bank System for the American Red Cross is an example), the story of a lynching or perhaps narrate, through the use of public address system, the story of one of the slave uprisings, the underground railroad, life of an individual, or some event of interest.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

3. 19. Secure copies of the Durham Resolutions (write Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee). The platform of the March on Washington Movement (write A. Phillip Randolph, American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C.) and the Detroit Statement of Issues of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (69 Fifth Ave., New York, New York). Extract from each of these the pertinent materials dealing with proposed solutions. Present them to the class for consideration and discussion. Point out that each of these was based upon the group's interpretation of the facts of the situation. Suggest that the class make a similar survey of facts in order to evaluate the proposals.

4. Motion Pictures- Motion pictures are a great initiatory aid. By dramatizing a situation they give life to it. Often the film shown at the commercial theatre will present questions of race stereotyping which can be used to arouse and stimulate discussion. But for the controlled group situation, the teacher can more nearly guarantee a common background of pupil experiences through the use of films secured for that purpose and whose material has been definitely integrated into the work pattern of the unit. The following films are suggested for use as initiatory experiences.

4. 1. The Liberian Republic. This film tells the story of the founding of Liberia as a haven of refuge from American slavery. Modern developments are shown and the president of the Republic is shown addressing the legislative body and performing the normal functions of his office. (Bell and Howell Company, 1801 Larchmont Avenue, Chicago, Illinois).

4. 2. Henry Browne-Farmer (United States Department of Agriculture). A Negro farmer is shown making his contributions to the war effort through increased production. A son is in training at the nearby Army Aviation Training Center at Tuskegee. Brief shots of the Center are included. Canada Lee star of Native Son is the narrator.

4. 3. They all go to Evander- (American Film Center, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.) Shows democracy in action as a group of children of different races, cultures, and nationalities engage in cooperative activities. Comments on American democracy.

4. 4. World We Want to Live In (National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.) Depicts the growth of religious and racial intolerance during the past decade. A Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish child play on an American beach while across the ocean intolerance against minority groups grows. There is a discussion of some of the kinds of intolerance that have grown in the United States. Wendell Willkie, Thomas E. Dewey, Charles Evans Hughes, Eddie Cantor and Alfred E. Smith speak out for a greater degree of tolerance in America.

4. 5. One Tenth of our Nation- (College Film Center, 59 E. Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois) This is an attempt at a documentary film on Negro life in the United States. It has been widely used in schools of the nation. Attempts to present an overall picture of development. A little unbalanced on the education side.

4. 6. Three Counties Against Syphilis (United States Public Health Service) Here is shown a concert attack upon venereal disease. Has merit here because it portrays, by implication the high incidence of syphilis among Negroes. Teachers should warn students that though Negroes are shown in the greater of number of sequences, they are not the only victims of the disease nor are all Negroes infected.

4. 7. Housing in Atlanta (Atlanta Housing Authority-University of Georgia Extension, 223 Walton Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia) A clear picture of the effect of poor housing upon a community and the way in which improved housing will affect community standards. Numerous shots of the pre and post development periods in Negro areas.

4. 8. Negro Colleges In Wartime (Office of War Information, Washington). The contributions of Negro Colleges to the War effort.

4. 9. Work of the Jeanes Teachers (Harmon Foundation, Inc., 140 Nassau Street New York, N. Y.) Work being done by the Jeanes supervisors to improve educational facilities and living conditions in the rural South.

4. 10. We Work Again. (American Film Center, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.) Negro work activities under the Federal Work Program.

4. 11. Sharecroppers (March of Time, 1936) Brief shots of living conditions among sharecroppers in the South, white and Negro. One or two scenes showing improved conditions after farm loans have been made.

4. 12. Story of Dr. Carver (Teaching Film Custodians, may be secured from any depository). The life story of Dr. Carver, some scenes from his laboratory and an enumeration of his contributions to Southern agriculture.

4. 13. Y. W. C. A. Harlem New York (The Harmon Foundation Inc. 140 Nassau St., New York City) Depicts scenes in the life of an urban Negro youth, as a girl writes a letter home describing life in the Metropolis..

5. Non fiction books often raise questions on which there is considerable disagreement or they make analysis and proposals which meet with immediate debate. The teacher can frequently make use of these to initiate units. The assumption here of course is the pupils have a common background-having read the book themselves or having listened to the reading of it in the class.

5. 1. Historical fiction is perhaps better adapted to serve as an initiatory activity than the ordinary novel for the historical novel carries with it an aura of authenticity not shared by the ordinary novel. The historical novel therefore is likely to have more real influence upon the pupil-especially if it treats of a period or of events with which he has had some contact through other courses or other experiences. The teacher might provide the necessary common background from a piece of historical fiction by reading a part of the dialogue, a description of an event, or by retelling the plot.

5. 2. The short story though often lacking in the same elements as the historical novel can be used frequently in the same manner as the former. For the short story often carries a moral or hidden meaning which can, with a minimum of difficulty, be extracted and presented to the class as a point of departure.

6. 0. Written materials- Various kinds of written materials can be used to initiate a unit. Short stories, historical fiction , poems, news items columns and editorials and magazine articles each have value. Particularly do newspaper stories, editorials and magazine articles often arouse considerable pupil interest in issues relating to race. Such sources should be used. A word of caution is added, however. The appearance of a news article, editorial or magazine article seldom, if ever, coincides with the exact moment when the teacher and the class are about to launch upon a unit connected with that subject and teachers should not, no matter what pupil interest may be, interrupt and leave unfinished an activity upon which they have cooperatively entered and are thus committed in order to capitalize on this initial interest to inaugurate a new unit contemplated for the future. Instead such materials should be collected, filed away, and brought out again at the proper moment when the new unit is about to be launched. To skip from unit to unit in order to capitalize on pupil interest in new areas at any and all given times is to destroy a basic educational goal... the planning and execution of a program.

7. O. Holidays - National Observances.
Various holidays and national observances can be used to initiate a unit. The observance of Lincoln's birthday, National Negro Health Week, and the preparation for the observance of Negro History Week each offer initiatory opportunities.

8. O. Essay Contests
The interest engendered by essay contests may also be used to initiate a unit. Each year the American Legion, the American Magazine and other agencies sponsor Nationwide essay contests dealing with some aspect of Americanism.

The attention of pupils can be directed to a discussion of the extension of basic democratic privileges as a part of Americanism. In this way a new unit may be begun. More direct incentives for a study of the Negro are offered by the annual National Urban League and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People essay contests promoted and sponsored through their respective house organs-Opportunity and Crisis. The teacher should make use of these stimuli and at the same time not ignore that perennial promoter of units on the Negro- the annual essay contest sponsored by the National Tuberculosis Association.

Con't.

SRC - Publication

PHAMPLETS		Nos. in Stock
Condition of Our Rights		4950
Getting Along Together		550
The Negro in Our Economy		2700
To Secure These Right		3000
Unity Begin At Home		500
Which Way is Better		400
America Tenth Man		7500
The South's ~~Future for A Nation~~ America's Opportunity #1		11,250 - destroy 10,000
Singers in the Dawn		7000
Let's Pull Together Kectuckians		500
Universal Declaration of Human Rights		500
SRC		1200
Race in the News		4000
The Negro in America	200 free	- 550
Changing Character of Lynching	200 free	- 300
Machines in the Cotton Fields	See New South	
Home Town Self-Survey	(Booklet)	73
" " "	(Phamplet)	200
The Negro Press		50
Brothers in Black		50
What AMERICA means to me		50
"Repairers of Breach"		300

What Kind of a South do You Want?

(?) Voting Restrictions

Municipal Declaration of Human Rights.

This is all very good to my mind. I make only minor suggestions as indicated on bottom of Schaeffer

See Schaeffer's letter of 24 Dec 49, in Miss. Div. file

A GROUP OF SOUTHERNERS, representing both races and many faiths and denominations, got together in 1943...

and decided...

IT'S UP TO US, as Southerners, to join together, face up to the South's problems honestly, and work to solve them...

That's how the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was born.

SRC belongs to its members. It is non-profit, non-denominational, non-political. It is Southern in its make-up and its work.

SRC is not, however, an "isolationist" movement to separate the South's problems from the Nation's. It welcomes support and understanding from all sincere people, wherever they are. But voting membership is limited to persons living in the South.

SRC members include people from all walks of life -- white and Negro, city and country, men and women, church people, businessmen, educators, labor men, and plain everyday citizens.

SRC BELIEVES that the South can be prosperous and healthy, freed of poverty, prejudice, and fear...

It believes in the ideals of democracy for which this Nation was founded...

It believes that the South, by holding back the Negro, is holding back its own development...

It believes -- in the name of democracy, Christianity, and common decency -- that the Negro must have equal opportunity in the schoolroom, on the job, and in the practice of citizenship at the polls...

SRC BELIEVES THAT DEMOCRACY IS SAFE ONLY WHEN EVERYBODY CONTRIBUTES TO IT AND EVERYBODY SHARES IN IT.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS, the Southern Regional Council works THROUGH--

* Its local groups

SRC has State Divisions and affiliated committees in eleven Southern States, and smaller groups in communities over the South...

* Its Regional Office

SRC's headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, guides the work of the local groups, advises private and official agencies, issues timely statements and publications...

* A monthly bulletin

NEW SOUTH keeps members and friends of SRC informed about Southern problems and progress...

* Special pamphlets

These give the facts, based on careful study of the region, in simple, illustrated form...

* Public opinion

SRC helps create a better climate of opinion through newspapers, radio, speakers...

* Cooperating Groups

SRC works with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and other groups to bring about wholesome improvements...

* Home Town Self-Surveys

SRC helps local groups organize to collect the facts about their communities -- and to follow through with corrective action.

TO ACCOMPLISH ITS AIMS, the Southern Regional Council works FOR--

* Better understanding between the races

SRC helps lessen the violence that has plagued the South by providing a meeting ground where people of good will, white and colored, can come together, air their common problems, achieve honest solutions... When trouble brews, SRC members know whom to reach and what to do...

* Equal justice

SRC watches the courts... points out injustices... works for fair police practices... has successfully urged the hiring of Negro policemen in towns and cities throughout the South...

* Equal public services

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THE PRESENT DILEMMA OF THE NEGRO

by

KENNETH B. CLARK, Ph.D.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

NOVEMBER 2, 1967

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The nuclear irony of American history and the American social, political, and economic system is that the destiny of the enslaved and disadvantaged Negro determines the destiny of the nation. The fundamental fact around which all questions of national survival pivot is the fact of inherent racial interrelatedness -- or integration, if you please -- in spite of the persistent demands and attempts to impose racial separatism. The problems of the American Negro are the problems of America. The conflicts, aspirations, confusions, and doubts of Negro Americans are not merely similar but identical to those of white Americans. In the face of rapid and, at times, frightening historical, economic, political, technological, social, and intellectual changes, the Negro remains the constant and, at times, irritating reality that is America. Negroes have totally accepted the moral and ethical aspirations of America; therefore, the Negro remains the essential psychological reality with which America must continuously seek to come to terms. The Negro need not yearn to be assimilated into American culture; he is, and determines, American culture.

The moral schizophrenia of America is reflected most clearly in the status of Negroes, starting with slavery and continuing to the contemporary ghettos which blight the powerful and affluent cities of our nation. One cannot, therefore, discuss the dilemmas of the contemporary American Negro without at the same time becoming involved in an analysis of the historical and psychological fabric of American life. This is a thesis reflecting the bias of a social psychologist -- a bias which might be rejected by more sophisticated historians, political and economic theorists, or tougher-minded social critics. I base my thesis on the psychological premise that the values, attitudes, and behavior of individual human beings and groups of human beings are determined by the complex socialization process -- that normal human beings are modifiable and are determined by their environment and culture, and not by any inherent, genetic, or racial determinants.

Let us now be specific. A basic dilemma of America is whether the Negro should be accepted and taken seriously as a human being and permitted the rights and privileges accorded other human beings in our political system. America has endured slave rebellions, developed an underground railroad, fought one of the most bloody wars in human history, and is now undergoing a series of urban

ghetto implosions in the attempt to resolve this persistent bedeviling question.

The Negro's part of this basic dilemma is whether to persist in his insistence upon his unqualified rights as a human being without regard to the risks or consequences -- or whether to accommodate to the resistances by subtle or flagrant forms of withdrawal from the fray. American Negroes historically have sought many ways to deal with this dilemma -- their general acceptance of slavery; the many psychological adjustments to subjugation and deflection of aggressive reactions; the varieties of back-to-Africa movements; the cults and fads, and the recent series of riots in our ghettos.

The gnawing doubts of white Americans as to their status and worth as human beings -- the deep feelings of inferiority growing out of actual inferior status in the land of their origin in Europe -- impelled American whites to develop and enforce social and institutional arrangements designed to inflict upon Negroes an inferior status. The demanding status needs of whites were powerful enough to counteract the logic, the morality, and the powerful political ethic of the egalitarian and democratic rhetoric which is also an important American reality. I differ with the early Myrdal only in my belief that the American democratic creed and ideals are not psychologically contra-

dictory to American racism. In terms of the dynamics and the motivation of the insecure, they are compatible.

This critical American dilemma is reflected in Negroes not only in terms of literal acceptance of the creeds and their promises, but also in terms of deep doubts concerning the worth of self. General indoctrination in unworthiness has transcended even the barriers of racially segregated schools; it is reinforced by the development of the mass media in this century. The reality of the inferior status to which the Negro has been subjugated behind the walls of segregation is not only humiliating -- but a stimulus to self-doubt, to subtle and flagrant forms of self-hatred, personal and group frustrations, internalized hostility, aggressions, self-denial, or bombast. Under these conditions the walls of segregation become pathetically protective. Within them the subjugated individuals need not meet the tests of free and open competition, need not expose vulnerable egos to single standards of competence.

The anguish and resistance of anxious, self-doubting white segregationists and the cautious timidity of striving middle class whites with the psyches of affluent peasants are matched only by the anxieties, doubts, and vacillation of vast numbers of Negroes -- working and middle class -- as they stand at the threshold of non-segregated society,

confronting the tremendous psychological challenges for which American history did not prepare them. The demand for racial justice on the part of American Negroes is balanced by an almost equal psychological reality of the fear of the removal of racial barriers, seemingly so insurmountable.

Within this context -- disturbing and painful, but I believe psychologically valid -- one can now attempt an analysis of the contemporary manifestations of the dilemma of America and the dilemma of Negro Americans. The value of such an analysis will be determined by whether it provides a basis for constructive, realistic, democratic, and human resolutions of some of the racial and social problems which afflict America and threaten its survival.

In many disturbing ways, the problems of race relations in America today are similar to those of the post-Reconstruction period of the late Nineteenth Century which continued and intensified through World War I. This period, which Rayford Logan and John Hope Franklin have described as the "nadir" of the Negro in American life, came as a seemingly abrupt and certainly cruel repudiation of the promises of Reconstruction for inclusion of the Negro into the political and economic life of the nation. This was a period:

-- when the white crusaders for racial justice

and democracy became weary as the newly freed Negroes could no longer be considered a purely southern problem;

-- when the aspirations for and movement of Negroes toward justice and equality were curtailed and reversed by organized violence and barbarity perpetrated against them;

-- when as a result of abandonment and powerlessness, the frustrations, bitterness, and despair of Negroes increased and displaced optimism and hope.

This period culminated in the institutionalization of rigid forms of racism -- the enactment and enforcement of laws requiring or permitting racial discrimination and segregation in all aspects of American life. This retrogression in racial democracy in America was imposed by white segregationists with the apathy, indifference, or quiet acceptance of white liberals and moderates who served as necessary accessories.

The parallel with the state of race relations in America today is stark and frightening.

The promises and optimism of the Second Reconstruction, initiated by the pattern of litigation which resulted in the Brown decision of 1954 -- precipitating the high-morale mark of the

successful boycotts and sit-ins and reaching its climax in the emotional catharsis of the 1963 March on Washington -- were also cruelly aborted by stepped-up violence against Negro and white civil rights workers in the resistant southern states and the related weariness, racial anxieties, and latent racism of northern whites which emerged under the guise of "white backlash."

The hopes and beliefs of the Negro that racial equality and democracy could be obtained through litigation, legislation, executive action and negotiation, and through strong alliances with various white liberal groups, were supplanted by disillusionment, bitterness, and anger erupting under the anguished cry of "Black Power," a pathetic attempt to disguise understandable desperation and impotence with bombast and rhetoric.

A critical danger, and probably a difference without a pragmatic distinction between the determinants of retrogression in the first post-Reconstruction period and the present is that, whereas the promises of racial progress were reversed in the Nineteenth Century by the fanaticism, irrationality, and cruel strength of white segregationists, the impending racial retrogression of today might use its impetus largely to self-hatred culminating in the fanaticism, dogmatism, rigidity, and self-destructive cruelty of black separatists. If this

comes about, it will not be enough to excuse this monstrous perpetuation of the lie of racism and postponement of the goals of democracy and humanity by asserting that the frustrations and bitterness of the victimized Negro account for his present irrationality and rigidity. A similar and equally valid psychological explanation could be offered to explain the racial cruelties of desperate and miserable poor whites of the past and present. Understanding is not acceptance.

White segregationists were able to inflict and perpetuate racial injustices upon Negroes because rational, sophisticated, and moderate whites were silent in the face of barbarities. They permitted themselves to be intimidated and bullied by white extremists until they were morally and almost functionally indistinguishable from their worst and most ignorant elements. A similar threat and dilemma face the rational, thoughtful Negro today. If he permits himself to be cowed into silence by unrealistic Negro racists, he will be an active partner in fastening the yoke of impossible racial separatism more tightly around the neck of America. He -- you, through your silence -- will permit the difficult goals of a racially non-segregated society to be lost by default. You would have given to black racists what you, your fathers, and grandfathers fought and died to prevent giving to white racists. The victories

which white segregationists, in spite of all their material and political power, could not have won for themselves, black separatists would have won for them -- and we through our silence would make this possible.

To prevent the repetition of the tragedy of racial retrogression and a return to the "nadir" of race relations in America, we must be realistic in our appraisal of the present state of race relations in America. We must analyze as tough-mindedly as possible the dynamics and symptoms of our times if we are to develop effective and realistic remedies.

During the past few years, it became excruciatingly clear for the Negro that the more things changed, the more they remained the same -- or worsened. The promises and hope for progress became a relentless quagmire of words.

The drama of direct action nonviolent confrontation of the more obvious signs of southern racial injustice became trite, and proved less relevant or effective in dealing with the persistent, pervasive, and subtle problems of racism which afflicted the northern Negro. More appropriate and effective methods for dealing with northern racism have not yet been found.

The guilt and indignation of some northern whites against southern forms of racism turned into white backlash or mutism when the northern Negro began to take seriously

the claims of civil rights progress and sought some observable signs of them in northern cities.

The anguish and desperation of the northern Negro have been expressed in the latest series of ghetto eruptions which started in the Harlem riot of the summer of 1964, reached a crescendo in the Watts riot of 1965, and continued through the series of riots in Newark and Detroit in the summer of 1967. Another significant expression of the northern Negroes' "no-win" fatalism is found in the rise of the "Black Power" slogan and momentum which skyrocketed at the time of the Meredith shooting in Mississippi in June of 1966, and continues as an obbligato to the sounds of ghetto violence and futility.

It is important to keep in mind the date (June, 1966) when the "Black Power" slogan became nationally advertised -- in order not to be confused about the cause and effect relationship between "Black Power" and "white backlash."

Whatever may be its tactical, strategic, and rational shortcomings and its ambiguity, "Black Power" did not cause "white backlash." The existence of "white backlash," the unwillingness of whites to be serious in meeting the demands of Negroes for the same rights and responsibilities granted as a matter of course to all other Americans -- including the newest refugee from European, Latin American,

or Asiatic oppression -- caused the outbursts of hysterical bitterness and random hostility inherent in the cry of "Black Power."

"Black Power" emerged as a response to the following facts:

-- a recognition of the fact that the center of gravity of the civil rights movement had moved to the northern urban racial ghettos where it was now immobilized by ambiguity, and by intensified white resistance to any meaningful change in the predicament of Negroes;

-- the recognition of the fact that successful litigation, strong legislation, free access to public accommodations, state open housing laws, strong pronouncements on the part of the President, governors or mayors, and even the right to vote or to hold office were not relevant to the overriding fact that the masses of Negroes were still confined to poverty and to the dehumanizing conditions of the ghetto;

-- and that in spite of the promises of a Great Society and the activity of the War on Poverty, his children were still

doomed to criminally inferior schools, and his youth and males the victims of unemployment, under-employment, and stagnation.

"Black Power" is the cry of defiance of what its advocates have come to see as the hoax of racial progress -- of the cynicism of the appeals to the Negro to be patient and to be lawful as his needs are continually subordinated to other national and international issues and to the needs, desires, and conveniences of more privileged groups.

Whites, by virtue of their numerical, military, and economic superiority, reinforced by historical American racism which grants higher status to whites by virtue of skin color alone, do have the power to decide whether the future of Negroes -- the Negro masses, the Negro middle classes, or the Negro elected official -- will be positive, negative, or stagnant.

This core reality of the dynamics of power is not likely to be influenced by sentimental and idealistic appeals for justice, by smiles or promises, or by emotional sloganeering.

"Black Power," in spite of its ambiguity, its "no-win" premise, its programmatic emptiness, and its pragmatic futility, does have tremendous psychological

appeal for the masses of Negroes who have "nothing to lose" and some middle class Negroes who are revolted by the empty promises and the moral dry-rot of affluent America.

"Black Power" is a bitter retreat from the possibility of the attainment of the goals of any serious racial integration in America.

It is an attempt to make a verbal virtue of involuntary racial segregation.

It is the sour grapes phenomenon on the American racial scene.

"Black Power" is the contemporary form of the Booker T. Washington accommodation to white America's resistance to making democracy real for Negro Americans. While Booker T. made his adjustment to and acceptance of white racism under the guise of conservatism, many if not all of the "Black Power" advocates are seeking to sell the same shoddy moral product disguised in the gaudy package of racial militance.

Nonetheless, today "Black Power" is a reality in the Negro ghettos of America -- increasing in emotional intensity, if not in rational clarity. And we, if we are to be realistic, cannot afford to pretend that it does not exist. Even in its most irrational and illusory formulations -- and particularly when it is presented as

a vague and incoherent basis upon which the deprived Negro can project his own pathetic wishes for a pride and an assertiveness which white America continues mockingly or piously to deny him -- "Black Power" is a powerful political reality which cannot be ignored by realistic Negro or white political officials.

It is all too clear that among the casualties of the present phase of American race relations are reason, clarity, consistency, and realism. Some "Black Power" spokesmen, like their white segregationist counterparts, demand the subjugation of rational and realistic thought and planning to dogmatism and fanaticism. By their threats and name-calling, they seek to intimidate others into silence or a mindless mouthing of their slogans.

To be effective and to increase their chances of survival in the face of name-calling verbal racial militants, Negroes, and concerned whites, must demonstrate that they are fully concerned and can bring about some positive changes in the following intolerable areas of ghetto life:

1. criminally inefficient and racially segregated public schools;
2. dehumanizingly poor housing;
3. pervasive job discrimination and joblessness;

4. shoddy quality of goods and high prices in local stores;
5. the dirt, filth, and stultifying drabness of ghetto streets and neighborhoods;
6. the adversary relationship between police and the residents of the ghettos.

This requires the mobilization and use of human intelligence to define the problems, to study and analyze them and to develop practical and implementable solutions to them. This cannot be done on the basis of race. Whites and Negroes must join together in an experiment to determine whether systematic and empathic use of human intelligence and training can be a form of power which can be used constructively in the quest for solutions of long standing urban and racial problems. This is the rationale of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center. We are under no illusions that this will be easy. We know that power confrontation brings risks not found in the cloistered halls of academia. We know that we cannot expect the protections and safety of the detached isolated scholars. But we believe that human intelligence is a social trust and that the stakes are worth the risks.

Another dilemma, not related to the dilemmas and inconsistencies of "Black Power," is the fact that in the present doldrums of the civil rights movement the cleavage

between the masses of Negroes and middle class Negroes has become more clear and exacerbating. The masses of Negroes are now starkly aware of the fact that recent civil rights victories benefited primarily a very small percentage of middle class Negroes while their predicament remained the same or worsened. Added to Ralph Bunche and our traditional civil rights leaders who are invited to Washington, we now have Thurgood Marshall, Robert Weaver, Walter Washington as the appointed Mayor of Washington, D. C., a few vice presidents in private industry, a few more Negroes in New England prep schools and Ivy League colleges, and more posts for one or two "qualified Negroes" on the faculties of colleges and universities. These and other tokens of "racial progress" are not only rejected by the masses of Negroes but seem to have resulted in their increased and more openly expressed hostility toward middle class Negroes. They see the advances of the middle class Negroes as being at their expense, at worst, or obscuring their plight or, at best, not relevant to their indefinite condemnation to a dehumanizing predicament. There are some clues which suggest that the recent ghetto implosions were not only anti-white, but also involved vague stirrings of anti-Negro middle class sentiment among the rioters.

The present dilemma of the Negro is focused for the

trained Negro intellectual. He must now choose sides. He must now clarify the nature of the enemy. He must dare to say that the enemy was never to be understood in terms of color, but in the more difficult and abstract terms of human irrationality, ignorance, superstition, rigidity, and arbitrary cruelty.

These are the common enemies which underlie all forms of tyranny -- racism, authoritarianism, McCarthyism.

They are no less enemies when being sold or offered as truth or salvation by blacks, yellows, or whites.

If Negroes and whites who understand this can make it clear, we can help to save America. We will use the power of disciplined intelligence combined with respect for moral vales and humanity to save Negroes from the destructive possibilities of white and black dilemmas and thereby contribute to the survival of America. For America cannot survive if Negroes do not. And Negroes and no other group of human beings are likely to survive if America does not.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Dr. Clark, Negro educator and expert on Negro-American affairs, is president of Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., in New York, New York, and professor of psychology at the City College of the City University of New York. His writings include, "Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence," in the Negro History Bulletin, 1954, and the books, Prejudice and Your Child, 1955; Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power, 1965. He was editor of The Negro Protest, 1964, and co-editor with Talcott Parsons of The Negro American, 1966. He was research psychologist with the Gunnar Myrdal study, An American Dilemma, 1944. Dr. Clark founded and served as staff director and chairman of the board of directors of Harlem-Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc. (HARYOU) in its planning stage, 1962-64, and directed its study which resulted in the report, "Youth in the Ghetto."

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Gentlemen:

Desiring a reprint of Dr. Ezekiel's talk made at the conference last May, I contacted a Secretary in your office who kindly forwarded me the enclosed galley proof, since she was not sure when reprints would be available. She asked that I return the copy for your files as soon as it had served its purpose.

Your assistance in this respect has been very gratefully appreciated since I was anxious to incorporate some of the information into some work being carried on by our Agriculture Division. If it is convenient I would appreciate receiving a copy of the reprint for my reference files as soon as they become available.

Thanking you again and hoping that we may have the opportunity to reciprocate at some time in the future, I am

Sincerely yours,

Penn Worden

Penn Worden, Secretary
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Immediate Release

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Atlanta-----Problems and possibilities of post war prosperity for the South are broadly treated in "The South -- America's Opportunity Number One," a booklet just published here by the Southern Regional Council.

The 44-page booklet contains a series of addresses delivered at a conference on the South's postwar economy in Atlanta last April. The conference was sponsored by the Southern Regional Council.

Topics treated are "Agriculture and Industry in the Postwar South," by Mordecai Ezekiel, U. S. Department of Agriculture; "Impact of the War on Southern Labor," by A. F. Hinrichs, U. S. Department of Labor; "How Southern Government-Owned War Plants Can Aid Small Business," by Roger Stevens, Smaller War Plants Corporation; "Southern Industry and Postwar Markets," by Wilford White, U. S. Department of Commerce; "Postwar Foreign Trade and the South," by August Maffry, U. S. Department of Commerce; "Freight Rates and Southern Industrial Growth," by Edgar Watkins, special assistant to the attorney general of Georgia; "The South's Postwar Housing Problems," by Coleman Woodbury, National Housing Agency.

Copies of the booklet may be obtained from the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga. Price, 50 cents per copy.

(rw-9/18/45)

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
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Immediate Release

(For use in book review columns)

.....

"THE SOUTH -- America's Opportunity Number One", published by Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga. 44 pages. Price, 50 cents.

Where does the South go from here -- now that the war is over? The problems of reconversion are acute for the entire nation, but present especially serious questions to the South. These questions were discussed broadly at a conference on the South's postwar economy, sponsored by the Southern Regional Council, in Atlanta last April. Now the Council has published the conference addresses in an attractive booklet.

The series of addresses do not pretend to solve the problems of postwar prosperity for the South. They do, however, offer an analysis of the problems and suggested ways of meeting them. All the main issues of the southern economy are discussed by specialists: the Department of Agriculture's Mordecai Ezekiel on agriculture and industry, the Department of Labor's A. F. Hinrichs on southern labor, Roger Stevens of the Smaller War Plants Corporation on how southern government-owned plants can aid small business, Wilford White of the Department of Commerce on postwar markets and August Maffry of the same department on foreign trade, Edgar Watkins on freight rates and Coleman Woodbury of the National Housing Agency on the South's postwar housing problems.

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N.Y. Times

A.N.P.

Atl. Daily World

Houston Informer

Norfolk J. & Guide

Chi. Defender

N.Y. Amsterdam News

Balti. - Afro-American

National Union Farmer

Progressive Farmer

Southern Farmer
Montgomery, Ala.

Floridian

St. Pete

Tallahassee, Florida
September 24, 1945

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending us a complimentary copy of the Southern Regional Council's latest publication--THE SOUTH--America's Opportunity Number One--which is most interesting. Thanks very much.

Cordially yours,
TALLAHASSEE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

C. D. Davenport
Manager

RECEIVED
SEP 26 1945
Southern Regional Council

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RECEIVED
SEP 28 1945
Southern Regional Council

September 26, 1945.

Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I was very pleased to receive a copy of your latest publication entitled "The South - America's Opportunity Number One.

This is a very fine piece of work and will no doubt create a great deal of interest in your section of the country. We will always welcome receipt of material such as this at any time.

Cordially yours,

Oscar Monrad

Oscar Monrad,
Industrial Engineer.

20 South Council

AMERICAN RED CROSS
SOUTHEASTERN AREA
230 SPRING STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 28, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Kindly forward 2 copies of "The South: America's Opportunity Number One" @ .50 each, to the following address:

Librarian,
Southeastern Area
American Red Cross
230 Spring St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enclosed please find $1.00 to cover cost of above.

2 The South
10/3/45
MES.

Yours truly,

W B Rogers

W. B. Rogers
Chief of Procurement

bls

The South - O O no. 1

September 28, 1945

Mr. Coleman Woodbury
Assistant Administrator
National Housing Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Woodbury:

Under separate cover we are sending you two copies of THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One containing the address which you delivered at our Conference on the South's Post War Economy. Due to unavoidable delays in obtaining paper and in getting this job through the print-shop, the booklet did not come out as soon as we had hoped.

Again let me thank you for your splendid contribution to the success of our Conference. If you would like a few additional copies of the booklet, we shall be glad to send them.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover

THIS LETTER TO SENATORS FROM THIRTEEN SOUTHERN STATES AND TO REPRESENTATIVES CAMP, RAMSPECK FROM GEORGIA; KERR AND DURHAM FROM NORTH CAROLINA;KEFAUVER FROM TENNESSEE; RAYBURN, POAGE, AND LANHAM FROM TEXAS.

September 28, 1945

FOR LIST OF SENATORS, SEE: CONGRESS — List of Members

Hon. Lister Hill
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Hill:

I take pleasure in sending you under separate cover a copy of our latest publication THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. This booklet is sent with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council. It contains the addresses which were delivered at a Conference on the South's Post War Economy which was held in Atlanta last April under the sponsorship of the Southern Regional Council.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover

The South a. O. No 1

September 28, 1945

Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel
Economic Advisor
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. Ezekiel:

Under separate cover we are sending you two copies of THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One containing the address which you delivered at our Conference on the South's Post War Economy. Due to unavoidable delays in obtaining paper and in getting this job through the print-shop, the booklet did not come out as soon as we had hoped.

Again let me thank you for your splendid contribution to the success of our Conference. If you would like a few additional copies of the booklet, we shall be glad to send them.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover

The South C.O. 101

September 28, 1945

Mr. August Maffry
Economic Adviser
Export-Import Bank of Washington
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Maffry:

Under separate cover we are sending you two copies of THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One containing the address which you delivered at our Conference on the South's Post War Economy. Due to unavoidable delays in obtaining paper and in getting this job through the print-shop, the booklet did not come out as soon as we had hoped.

Again let me thank you for your splendid contribution to the success of our Conference. If you would like a few additional copies of the booklet, we shall be glad to send them.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover

The South Conf

September 28, 1945

Mr. Roger B. Stevens
Head, Industrial Plants Section
Smaller War Plants Corporation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stevens:

Under separate cover we are sending you two copies of THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One containing the address which you delivered at our Conference on The South's Post War Economy. Due to unavoidable delays in obtaining paper and in getting this job through the print-shop, the booklet did not come out as soon as we had hoped.

Again let me thank you for your splendid contribution to the success of our Conference. If you would like a few additional copies of the booklet, we shall be glad to send them.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover

The South 00701

September 28, 1945

Mr. Wilford White
Acting Chief
Division of Small Business
Department of Commerce
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

Under separate cover we are sending you two copies of THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One containing the address which you delivered at our Conference on the South's Post War Economy. Due to unavoidable delays in obtaining paper and in getting this job through the print-shop, the booklet did not come out as soon as we had hoped.

Again let me thank you for your splendid contribution to the success of our Conference. If you would like a few additional copies of the booklet, we shall be glad to send them.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover

Dr. South 2 0 no1

September 29, 1945

Mr. A. F. Hinrichs
Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hinrichs:

Under separate cover we are sending you two copies of THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One containing the address which you delivered at our Conference on the South's Post War Economy. Due to unavoidable delays in obtaining paper and in getting this job through the print-shop, the booklet did not come out as soon as we had hoped.

Again let me thank you for your splendid contribution to the success of our Conference. If you would like a few additional copies of the booklet, we shall be glad to send them.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Separate cover

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

October 1-1945

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have your letter of September 28th and note that you are forwarding to me under separate cover a copy of "The South - America's Opportunity Number One".

I shall be interested in the data and appreciate your courtesy in sending me a copy.

With all good wishes, I am

Yours most cordially,

Elmer Thomas

Elmer Thomas

ET-SS

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE COMMERCE

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

October 1, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

In behalf of Senator Moore, I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 28 in which you state, that under separate cover, you are sending your latest publication entitled "The South - America's Opportunity Number One". This publication has not as yet arrived in the office, but as soon as it does, both letter and the publication will be brought to the Senator's attention and you may be assured that he will sincerely appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending this to him.

Yours very truly,

Virginia Whitson

Virginia Whitson
Secretary to Senator Moore

the South Council

KENNETH McKELLAR, TENN., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
POST OFFICES AND POST ROADS

October 1st, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of the 28th received and noted.

I will look out for the publication referred to and I am sure I will go over it with interest.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely your friend,

Kenneth McKellar

BURTON K. WHEELER, MONT., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE COMMERCE

Oct. 1, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

It is with pleasure that I acknowledge your letter of September 28th relative to the booklet which I received from you a few days ago.

I certainly appreciate you sending this to me and find it very interesting. In my opinion, the South has chances as no other part of the Nation has.

With kind personal regards,

I am,

Sincerely yours,

Olin D. Johnston

Olin D. Johnston

ODJ:B

A COMMUNITY FUND AGENCY - MEMBER FAMILY WELFARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA - NATIONAL TRAVELERS AID ASSOCIATION REPRESENTATIVE

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MISS MARY RUSSELL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 1, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Enclosed find my check in the amount of $1.00. Kindly send me two copies of "THE SOUTH -- America's Opportunity Number One".

Thank you for your attention to this.

Very truly yours,

Mary Russell

(Miss) Mary Russell
Executive Secretary

MR:jh
Enclosure

2 The South
10/3/45

The South - GO No 1

NEW ORLEANS
ASSOCIATION of COMMERCE
NEW ORLEANS 5, LA.
PORT OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
P.O. BOX 1460

October 1, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, North East,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would appreciate it very much if you would kindly let us have a copy of your recent publication "The South - America's Opportunity Number One".

Your kindness in this respect will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

D. E. Drufner

D. E. Drufner,
RESEARCH SECRETARY

1 copy
The South
MFS. 10/3/45

DED:kr

COMPLIMENTS OF

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Additional copies of this booklet may be obtained at the following rates:

1 copy	3 copies	10 copies
50¢	$1.00	$3.00

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

South

October 1, 1945

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249 Peachtree Street
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Athens, Georgia

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Atlanta, Georgia

Don Long
Field Assistant
U. S. Department of Labor, 249 Peachtree
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. C. F. Palmer
Palmer Building
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Atlanta, Georgia

F. Preston Forbes
Economist, Foreign Trade
Subcommittee
Special Senate Committee
on American Small Business
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

WAlnut 3569

EDGAR WATKINS, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
214 GRANT BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 2nd 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr.Guy B.Johnson,
Southern Regional Council,Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.,

Dear Mr. Johnson,

I sincerely appreciate your kindness in sending me a copy of Dad's speech. He spoke very highly of the work your organization was doing, and how much interest he had therein. I know that it was his hope that he contributed to your success.

Sincerely yours,

Edgar Watkins Jr.

EW/ls

Edgar Watkins,Jr.

The South - A.O. no. 1

September 28, 1945

Mr. Edgar Watkins, Jr.
215 Grant Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watkins:

Under separate cover we are sending you two copies of THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One containing the address which your father delivered at our Conference on the South's Post War Economy.

I did not know Judge Watkins intimately, but even on a short acquaintance I felt that he was one of the most remarkable men I had ever met. The whole South is indebted to him for his contribution to social progress.

If you would like to have a few more copies of the booklet, we shall be glad to send them.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMPRESSIONS

October 2, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 4 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I shall await with interest receipt of the publication of THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One, and shall read it with great interest.

Sincerely,

Dick Russell

CARL T. DURHAM
6TH DIST. NORTH CAROLINA

COMMITTEE:
MILITARY AFFAIRS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

October 2, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 4 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 28th and also copy of your publication THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One.

I appreciate very much your sending this booklet to me and am very glad to have it.

I was in Chapel Hill this past week-end and the people there are busy and getting along fine.

With kindest regards to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Carl T. Durham

Carl T. Durham

The South

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HAL P. PHILLIPS, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

RECEIVED
OCT 4 1945
Southern Regional Council

COA:NH

October 1, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
432 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Please let me thank you sincerely for sending me copy of your latest publication THE SOUTH--AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY NUMBER ONE.

You may be sure that I shall look forward with real pleasure to receiving and reading this publication.

Thanking you and with every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Chas. O. Andrews

CHARLES O. ANDREWS

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

October 1, 1945.

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of September 28th.

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of your latest publication entitled "The South - America's Opportunity Number One". I will read it with interest.

Very truly yours,

JWBailey

JWB/h

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE COMMERCE

October 2, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 4 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of September 28, 1945, and I thank you for the publication entitled, "The South - America's Opportunity Number One", which you have had forwarded to me. I shall read this with interest.

With best wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

Clyde R. Hoey

CRH/R

The South: 60 No. 1

WALTER F. GEORGE, GA., CHAIRMAN
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CHRISTIE B. KENNEDY, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

October 3, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Permit me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of September 28th, advising that you are sending me a copy of your latest publication THE SOUTH - AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY NUMBER ONE.

I shall be pleased to read this publication and thank you for sending it to me.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Walter F. George

HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA., CHAIRMAN
KENNETH MC KELLAR, TENN.
CHARLES O. ANDREWS, FLA.
SCOTT W. LUCAS, ILL.
JOHN H. BANKHEAD, ALA.
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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.
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M. J. MENEFEE, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON RULES

October 3, 1945 s.

RECEIVED
OCT 5 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
432 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Johnson:

I have received your letter of September 28, and I shall certainly look forward to reading THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One.

Thank you very much for your kindness in sending this to me.

With best wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

Harry Byrd

LISTER HILL, ALABAMA
DEMOCRATIC WHIP

CHARLES S. BREWTON, JR.
SECRETARY

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE DEMOCRATIC WHIP
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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EDUCATION AND LABOR
FOREIGN RELATIONS

October 3, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 5 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Johnson:

I am in receipt of your letter of September 28 and I want to thank you for it.

I appreciate you r kindness in sending me copy of "The South - America's opportunity Number One". I shall look forward with pleasure to receiving and reading the booklet.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely,

Lister Hill

LH:cm

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
Washington 25, D. C.

October 3, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director, Southern Regional
Council, Inc.
Room 432-63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 5 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of September 28 and the copies of the printed publication containing the addresses at your conference.

If you could let me have a dozen or so copies of this booklet, I think I could make good use of them from time to time.

Sincerely yours,

Mordecai Ezekiel

Mordecai Ezekiel
Economic Advisor

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE

WASHINGTON 25

October 3, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 5 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for sending me two copies of "The South - America's Opportunity Number One". Your delay in publication was well rewarded by a fine job.

I would appreciate a few more copies. How about three additional ones?

Please drop in whenever you find yourself in Washington.

Sincerely,

Wilford White

Wilford White, Acting Chief
Division of Small Business

✓
2BV

ESTES KEFAUVER
3D DIST. TENNESSEE

HOME ADDRESS:
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

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House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

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McMINNVILLE, TENNESSEE

October 3rd 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 8 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your kindness in sending me a copy of the publication "The South ---America's Opportunity Number One. I am looking forward to reading it with great interest.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Estes Kefauver

ROBERT RAMSPECK, GA.
DEMOCRATIC WHIP

J. W. ROBINSON, UTAH
CHIEF ASSISTANT WHIP

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House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

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October 5, 1945

Re: SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

RECEIVED
OCT 8 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 423, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of September 28 has been received, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of your latest publication, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One.

I shall read this with interest when it is received.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Robert Ramspeck

Robert Ramspeck

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
EDUCATION AND LABOR

October 6, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 8 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I appreciate your courtesy in sending me the copy of your publication THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Fulbright

J. W. Fulbright

JWF:ny

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

October 9, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

South

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of September 28th directed to Senator Pepper, who is now in Europe on an official mission.

The booklet, "The South - America's Opportunity Number One," has been received and I am holding it for the Senator's return. I know he will be very grateful to you for your thoughtfulness in sending this booklet to him.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Robison

Personal Secretary

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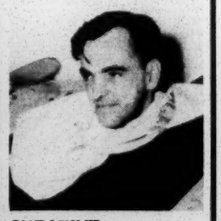

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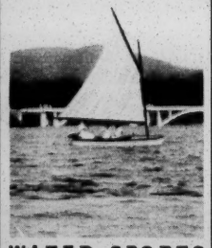

WATER SPORTS

GOLF

October 12, 1945.

RECEIVED
OCT 15 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for the copy of your publication "The South--America's Opportunity Number One."

We have found it most interesting and appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending same to us. Should we be in need of additional copies we will be glad to request same.

If we can be of service to you at any time please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Frieda Jefferson

Frieda Jefferson
Acting Secretary

FJ/f

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

South
RECEIVED
OCT 18 1945
Southern Regional Council

October 13, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am in receipt of your communication of September 28 and the publication to which you refer.

Thanking you for sending it to me, I am

Yours very sincerely,

W. Lee O'Daniel
United States Senator
Texas

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

mb

The Speaker's Rooms
House of Representatives U. S.
Washington, D. C.

October 18, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 22 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have your letter of recent date stating that you are sending a copy of your latest publication "The South - America's Opportunity Number One". I shall be very glad to receive this publication.

Sincerely yours,

Sam Rayburn

Southern

BARNET HODES
CORPORATION COUNSEL

CITY OF CHICAGO
LAW DEPARTMENT

EDWARD J. KELLY
MAYOR

October 22, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 24 1945
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have just read with extreme interest the series of addresses published under the title of "The South - America's Opportunity Number One."

Thanks for bringing this fine study to my attention, and congratulations on the outstanding job which you have done.

Sincerely yours,

Barnet Hodes

CORPORATION COUNSEL

copy in "Commendation" file
JBV

October 22, 1945

The Stephens Press
46 - 48 Walnut Street
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your order of the booklet, "The South: America's Opportunity Number One". We are sending you a copy at the rate of 35 cents. It usually sells for 50 cents.

We appreciate your courtesy in mentioning this booklet in your Book List.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. Charles D. Saxon)

separate cover

Purchase Order

THE STEPHENS PRESS

COMMERCIAL PRINTING - RULING - LITHOGRAPHING

46-48 WALNUT STREET

ASHEVILLE
North Carolina

George M. Stephens
Owner

October 11, 1945

Southern Regional Council
63 Auborn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1945
Southern Regional Council

Gentlemen:

Please ship us via pp

1 copy "The South: America's Opportunity Number One"

.50

We are allowed 40% discount by such publishers as University of North Carolina Press, University of Georgia Press, Dietz Press, etc., and shall appreciate your extending us this courtesy also.

C.W.
10/22/45

Please send invoice promptly.
If shipment cannot be made with usual promptness, *acknowledge order and state expected shipping date.*

The Stephens Press

By B. C. Patterson

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
LIBRARY
WASHINGTON 25

November 7, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 10 1945
Southern Regional Council

Secretary,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta 3, GEORGIA.

Dear Sir:

The Library of the U.S. Department of Labor is desirous of obtaining the publications of your office named below. The Department would greatly appreciate the courtesy of the gift to this Library of any or all of these publications. Franked labels for free transmission through the mails are enclosed.

Very truly yours,

Laura A. Thompson

Laura A. Thompson,
Librarian.

THE SOUTH, AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY NUMBER ONE; A SERIES OF ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT A CONFERENCE ON THE SOUTH'S POST-WAR ECONOMY HELD IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, APRIL 11-12,1945, UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL.

11/21
JTM

the South

November 8, 1945

Mr. Robert C. Weaver, Director
Community Services Division
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. Weaver:

Under separate cover we are sending with our compliments two copies of THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One, containing the addresses delivered at our April Conference on the South's Postwar Economy.

Additional copies may be purchased at the following rates:

Single copies ... $0.35
Three copies $1.00

Very sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

✓ m

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

32 WEST RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO 1 PHONE CENTRAL 3066

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CLARENCE E. PICKETT
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Vice-President, Treasurer

MARY-JANE GRUNSFELD
Secretary

November 6, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1945
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am interested in receiving a copy of the proceedings of your April conference on the Postwar Economy of the South.

I shall be glad to reimburse you for any charges attached thereto if you will be kind enough to so advise me.

Very truly yours,

Robert C. Weaver

Robert C. Weaver, Director
Community Services Division

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November 19, 1945

The Stephens Press
46-48 Walnut Street
Asheville, N. C.

Dear Sirs:

Under separate cover we are sending you one copy of the pamphlet "The South: America's Opportunity No. 1,"and two copies of the pamphlet "Under standing Our Neighbors". Enclosed is the bill for the same.

Yours truly,

(Mrs. Charles D. Saxon)

encl.
separate cover

1 — The South
2 copies #3

DATE November 19, 1945

TO The Stephens Press

46-48 Walnut Street

Asheville, N. C.

IN ACCOUNT WITH

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

710 STANDARD BUILDING
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NEW ADDRESS
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

1 copy The South: America's Opportunity No. 1.....$.50

2 copies Understanding Our Neighbors..... .20

$.70

Less discount of .20

Total $.50

Rec'd
Ck
11/28/45

Purchase Order

THE STEPHENS PRESS

COMMERCIAL PRINTING - RULING - LITHOGRAPHING

46-48 WALNUT STREET

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North Carolina

George M. Stephens
Owner

Nov. 10, 1945

Southern Regional Council
63 Aubofn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
NOV 12 1945
Southern Regional Council

Gentlemen:

Please ship us via

1 copy "The South: America's Opportunity No. 1"
2 copies "Understanding Our Neighbors"

We are allowed 40% dealer discount by such presses as University of N. C., University of Georgia, Dietz, etc., and shall appreciate this courtesy from you also.

C. W.
11/19/45

Please send invoice promptly.
If shipment cannot be made with usual promptness, *acknowledge order and state expected shipping date.*

The Stephens Press

By George M. Stephens

50

The State Teachers College
At
Montgomery 1, Alabama

FOUNDED IN 1874

November 11, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 13 1945
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Expires ~~Ex~~ 50¢

Gentlemen:

Please forward the following order:

One copy of " The South, America's Opportunity Number One."

Very truly yours,

C. Johnson Dunn

C. Johnson Dunn

CJD/ryd

1 copy of The South

C.W.
11/16/45

BRYANT LITHO CO. ATLANTA

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"Tis better to have always and never want, than to want once and not have"

THE PILGRIM HEALTH AND LIFE INSURANCE CO.

SICK AND ACCIDENT, INDUSTRIAL AND ORDINARY INSURANCE

PHONES { 1182 / 1183

THE OLDEST, ABLEST AND SAFEST OF ALL

HOME OFFICE: 1143 GWINNETT ST.,

Augusta, Ga.,

11-12-45

RECEIVED
NOV 13 1945
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga

Dear Sir,

Kindly send me copy of the South opportunity number one.

Very truly yours

S. B. Thomas

C.W.
11/16/45

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN INC.

1819 BROADWAY NEW YORK 23 · N Y ·

FLORA R. ROTHENBERG
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

TEL · CIRCLE 6-3175
CABLE: COUNJEW · N. Y.

November 20, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 23 1945
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would like to order a copy of "The South America's Opportunity Number One." Please find enclosed $.50 in stamps.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Hortense U. Goldstone

(Mrs.) Hortense U. Goldstone, Division Head
Department of Social Welfare

HUG:TB
Enc.

The South

C.W.
11/23/45

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South

November 21, 1945

Miss Louise Fant
Serials Librarian
The University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Miss Fant:

Thank you for your inquiry of November 15. We are pleased to send you under separate cover a copy of THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One.

We are entering a complimentary subscription to our literature for the Library of the University of Georgia

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:JRT
The South, #1, 2, 3, 4, Nov. Frontier, free leaflets, Georgia Health leaflet.

Memo to Miss Kerby.

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
ATHENS, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1945
Southern Regional Council

November 15, 1945

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs,

Is it possible for you to send us gratis a copy of your booklet The South: America's opportunity number one? This title seems so familiar that I am wondering if you may not have sent us a copy before----but I can find no record of a copy here now. This library should preserve a copy of your publication.

Yours truly,
Louise Fant
Louise Fant
Serials Librarian

South

November 21, 1945

Mrs. J. L. Glenn
1434 A Irelant Street
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Glenn:

I regret to say that our publication The South Child Rich-Dollar Poor is now out of print. We have recently published a booklet entitled The South - America's Opportunity Number One, which should be of interest to you. I wish we could send you a copy free, but the lowest rate we can make on it is 35 cents a copy. We are sending you some other material with our compliments. Won't you please let us know if you would like to have a copy of The South?

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

#1, free leaflets, Adv. re The South, publications list.

34 A Drelant St.
Nashville 8, Tenn.

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sir
Please send Free Material
on "The South - Child Rich - Dollar
Poor."

Mrs. J. L. Glenn.

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TEXAS
AUSTIN

GROVER SELLERS
ATTORNEY GENERAL

November 26, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1945
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta
Georgia

Gentlemen:

For the enclosed 50¢ in stamps please send me a copy of

The South: America's opportunity Number One.

Yours very truly,

David Wuntch

David Wuntch
1614 West 14th Street
Austin 21, Texas

The South

Leg
A. R
1-5-F

C.W.
11/29/45

NO COMMUNICATION IS TO BE CONSTRUED AS A DEPARTMENTAL OPINION UNLESS APPROVED BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OR FIRST ASSISTANT

ELLEN PERRY,
LIBRARIAN

FRED W. SYMMES,
CHAIRMAN BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Greenville Public Library

FREE READING FOR EVERYBODY

Greenville, South Carolina

November 29, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 30 1945
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

We are inclosing 50¢ in stamps. Please send us:
The South, America's opportunity number one

Yours very truly,

Ellen Perry

Librarian.

✓ m 12/1/45

Southern Sub-District of District 4

INTERNATIONAL FUR & LEATHER WORKERS UNION

of United States and Canada

Affiliated With

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

P. O. Box 889
ASHEVILLE, N. C.

508 Legal Building
Telephone 4493

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ALEXANDER GASTON
Local 380, Brevard, N. C.

JOHN A. McCURRY
Local 385, Asheville, N. C.

November 30, 1945

RECEIVED
DEC 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Friends:

Enclosed is my check for 50¢, for which please send me:

"The South, America's Opportunity Number One."

I have just noticed a reference to this series of addresses delivered at a conference on the South's post war economy last spring in Atlanta in the SOUTHERN PATRIOT.

Yours very truly

Hardy Scott

Hardy Scott
Southern Representative.

HS:dh

C.W.
12/3/45

WE WOULD APPRECIATE receiving for our library and for listing in our quarterly, Planning and Civic Comment, a copy of your publication:

The South, America's Opportunity
Number One

If there is a charge, please notify us before sending.

C.W.
12/3/45

AMERICAN PLANNING AND CIVIC ASSOCIATION
901 Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

DATE December 3, 1945

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December 17, 1945

Honorable Ben Laney
Governor of Arkansas
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Governor Laney:

I take pleasure in sending you, with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period, I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

If you would like to have additional copies, please let us know, and we shall be glad to make them available.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

South

December 18, 1945

Honorable Chauncey Sparks
Governor of Alabama
State Capitol
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Governor Sparks:

I take pleasure in sending you, with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period, I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

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GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

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Encl.

December 18, 1945

Honorable Millard Caldwell
Governor of Florida
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Governor Caldwell:

I take pleasure in sending you, with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period, I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

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GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

December 18, 1945

Honorable Ellis Arnall
Governor of Georgia
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor Arnall:

I take pleasure in sending you, with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period, I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

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GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

December 18, 1945

Honorable Simeon S. Willis
Governor of Kentucky
State Capitol
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Governor Willis:

I take pleasure in sending you, with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

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Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

December 18, 1945

Honorable Jimmie H. Davis
Governor of Louisiana
State Capitol
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Governor Davis:

I take pleasure in sending you, with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period, I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

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GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

December 18, 1945

Honorable Thomas L. Bailey
Governor of Mississippi
State Capitol
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Governor Bailey:

I take pleasure in sending you, with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period, I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

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Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

December 18, 1945

Honorable Gregg Cherry
Governor of North Carolina
State Capitol
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Governor Cherry:

I take pleasure in sending you, with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period, I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

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Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

December 18, 1945

Honorable Robert S. Kerr
Governor of Oklahoma
State Capitol
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Governor Kerr:

I take pleasure in sending you, with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period, I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

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Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

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December 18, 1945

Honorable Ransome Williams
Governor of South Carolina
State Capitol
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Governor Williams:

I take pleasure in sending you, with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period, I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

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Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

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Encl.

December 18, 1945

Honorable Jim Nance McCord
Governor of Tennessee
State Capitol
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Governor McCord:

I take pleasure in sending you, with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period, I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

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Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

December 18, 1945

Honorable Coke R. Stevenson
Governor of Texas
State Capitol
Austin, Texas

Dear Governor Stevenson:

I take pleasure in sending you with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period, I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

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Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

South

December 18, 1945

Honorable Colgate W. Darden
Governor of Virginia
State Capitol
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Governor Darden:

I take pleasure in sending you, with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period, I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

If you would like to have additional copies, please let us know, and we shall be glad to make them available.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

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Executive Department
Atlanta

ELLIS ARNALL
GOVERNOR

IVAN ALLEN, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

December 20, 1945

RECEIVED
DEC 21 1945
Southern Regional Council

Honorable Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One.

I find this publication both interesting and informative and I sincerely appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ellis Arnall

Ellis Arnall
Governor

ea/sd

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RALEIGH

R. GREGG CHERRY
GOVERNOR

December 20, 1945.

Rec. 12/22

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

Acknowledgment is made of your letter of December 18, together with a copy of your publication entitled "The South - America's Opportunity Number One". I appreciate the information.

Yours very truly,

R. Gregg Cherry

R. Gregg Cherry,
Governor

RGC:RH

STATE OF FLORIDA
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
TALLAHASSEE

MILLARD F. CALDWELL
GOVERNOR

JOHN T. WIGGINTON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

December 21, 1945

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Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for the copy of the Regional Council's newest publication entitled, "The South - America's Opportunity Number One." At the first opportunity I intend to inspect its contents which I am sure I will find most interesting.

Sincerely,

Governor

MFC/sw

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RICHMOND 12.

COLGATE W. DARDEN, JR.
GOVERNOR

Dec. 21, 1945.

RECEIVED
DEC 26 1945
EXECUTIVE
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I wish to thank you for your letter of the 18th. I am obliged to you for sending on to me a copy of "The South - America's Opportunity Number One."

Best wishes for Christmas and the New Year.

Sincerely,

Colgate Darden Jr.

CWD/W

TENNESSEE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE
NASHVILLE

JIM McCORD
GOVERNOR

RECEIVED
DEC 31 1945
Southern Regional Council

December 29, 1945

South Council

Honorable Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One.

I am very glad to have this pamphlet and I shall read it with much interest.

Sincerely,

Jim McCord

Jim McCord

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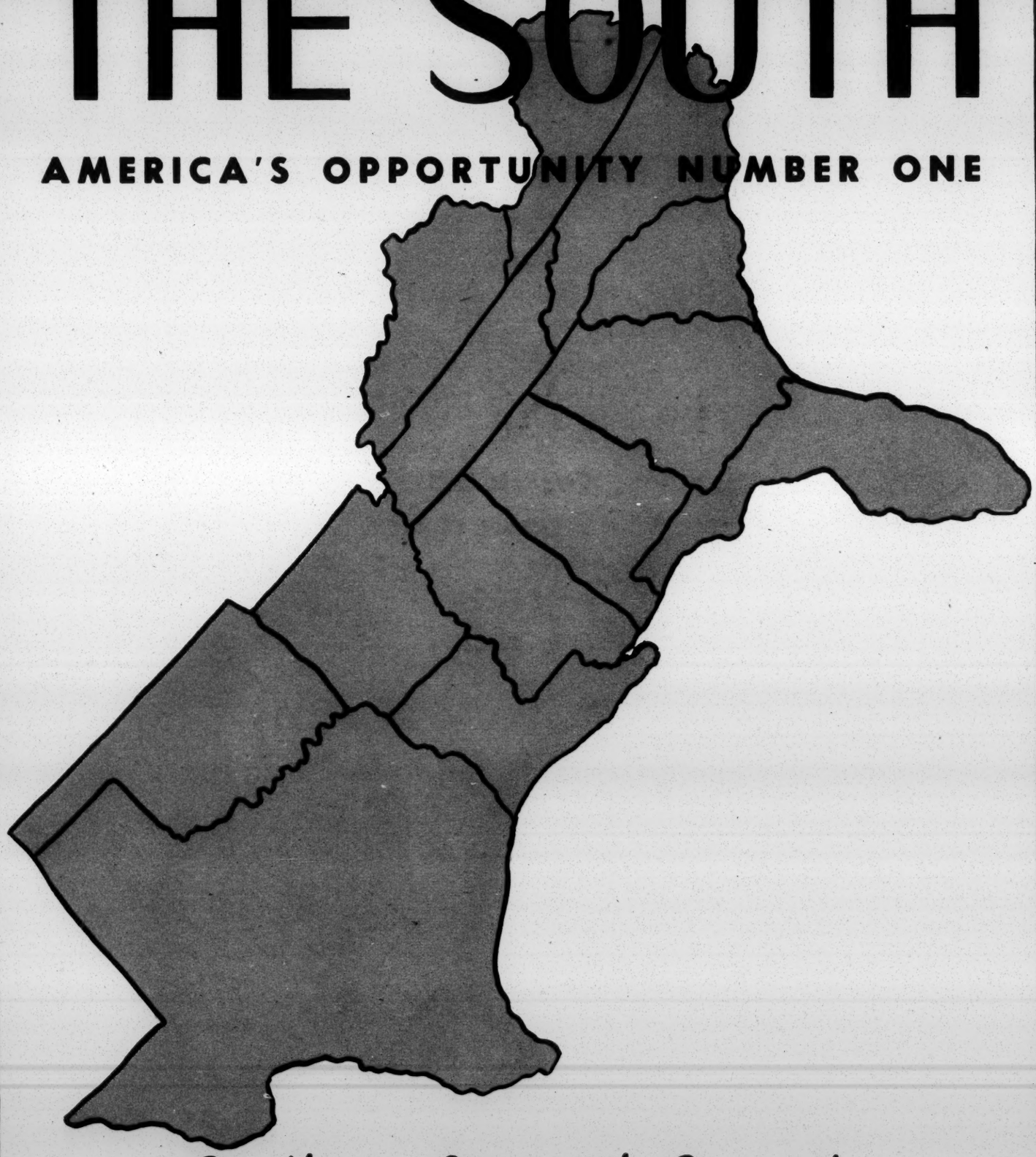

Southern Regional Council

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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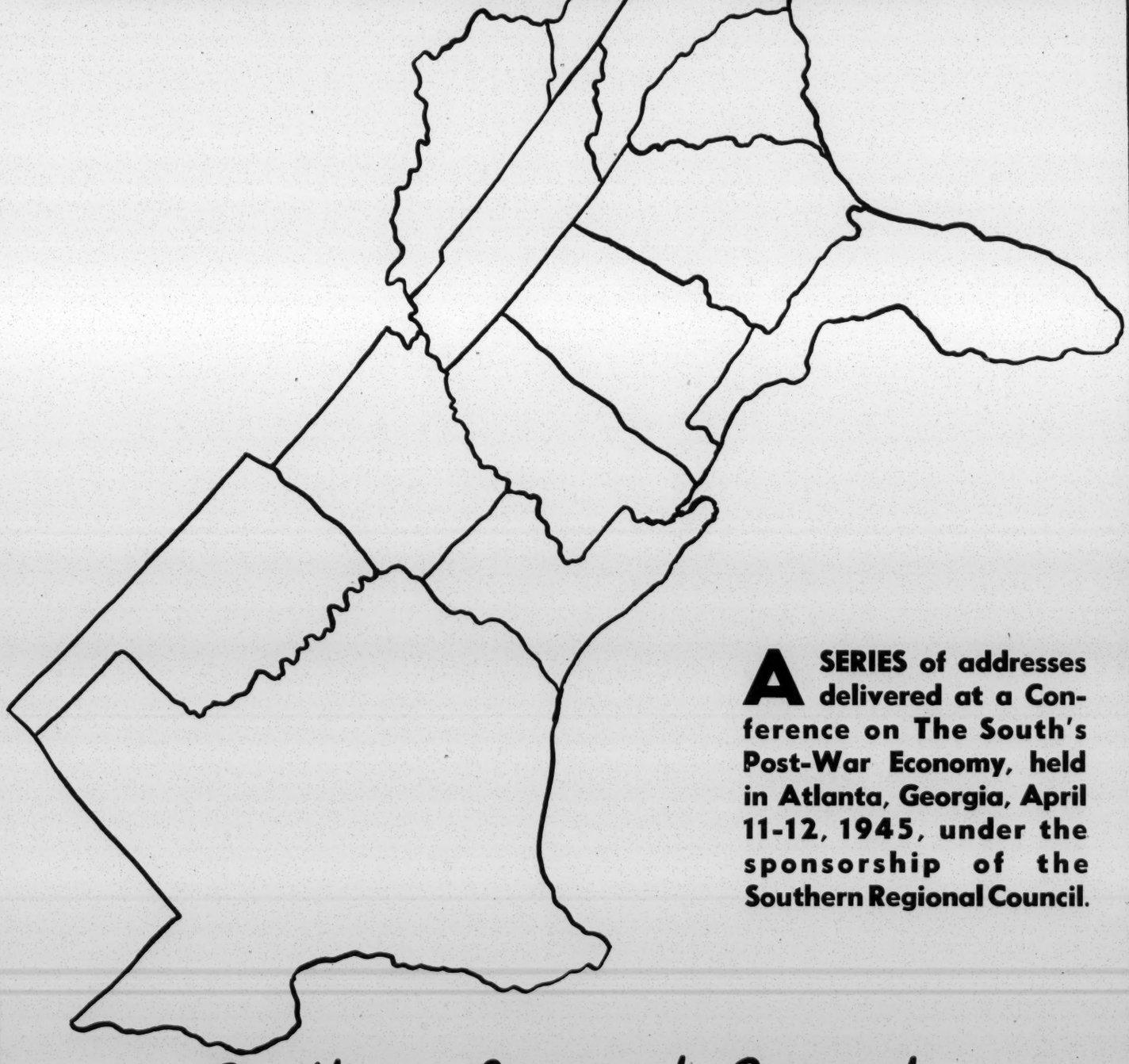

A SERIES of addresses delivered at a Conference on The South's Post-War Economy, held in Atlanta, Georgia, April 11-12, 1945, under the sponsorship of the Southern Regional Council.

Southern Regional Council

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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Agriculture and Industry in the Post-War South

MORDECAI EZEKIEL

Economic Adviser, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

AFTER we defeat our dual enemies abroad, we still face the great task here at home of organizing our economy for full production.

We must now begin to take steps to assure work for the boys when they come home. We have demonstrated how much we can produce for war. We must not fail to make equally full use of our resources for the far happier tasks of peace.

So long as any child is hungry, any family is without decent shelter, or any worker is ragged—and so long as any citizens are without adequate schools or decent medical care — neither farmers nor workers will be satisfied to be told there is no need for what they can make.

The first essential to Southern prosperity is prosperity for the Nation as a whole. The South went ragged and underfed in the great depression of 1929; it shares today in increased incomes from full employment for war. No one section of the country can be prosperous by itself, any more than any one economic group —farmers, workers, or businessmen—can be prosperous by themselves.

The South therefore has a keen and vital interest in all the proposals, national and international, for action to insure high post-war levels of employment and prosperity. But beyond high national prosperity, there are also many special problems which must be solved before the South can raise its income standards to those of the rest of the country.

Full employment after the war involves an enormous conversion of war industries to peacetime needs, "beating our swords into ploughshares". Full employment means more than that. It means an enormous further expansion of even our war-expanded economy.

In 1939, we had 45 million people at work and 8 million unemployed. Today, we have 52 million at work in civilian employment, less than 1 million unemployed, and about 12 million in the Armed Services. After the war we will need 57 or 58 millions of men and women at work if unemployment is to be held to a reasonable minimum. That means that the nation will have to have work places for 12 million more people than were at work in 1939. We will need work for 5 million more than are engaged in civilian work today. Reconverting war industries and expanding peace-time industries offer new opportunities to every section of the country.

The South needs industrialization. Lack of industrial development has limited both farm and city. Farmers have suffered from limited opportunities for their sons and daughters, from excessive population on the land, and from limited local markets for their products. City workers have suffered from insufficient employment, low wages, and inadequate living conditions.

These limited Southern opportunities show up clearly in employment and in incomes. Before the war, half of all our farm workers were on Southern farms. Agricultural net income, however, was barely half as large—$380 per worker in the South, $710 per worker for the rest of the country.

For other kinds of work, the comparison was somewhat better. All income from non-farm sources ran just under $1,400 per worker in the South, as contrasted with over $2,000 in the rest of the country. But the South had only 65%

of its workers in industrial work, while in the rest of the country, 87% were at non-farm work.

Within the South itself there are wide differences in the degree of industrialization. In some Southern States, well over half the workers were in agriculture before the war. In other States, industry had been further developed, and the proportion of workers in agriculture had been reduced to 30% or even 25%. Income per person in these latter States ran twice as high as in the States that still depended so heavily on farming. As shown in Table 1, this increase in average income with a decrease in workers on farms was a general rule throughout the South.

TABLE 1.—Workers engaged in farming, and average income per person, 1940

State	Proportion of workers engaged in farming	Average income per capita of population
	Percent	Dol. per year
Mississippi	59	205
Arkansas	53	257
Alabama	40	266
South Carolina	40	289
Kentucky	37	313
Georgia	36	317
Tennessee	34	319
North Carolina	34	320
Oklahoma	33	360
Louisiana	34	365
West Virginia	16	409
Texas	30	419
Virginia	25	447
Florida	20	472

FUTURE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE

The economy of the South has long been dominated by cotton and tobacco. These crops characteristically use much labor and little machinery. Their acre value has been relatively high, but their return per hour of labor has been low.

The five million farm workers of the South, in 1940, cultivated 106 million acres of crop land; the five million farm workers of the rest of the country, 236 million acres. Each worker cultivated 22 acres of crops in the South, 50 acres in the rest of the country. In most feed and food crops — corn, hay, small grains, potatoes — the average yields per acre were higher in the rest of the country than in the South.

The Southern farmer could get by, despite these handicaps of few acres, little use of machinery, and low yields, so long as the South enjoyed a dominant position in world cotton markets. For several decades now, King Cotton has been meeting stronger and stronger competition abroad. American cotton has faced increasing competition from foreign cottons, as well as from synthetic fibers.

Here at home, synthetics are taking a constantly widening portion of the textile market. The relatively high price of American cotton has been pricing it right out of its markets, while our cotton control program has been preventing the most efficient use of Southern farms. Twenty years ago, we produced around 55% of the world's cotton, while today we produce only 43%. Adding synthetic fibers and cotton together, our present cotton output is only 33% of the world's annual production.

Secretary Wickard suggested some months ago, in his statement to the Pace Subcommittee, that the most feasible cotton program for us for the future was to face about. He proposed we adopt policies that would help retain as large a share as possible of both the domestic and foreign markets, and at the same time would enable our farmers to produce cotton as efficiently and cheaply as possible. Such a policy would mean selling our cotton at competitive world prices, both at home and for export.

Cotton incomes would be supported while that was necessary, by price supplementing payments rather than by a price-support program. Farmers would be encouraged and aided to reorganize Southern agriculture. On farms and areas suited to efficient cotton production and mass-production methods, attention would be centered on larger and more intensive cotton production.

In other areas farmers would be aided to reorganize their farms for less cotton, more food, feed, and livestock. To assure adequate income, they would need to consolidate many farms, leaving larger farms and fewer farmers. Reconversion payments would be made to help finance farmers who chose to convert their farms to this more diversified agriculture. Both cotton price supplement payments and farm reconversion payments would taper off gradually and end after a time.

Some rough preliminary estimates have been made in the Department of Agriculture to show what such a program would involve.

If it were carried out throughout the South over the next ten years about one-third of the farm families and people working on farms before the war would find work off the farm.

With more mechanization and larger cotton acreages on farms continuing to specialize in cotton and with larger acreages and larger sales of food and feed from the other farms, farm income would be maintained at about the wartime levels or even increased further. With high national prosperity and employment, after the war, and with the new systems of farming, the average net income per Southern farm family would increase from about $1,500 today to around $2,000 post-war.

This increase in net income would be realized despite the fact that food prices are expected to be somewhat lower after the war than they are today under wartime conditions.

Before the war, the average farm net income in the South was only $550 per farm family. The increase from $550 to $2,000 in net income would mean an enormous difference in the standards of farm life in the South, and in farm demands for goods and services from city industry.

Cotton output would stay about the same as pre-war, but it would be concentrated on the farms and in the areas where it can be produced most efficiently and with least labor. The more diversified production on other farms would increase food crops and livestock well above the enlarged wartime output.

Milk production would increase over half; truck crops, about a third; and beef cattle, almost a third. Hog production in the South, however, would probably decline somewhat from its war-time levels, but stay about one-fifth larger than it was pre-war.

These increases in Southern food production would be absorbed in Southern markets. With the larger buying power both on farms and in industrial areas, the demand for food in the South would increase even more than the total food production and increased quantities of pork, lard, butter, and other products would be brought in from the rest of the country.

This agricultural program could be carried through only if there is meantime a great and sustained expansion in industry. Such an expansion is needed to provide useful employment for the million or more workers who would be released from Southern farms. Some of these workers might, of course, find work in other parts of the country. The more of them that can find good jobs in industry in the South, however, the better off the South will be. We have made some rough calculations to indicate how far and how fast the South would need to expand its industries to make jobs there for all the available workers, both from cities and released from farms.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR INDUSTRY IN THE SOUTH

Workers Available for Employment. Many men and women have left Southern farms and cities for military service and defense work. After the war they will be looking for peacetime work again. In addition, nearly 2 million Southern workers were unemployed before the war. Population growth will add another million and a half workers during the end of the next ten years. If the million or more people who would be released from farm work under the reconversion program are to find jobs in

TABLE 2.—Gainful workers 10 years old and over, by general divisions of occupations, for 14 Southern States, 1910-40, and projected numbers for 1956
(All data in thousands of workers)

Divisions of occupations	Census data (adjusted)[1]				Projected program, 1956
	1910	1920	1930	1940	
Total	11,510	11,438	13,295	[2]12,558	15,900
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	6,906	5,676	5,575	4,356	2,820
Nonagricultural	4,604	5,762	7,720	8,202	13,080
Mining	181	315	334	367	600
Manufacturing and mech. industries[3]	1,611	2,028	2,554	2,308	3,960
Transportation and communication	521	662	857	644	950
Trade	663	833	1,224	1,988	3,180
Public service	88	192	185	290	400
Professional service	326	420	651	734	1,250
Domestic and personal service	1,001	911	1,361	1,333	1,690
Clerical occupations	213	401	554	538	1,050

[1]Data adjusted to secure maximum comparability between classifications used in different census years. In 1940, data are for employed workers 14 years old and over.
[2]In addition, 1,821,804 workers in these States were on public emergency work, or were unemployed and seeking work, in 1940.
[3]Includes workers in construction.

the South, there must be work for them and for these other people as well.

To accomplish that, it would be necessary to increase nonfarm employment in the South from 8.2 millions before the war to 13 millions by 1956 — an increase of 60%.

Can the Jobs Be Made? Past history throws some light on how rapidly progress might be made. In the first decade after the last World War, non-agricultural employment in the South increased from 5.8 millions to 7.7—an increase of 34%. The increase of 60% over 16 years is not a great deal faster than the yearly rate during the decade of the 1920's—though, except for war industries which manage to keep going post-war, most of the new increase must be concentrated in the next 10 years. (Table 2).

Not all the new jobs would be in factories. Industrialization means a balanced growth in all parts of the region's economy—in transportation, trade, professional service, personal service, clerical work, mining—as well as in manufacturing. Out of 5 million more jobs only about 1.7 million might be in manufacturing and construction, while the rest could be provided by other industries.

By 1956 the South might have its workers distributed between industries much the same as the workers in the rest of the country were in 1940. (Table 3). The South would still have a relatively larger proportion of its workers in agriculture, and somewhat fewer in mechanical industries, transportation and trade, but the differences would be far less marked.

WHAT INDUSTRIES ARE SUITED TO THE SOUTH?

Transport, trade, and service industries will grow along with more manufacturing. But the South must have more mechanical employment as a base for expansion in related industries. What industries can the South develop or expand?

The South has the necessary resources—raw materials, fuels, power, labor force, enterprise, and markets. Much of the region's new war industries will be discontinued or greatly curtailed when the fighting ends. These industries offer a starting point for other permanent employment. They will provide plants for conversion and trained workers and managers. This nucleus of trained workers can help speed the needed large-scale regional development.

Market-based Industries. Several kinds of industries offer possibilities in the South. Some must be located near markets, either because of the high cost of transportation or because of the perishability of the product. Post-war markets will be higher in the South, because of war-time savings, the shortage of housing and the prospective general expansion in construction after the war, and the increase in Southern buying power under the conversion program. There will be expanded opportunities for many market-based industries, such as bakeries, milk bottling plants, brick, tile, and concrete plants, box factories, printing shops, and construction, and many others.

Material-based Industries. Industries which use large quantities of heavy raw materials must be located near sources of such materials. Sawmills and pulp and paper mills, iron and steel, and food packing, canning, and preserving, are all examples.

With proper management of its forest resources, both farm woodlots and forests, the South's annual yield of saw timber, pulpwood, wood byproducts, and naval stores could be materially expanded. Wood-working industries catering to Southern markets — kiln drying, finished dimension lumber, mill work for construction, partly fabricated wood parts for

TABLE 3.—Proportion of Southern workers in various industries, 1910, 1940, and projected 1956, compared with 1940 proportions in the rest of the United States

Industry	South, 1910	South, 1940	South, 1956	Rest of U. S., 1940[1]
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
All industries	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	60.0	34.7	17.7	13.1
Manufacturing, mining, and construction	15.6	21.3	28.7	29.1
Transportation and communication	4.5	5.1	6.0	6.9
Trade	5.8	15.8	20.0	22.9
Domestic and personal service	8.7	10.6	10.6	8.4
Professional service	2.8	5.8	7.9	8.0
Public service	0.8	2.3	2.5	2.6
Clerical occupations	1.9	4.3	6.6	9.0

[1]Based on 1940 Census, reclassified to compare with earlier censuses.

furniture and other wood products, and furniture, toys, and other finished wood products, all offer good opportunities.

Iron and steel production could be increased for Southern markets—though some changes in price or production policies of the large steel manufacturers might be required. Simple farm tools and machines, farm wire and fencing, and plumbing and heating equipment, also might be produced from Southern steel for Southern markets, with a substantial saving in transportation costs.

Ceramic clays, feldspar, slate, and other minerals abound in many parts of the South, and provide a basis for pottery, chinaware, roofing, and other industries.

In all these industries, the Southern market itself will offer a large demand within the area where the saving in freight over distant manufacturers will give the Southern concerns a distinct competitive advantage. If freight rate readjustments can be secured, they may be able to compete in other sections as well.

Initiative-based Industries. Other industries use water, fuel, power, and labor and raw materials which can be obtained in many different locations, and produce finished products of such high value that they can be shipped for long distances without undue transportation costs. Who gets started first is the important thing in development of such enterprises. There are innumerable products of this type that might be expanded in the south, especially for nearby Southern demands — electric light fixtures; small plastic articles such as fountain pens, pencils, and office and home equipment; leather goods and luggage.

War demands have already expanded some industries far above normal peacetime needs. These include aircraft, ships, engines, machine tools, high-precision metal-working in ferrous and nonferrous materials, and explosives. Such industries do not offer good opportunities for further expansion now. Peacetime industries, such as clothing, housefurnishing, paper and printing, most building materials, and residential construction, have had little or no wartime expansion. Industries in this latter group therefore offer the greatest present opportunity for expansion in the South.

Trade and Service Industries. Besides new manufacturing industries, service industries of all sorts will need to expand. These include automobile and farm machinery repair and upkeep, electrical supplies and repairs, amusement and recreation industries, laundries, cleaning and dyeing, hotels, and restaurants. It is hard to overestimate the coming importance of the service industries, either in the South or the rest of the country. Great as is the present need for more manufactured articles, the potential demand for a great variety of services is even greater, and will tend to increase as levels of living rise.

Wholesale and retail trade will expand with the increased employment and income in the South, among both city people and farmers. Southern buying power for food and clothing will be increased, as well as for industrial products.

Facilities for processing and distributing Southern farm products would have to be enlarged to handle the increased volume of milk, meat, eggs, and truck crops. Fruit and vegetable assembly markets, packing plants, and storage facilities will be needed in the right places to handle the increased farm production.

Expansion will also be required in food manufactures, and in all the wholesale and retail food channels.

HOW CAN SOUTHERN INDUSTRIALIZATION BE SPEEDED UP?

The new facilities to industrialize the South will require the investment of many billions of dollars. War savings, both by individuals and by business and financial concerns, have been so large that most of this needed investment can be provided from local funds. If this is to be done, though, the individuals and businesses concerned will need to see the opportunities ahead, and move to take advantage of them fast enough to make new jobs as rapidly as the workers become available.

There are many ways this movement can be speeded:

(1) Community planning groups can be aided and encouraged to study their post-war employment problems, to survey prospective demands, and to plan for expanded local business and employment.

(2) Information can be prepared on the post-war prospects in specific industries to aid businessmen and community groups. Facts are needed on the resources, labor, and capital required for plants of various sizes in each industry, the costs of production under varying conditions, transportation and selling problems, etc. Such

facts can help in judging what industries can best be developed in a given community.

(3) The food marketing and processing facilities needed to handle the growing diversified farm production and the food for expanding industrial population, can be planned ahead.

(4) Services can be provided to help train displaced or underemployed farmers for industrial work, help them locate suitable jobs, and move their families. Where needed, they could be helped to shift from farm work to industrial work. Similar retraining and placement services can be provided war plant workers and veterans.

(5) Where local financing proves insufficient, aid would be provided in financing the new enterprises. This might involve finance for private businesses through R. F. C., the Federal Reserve Banks, or by an extension of Smaller War Plants Corporation for peace-time industry. Cooperatives can be financed by the Banks for Cooperatives.

(6) Public utilities such as railroads, local streetcar and bus lines, electric generating and distributing systems both public and private, communications, etc., would need to plan increases in their facilities to care for the general expansion projected in Southern industry and agriculture.

(7) Additional public facilities in the South will be needed to supplement the expanding private industries. These include roads and streets, sewer and water systems, schools and hospitals, post offices, etc. Advance blueprinting of needed public works, and provision for their construction as needed, would support the other phases of the problem.

(8) High-speed modern production, whether on farms or in factories, requires workers able to understand complicated processes and machines, to follow written or printed instructions, and to stand the steady pace of high-speed production. Industrialization of the South therefore also requires better education and better health for its workers, both white and colored. Increased funds are needed for more adequate general education, public health, and medical services, for the South. Investments in workers' minds and bodies can be even more productive than in plant and equipment.

Many agencies, both private and public, are already doing some work on plans for post-war industrial expansion in the South. They include local Chambers of Commerce and Committees for Economic Development, State industrial commissions and planning boards, land-grant colleges and universities, various agencies of the Federal Government and legislative bodies, both State and Federal. We in the Federal Government have had to movely slowly for fear of interfering with the war effort.

Now that victory seems near in Europe, it is high time for all agencies interested in the South to pool their forces in a united effort to make possibilities such as I have sketched here come true.

CONCLUSION

The years immediately after the war will offer the South an exceptional opportunity to "get in on the ground floor" of a nation-wide industrial expansion. During that period, if we are to achieve full employment, the nation must create new peace-time work-places for many millions more workers than it ever employed in peace. If the South pushes industrialization vigorously in that period, it can expand its industry as part of the nation-wide expansion without having to steal industries from anywhere else. It can reorganize its agriculture for greater efficiency, and better incomes without public supports. Once that period is past, and the new industries are created over the country as a whole, the South can expand further only in strong competition for markets and for workers with industries already established in other parts of the country. During the next few years the South can grow with the great national post-war expansion. Later on would be too late — such an opportunity may not come again this century.

Impact of the War on Southern Labor

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A NATION at war must organize all of its resources for war. The requirements of modern war are so large that they may necessitate the reorganization of the entire economy to eliminate every job not needed to produce a bare subsistence for the civilian population in order to maximize munitions production and the numbers in the armed forces.

We have managed in the United States to put 12 million men and women in uniform and to devote the services of 9 to 10 million more to the production of munitions without any substantial decrease in the total amount of goods and services available for civilian use. We can therefore still detect some signs of underlying and persistent economic trends in our war-time economy.

By and large, however, we must regard the most striking developments of the war period as ephemeral. We shall not need to keep 12 million men under arms. We shall not have any use for the munitions that 9 million people are producing. During the war we built plants with little relationship to economic considerations. Locations were picked for strategic reasons, to take advantage of the local surplus of labor, or because management and supervisory forces were locally available. Thus the economic pattern that we see today gives us few clues to the long-run forces that are at work.

We are more likely to discover those trends if we turn back to the pre-war period. With respect to that period, four trends affecting the 13-state area seem to me to be particularly important.

The first and most important of these is the relatively high birth rate. In the large cities of the country the population is not reproducing itself. In the rural areas and in the 13-state area represented here the birth rate is still high enough to lead to population growth.

The second fact of importance is the demonstrated inability of a system of one-crop agriculture to provide an adequate living for the existing population and, above all, for a growing population.

Growing out of these two facts are two others that have characterized the area: migration from the farms to the cities and from this area to the North and West; and the development within this area of alternative industrial employment.

Agriculture Cannot Meet Employment Needs

With respect to these trends I should like to say just a few words. Farm incomes in this country are low. They must be raised relative to incomes of other groups. But I do not see how this can be accomplished by paying primary attention to the price of farm products. For this area in particular, with its dependence upon foreign markets for cotton, the effort to achieve adequate incomes for farmers by means of price support alone would create great difficulties. If the price of farm products alone cannot be made to yield an adequate income to farmers, we must look to improved methods. This covers not only improved methods of producing existing crops, as for example through the continued mechanization of cotton farming, but also the development of more profitable types of farming. The latter becomes easier as new industries and hence new markets develop locally. But whatever the process by which productivity is increased, it means that the total number of people employed in agriculture should decrease.

Let me pause here for just a moment to note that our war production program was developed

without attempting a basic reorganization of agricultural production method. I personally think this was wise for I do not believe that you can handle human beings like chessmen or that you can safely change deeply rooted institutional procedures over night. I did, however, see calculations of the maximum number of people that could be drawn out of agriculture back in 1942, when it looked for a while as though we might need twice as many people in munitions production as it was eventually necessary to employ. Instead we proceeded under the Tydings' amendment to defer workers in agriculture somewhat more liberally than in other essential industries. The important point to note is merely this: we have not solved our long-run agricultural problem during the war; you cannot look to expanding employment in agriculture to solve your post-war problems. Rather we must hope that migration to industrial centers and expanding industrial production in this area will make possible still further decreases in agricultural employment.

MIGRATION OF WORKERS ACCELERATED

The story of emigration is familiar to all of you. Beginning about the turn of the century and becoming more marked each decade, there has been net migration from this 13-state region to the West Coast and to the industrial Northeast. Texas and Oklahoma still show the effect of net migration during the last quarter of the nineteenth century; but in recent decades only Florida in this 13-state area has had more people move in than move out.

Migration has been accelerated during the war. The net movement out of the area was three times as large in the period 1940-43 *as it had been during the depression decade of the 'thirties and was over twice as large as in the 'twenties. During this war period, when more than* 80 *per cent of the war contracts were let in the industrialized areas of the North and West, migration out of these states averaged about* 300,000 *a year.*

Wartime movements of population between regions have therefore contributed to the solution of the economic problems of this area, for you have not lost so many workers that you will not have people to run the post-war plant. These movements, however, give you a particularly great interest in the levels of employment in other parts of the country. The inability of these areas to furnish employment to people now living there and to their returning veterans would expose this 13-*state area to a return flow of migrants of disturbing proportions.*

While I am talking about migration, however, I should like to point out how large the internal migration has been in this area. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has just completed a survey of a cross-section of urban families in which we incidentally found out about migration between December 1941 and the fall of 1944. The sample is so small that it can tell us only whether families have migrated from farms to cities or from one city to another.

On the Pacific Coast we find the highest proportion of migrants; 20 per cent of the families or single individuals now living in cities had lived on farms or in other cities three years ago. But the next largest shake-up of population has occurred here in the South.

In the South Atlantic States 18 *per cent of those now in cities have migrated within the last three years; in the East South Central States,* 14 *per cent are migrants. Contrast these figures with those for New England. There all but* 5 *per cent of the families and single individuals now living in cities had lived in those same cities in* 1941. In New England war production was largely carried on by marshalling existing resources where they were found. In this region in fighting the war you have had to engage in an almost unparalleled migration.

INCREASE IN URBANIZATION

Again in summary, however, I wish to point out that these wartime movements have been in directions that are consistent with your long-run interests. They have been movements from farm to city. There has on balance been a net migration that relieves the pressure of population on resources.

There is one particular implication in these migratory movements to which attention should be called. The outward migration has provided other areas with workers that have been carried through the years of childhood, that have been educated, and in many cases received some work experience in the South. After passing their early years in the South — unproductive ones in terms of their immediate contribution to the output of the nation's goods — they then move on to other areas which can reap the fruit of this nurture and training.

Data for the 1935-40 *period indicate that of those who left the South in that period, about* 3/8*ths in the* 25-34 *age group had a high school education or better, and* 6/7*ths had an eighth grade education or better.*

Naturally this give and take between areas

works both ways, with migrants and capital from other areas entering the South. But on balance the South has been making a contribution to the other richer parts of the country. There are important political implications in any program of federal grants-in-aid for maternal or child health or for education which I am not competent to discuss. It can be pointed out, however, on the basis of past trends, of population movements during the war and of future outlook, that this 13-state area as a whole has the same sort of claim to assistance, relative to the country as a whole. that have been recognized in recent decades for rural areas relative to cities in individual states.

As I have already indicated, I think it would be a mistake to assume that the problem of adequate employment and more adequate incomes for the people of this region must be solved entirely within the boundaries of these 13 states.

After all, in 1940 you did have almost one-third of the nation's children, who will become workers, and only slightly more than one sixth of its manufacturing wage earners. If agricultural employment should contract, it is asking a great deal that the non-agricultural base should expand so rapidly as to eliminate the need for net migration.

I, myself, do not believe that it is possible or desirable, and therefore assume that net out-migration will occur and should occur without making too great a drain on the resources of this area for the cost of rearing and educating children who later do migrate.

I want to say emphatically, however, that my acceptance of out-migration as a necessary phenomenon for some years more does not imply in the least that I do not believe in the industrial future of this area. On the contrary, I know that this area has been growing industrially more rapidly than any other part of the country with the possible exception of the Pacific Coast. I know also that, if the need for migration is to be held down to reasonable dimensions, industrial development should go forward at an even more rapid rate than in the past.

THE SOUTH'S PRE-WAR RECORD

Let's look at what happened from 1929 to 1937. Manufacturing employment in the United States went up only 3 per cent. In Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, it went up over 20 per cent. In all but 4 of these 13 Southern states manufacturing employment increased more than 7 per cent, that is, at least twice as rapidly as in the country as a whole. The only states of industrial importance that grew as rapidly as the Southern seaboard states were Michigan and Maryland. Even in the three Southern States with less manufacturing employment in 1937 than in 1929 — Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana — the decrease was due to the stagnation of the construction industry in the country generally and to the importance of sawmill operations in the manufacturing economy of these particular states. Apart from the building materials industries, manufacturing employment grew 6 per cent in the country as a whole; it grew by more than this amount in all of the 13 states represented at this conference.

This was no new trend. For many years industrialization had been proceeding more rapidly in this section than in the country as a whole. From 1910 to 1920 the number of non-agricultural workers increased 25 per cent and from 1920 to 1930 by 34 per cent. While the absolute growth of non-agricultural employment, which I understand the Department of Agriculture would like to see as an aid to its agricultural program for the South, is larger than has ever occurred in any decade, so also is the industrial base from which this expansion should be achieved. Large as these increases would be, there is nothing fantastic about them when they are translated into percentage terms and are compared with the record of earlier decades. The projected desired increase is one of 37 per cent in non-agricultural employment for the period 1940 to 1950 and of another 16 per cent for the six year period 1950 to 1956.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR

The war has resulted in very great increases in industrial employment. Despite the continued high level of out-migration and the drop in civilian population in these 13 states, employment rose markedly during the war years. Here, as elsewhere in the nation, employment increases drew on three groups of workers: those unemployed at the start of the war effort (nationally there were nearly eight million unemployed in 1940) and new entrants into the labor force, particularly teen-age workers and women over 35. The overall gain in non-farm employment was even greater than the increases in total employment because of the continued drain of workers from the farms to war jobs in the cities.

As a result of these many factors, overall employment in non-farm businesses in the 13 state area rose by almost a third between March

1940 and March 1944 — from 5.8 millions to 7.7 millions.

These totals do not include the self-employed or domestics and casual workers. They do include government civilian employes as well as those of private businesses. They are preliminary estimates compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and made possible through the cooperation we are receiving from the Social Security Board and the state Bureaus of Unemployment Compensation.

Better estimates for individual states will be available in a few months from a project which was appropriated for by Congress last December. Formal cooperative arrangements have already been worked out with Arkansas, North Carolina, Texas and Virginia, while we have received generous informal assistance from many others.

We hope that the states represented at your conference will increasingly be able to set up working arrangements with us on mutually satisfactory terms. Detailed figures of employment by industry and area, such as will be available, are essential to measure the speed and success of our demobilization and reconversion policies.

The preliminary figures that are available show that in the 13-state region non-agricultural employment increased at least as rapidly as in the country as a whole: 32 per cent as compared with 31; and more rapidly than in the industrialized Northeast where the number of non-agricultural employes increased only 23 per cent.

This is the more remarkable when you consider that the largest base for the metal manufacturing industries, that were most stimulated by war production, was outside this 13-state region. Indeed the only section that certainly expanded much more rapidly than the 13-state region was the Pacific Coast where the number of non-agricultural employees increased about 65 per cent.

While I do not have similar figures for individual states as yet, it is clear that this growth in non-agricultural employment was shared by all 13 states here represented. The largest increases — 40 per cent or more — would seem to have occurred in Alabama, Tennessee and Texas; the smallest — less than 30 per cent — in the Carolinas, Virginia, Kentucky, Arkansas and Mississippi. Yet even in these states the increase was almost as large as, or was greater than, the expansion in the Northeastern states as a whole.

CONCENTRATION OF INCREASED EMPLOYMENT

For the 13-state area as a whole the gains in employment in the four years from March 1940 to March 1944 were pretty definitely concentrated in certain well-known and obvious categories. Federal war employment in March 1940 — in modification centers, army bases, ports of embarkation, and the special wartime agencies — accounted for about 38,000 workers in the entire 13-state area. Four years later, the figure was 572,000. Ordnance rose from a trivial figure to 97,000; aircraft from perhaps one thousand to 160,000; shipbuilding from less than 20,000 to better than 300,000.

Thus activities which are very directly connected with the war and which will be cut back most sharply after the war account for nearly 1,100,000 of the total increase of about 1,900,000 in the number of non-agricultural employees.

This war-time employment gain can obviously not be held in these same lines of employment. If it could be, most of Mr. Ezekiel's problem would be solved, for the gain that he feels needs to be made over the decade is only slightly larger than that which has occurred in the four war years. But more than half of this gain will disappear quickly after the end of the war with Japan.

A recent study by the BLS of the disposition of five duPont munitions plants in World War I, including Old Hickory, the largest in the world at the time, found that employment was cut quickly from a level of 85,000 employees on Armistice Day to 18,000 only seven weeks later. Clearly munitions plants will not be representative of the cutback speed for all industries. But such wartime plants do constitute a significant part of the South's current employment totals.

Cutbacks in the South after the war is over will be slightly more serious than in the country as a whole. The employment figures themselves show this. The four lines I have mentioned — ships, aircraft, ordnance, and Government employment — account for 53 per cent of the increase in the number of nonagricultural employees in the country as a whole but for 58 per cent of the increase in the 13 southern states.

The seriousness of the problems of the South is also reflected in the figures for investment in new plants and equipment. By and large the plants set up with Government funds have

tended to be in the riskier industries and are thought to have darker prospects than those erected by private capital. In large measure this is because they have no peacetime markets to which to return. Therefore, when we note that in the 13-state area, 81 per cent of the war-built (July 1940-June 1944) facilities are Government owned as compared with 65 per cent for all other states, we can see where a special difficulty confronts your area.

Beyond this total of war jobs in war plants there has also been a large increase of service employments and trade in towns near Army camps.

BASIC GAINS IN MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT

While it would be foolish to close our eyes to the problem — to hope that every town that is bursting at its seams to serve an encampment will find some new and equally large source of business after the war, or to believe that most shipyards and aircraft factories will employ any large fraction of their present numbers — there have also been large gains in the South in other manufacturing industries. The non-metal using industries have expanded employment 24 per cent or slightly more than the national average. In absolute numbers perhaps half the gain in manufacturing employment during the war may be said to be of a relatively permanent type. Here again the record is at least as good as that of the rest of the country.

These increases of employment have of course not been evenly distributed, though I have indicated that the gains by states range from about 20 to 40 per cent. An average of 32 per cent for the 13 states as a whole, however, covers a far wider range of local differences. Thus non-agricultural employment in the Winston-Salem-Greensboro area rose by 6 per cent, and in Nashville by 8 per cent. But over the same period gains of nearly 50 per cent were registered in San Antonio, Lake Charles, Jacksonville and New Orleans, while employment in some other war activity centers rose well over 100 per cent: Hattiesburg increased its non-farm employment by 105 per cent, Charleston by 132 per cent, Mobile by 181 per cent, and Panama City by 313 per cent.

It is evident from these figures that there is going to have to be internal migration on a large scale after the war is over, no matter how well the region as a whole develops. It simply will not be possible for every city, no matter what its wartime expansion, to furnish employment for everyone now there.

For example, in Mobile, Pine Bluff, Panama City, Brunswick, Wilmington (N. C.), Charleston, Humboldt (Tenn.) and Hampton Roads, more people are employed in war industries alone than were employed in all non-agricultural employments in 1940. In some of these areas the war industries now account for two or three times as many workers as the total formerly employed in all types of manufacturing, trade and other business.

This kind of situation leads to several conclusions. First and foremost, I would say, is this: Since many cities with war-swollen employment must decline, many other cities will not be doing their part toward reemployment in the South after the war unless they employ many more people than are working in them today. Secondly, a very strong system of employment offices is going to be needed to assist people to move to jobs with a maximum of certainty. There will have to be migration across state lines as well as from city to city.

I find some encouragement with reference to the post-war outlook from the fact that employment opportunities in non-munitions industries now clearly exceed the available labor supply. There are many essential industries, of which textiles and lumber may be the most obvious illustrations, in which there is a present demand for more workers than are available. The situations in these industries probably trace back to their wages and to the relationship of wages in the South to the rest of the country. This is not to say that wages and earnings have not increased. Weekly earnings in cotton textiles in the South, for example, rose from $14 in 1940 to nearly $25 and to $26 in 1944. But even so it has been possible for workers to earn more by shifting into the metal-using industries or by moving to other areas.

Thus the drain of workers from the lower-wage industries into munitions has been particularly heavy and it has not been possible to attract workers from other areas after the local labor supply has been exhausted. But for this fact the gains in employment during the war would have been even greater and under conditions of general prosperity throughout the country there are many lines of employment for the production and distribution of civilian goods and services that must be expanded.

I also find encouragement in another fact. There is a wealth of new plants, new equipment, and newly trained labor now present in the South. These are available for immediate use

in expanding the postwar production and markets in your States and in the nation. The South has lacked its share of metal trades. Before the war 30 out of each 100 workers in manufacturing industries in the Northeastern states worked in the metal-using industries; in the 13-state Southern region, only 9 out of 100. It is true that the particular industrial operations developed during the war are likely to be ephemeral, but they should leave a permanent residue of skill and equipment that can be turned to the service of this area. It should never again be said that the South lacks skilled labor.

SOUTHERN WORKERS ARE EFFICIENT

In passing let me stop to blast one false idea that I often hear expressed—that labor in the South is less efficient than labor in the North. Before the days of minimum wages—and even today in some low-wage areas—we have found that labor is less efficiently employed in some Southern plants than in any Northern plants in our sample. Thus a hosiery mill could use obsolete equipment if it could hire labor for 15 or 20 cents an hour when other mills are paying 30 and 40 cents. Handstemming of tobacco could compete with machine stemming when labor could be hired for $1 a day. Since there are more isolated examples of extremely inefficient use of labor in the South than in the North, averages for an industry as a whole will generally show greater production per hour in the North than in the South. But I have yet to encounter and industry with clear regional differentiation of efficiency given equally good materials, equipment and management. And the wartime record of ship production bears out my assertion that the South has a proven supply of skilled workers.

WAGES DURING THE WAR

The data on earnings and wages are less adequate on a regional basis for the early part of the war period than the data on employment. Perhaps the best single overall measure of earnings that we can use is for the earnings of workers in plants covered by the unemployment compensation laws. These plants included most of the industrial workers in the 13-state area and the annual average earnings figure for this group will therefore be one of the most informative we can deal with.

There was a slow rise from 1939 to 1940, a marked gain in 1941, and gains twice as large in 1942 and 1943. Over the entire period the average earnings figure rose from a little over $1,000 a year to $1,642 a year, with a further increase in 1944 for which figures are not yet available. This reflects not only wage rate changes but also longer hours of work and greater opportunity for employment in shipyards, aircraft plants and other relatively higher paying industries.

Our data on wage rates as such, which will be available for future periods, begin on a comprehensive basis with April 1943, when the Bureau of Labor Statistics initiated extensive surveys for the War Labor Board. In the urban areas of the Southeast, for example, basic wage rates in manufacturing went up 8 per cent from April 1943 to October 1944, about the same as the national average. In the Southwest, the gain was roughly 7 per cent. In Atlanta the increase was a shade under 8 per cent, and similar rises show up in Birmingham, Memphis and other war centers.

Over the same period and in the same areas, the rates outside of manufacturing — in power laundries, in department stores, gas companies, banks and auto repair shops, for example — gained more than in manufacturing. For a group of nonmanufacturing industries selected as reasonably typical, the rate gain in the southeast between April 1943 and October 1944 period was 21 per cent, over against a manufacturing rate gain of only 8 per cent.

In Houston, for example, the gain in the trade and service groups ran to 20 per cent while manufacturing wage rates rose by only 3 per cent. Generally speaking these nonmanufacturing industries were not under Federal minimum wage regulation and their wages were lower than those in manufacturing. The wartime demand for labor has resulted in pulling up the lowest wage scale so that today there are comparatively few workers in either manufacturing or nonmanufacturing industries getting less than 40 cents an hour and there has been widespread application through the War Labor Board for minimum rates of 50 cents or more.

Personally, I feel that the elimination of very low wages has been an advantage to this region. In many instances we know that efficiency has been increased enough to offset fully the increase of wages. Certainly the markets afforded by people fully employed at fair wages will do much to offset one of the disadvantages under which the South has labored — the thinness of the local market. One of the questions which is worth careful examination is to what extent industry in your area will

better its competitive position by remaining a relatively low wage area and to what extent it can better its competitive position by the continued development of progressive management and the increasingly effective utilization of labor.

AN ATLANTA STUDY

Let me note the results of one other study that the Bureau of Labor Statistics is making with the cooperation of the management of the University Homes and John Hope Homes in Atlanta. It bears on the question of wartime employment trends and postwar problems. We have almost completed a study of the incomes of families living in these two public housing projects for Negroes. The record extends from 1937 to 1944. It is a reasonably homogeneous sample because in the face of the housing shortage it was necessary to suspend provisions for the eviction of families whose incomes rose to the point where they might pay commercial rents. I don't pretend that it is typical of the South or of all Negroes in the South. It may be typical of what happened to Negro incomes in Atlanta. For my present purposes that is not important. Preliminary summaries which were prepared especially for this meeting show the following:

1. The average family income increased about 65 per cent between 1940 and 1944. In University Homes the average went from about $950 to $1,400 and in John Hope Homes from slightly more than $700 to nearly $1,300.
2. There has been a marked improvement in the type of employment available for men. Before the war, half of the male workers were employed as janitors or porters or in personal service occupations. In 1944 only about a third were still in these occupations that pay the lowest rates. At the other end of the wage scale are railway employees, white collar workers, construction workers and laborers and semi-skilled workers in war plants and army installations. During the pre-war years less than a fifth of the men were found in these occupations; in 1944 more than a third were so employed.
3. Earnings in particular occupations increased because of more regular employment and of wage rate changes. The earnings of Pullman porters rose from about $1,100 before the war to nearly $1,800 in 1944. Other male occupations had averaged $650 to $750 before the war. In 1944 they were paying $1,200 to $1,400, except in the case of waiters and chauffeurs for private families who averaged less than $1,100. The earnings of Negro women working as clerks, typists and secretaries rose from $630 to nearly $1,000 or about 60 per cent. In other occupations studied, excepting maids in private families and waitresses, they had averaged $400 to $500 before the war; in 1944 they averaged $700 to $800 or more.

   Only in the case of servants of private families have earnings risen less than 40 per cent and in many occupations earnings have doubled.
4. The opportunity to earn more money in a given job and also to move to better paying jobs has meant that the average earnings of individual workers have increased about 95 per cent.
5. Note that individual earnings rose more than family earnings. What happened? In the face of rising incomes for the husband, an increasing number of women withdrew from the labor market and assumed responsibility for the care of their families.

I am quite certain that this has made it harder to get your laundry done in Atlanta. It certainly means that maids for $5 a week are no more than memories.

POST-WAR WAGES AND EARNINGS

I don't want to forecast quantitatively what is going to happen to wages and earnings in the South after the war. Total earnings will certainly go down, for it is the high wage employments that will be cut back most and the lower paying industries that are most likely to expand. Hours of work will also be reduced. The pressure on unskilled and semi-skilled wage scales will also be substantial, though this will be checked as long as the War Labor Board operates under its present statute and is checked — at least at the 40 cent level — by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

But one thing I would like to point out. The income of workers laid off in the South will not be as well maintained while they are looking for other employment as it will be in the North. This is partly because the standards of unemployment compensation are generally somewhat lower. But incomes will also be lower because the South has relatively a larger number of workers who cannot draw unemployment compensation.

Thus the number of Government employees who will be laid off in the South equals the number in shipbuilding, aircraft, and ordnance. Outside of the South there are only half as many Government war agency employees as there are workers in these industries. The latter workers are entitled to unemployment compensation; Federal employees, along with domestic servants and maritime employees working out of Mobile and New Orleans, are not. This situation may be changed by legislation now pending, but at this moment the South is at a disadvantage because of those uncovered employments.

FULL EMPLOYMENT, KEY TO CONFIDENCE

But what is significant to the basic postwar problem of full employment is this: When unemployment is rife and wages are low, the number of people who must hunt for work increases. On the other hand, when there is full employment and wages are good, the number of workers decreases. It follows that the maintenance of full employment at fair wages would itself partly solve the problem of getting full employment — solve it in part by bringing about a voluntary decrease in the size of the labor force. On the other hand, depression itself breeds further unemployment by forcing additional members of the family to hunt for jobs.

This may sound to you like an elaborate kind of double talk — the existence of full employment makes it easier to maintain full employment! But it is by no means the only or the most important example of a situation in which the *assurance* of full employment would help to bring about full employment. The significance in this regard of the Murray-Wagner-Thomas-O'Mahoney Full Employment Bill now pending before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee can be illustrated from what I have been saying about the South. No one questions the fact that a tremendous increase of nonagricultural employment is needed in this area in order to raise its level of living to levels already attained in many other parts of the country.

No one doubts that businessmen could quickly discover what kinds of goods were needed in the vastly expanded markets that full employment under peacetime conditions would bring in its wake. But how many business men can you find who are prepared to build factories as soon as materials are available on the assumption that the million shipyard and other war workers who will be laid off will be quickly reemployed in these 13 states? Or are they rather inclined to wait and see before they make a long-run investment that will be warranted only if these peoples were reemployed?

If the businessman does wait — and under present conditions I do not blame him for being cautious — by that very act of postponement he lessens the immediate demand for products and hence the amount of employment private industry can create. On the other hand, if he were sure of the size of the total market, I suspect there would be a rush to invest in new plants and equipment such as this country has never seen.

It is our job to find ways and means of giving him the assurance he needs. With that assurance given — and I mean assurance — we can count on him to find the particular types of production that call for expansion and to choose appropriate locations.

In that kind of a national setting the South stands to gain almost more than any other section of the country. So far, the Murray Bill is the only measure that has been proposed to give businessmen and farmers and workers the assurance that full employment will exist after the war.

How Southern Government-Owned War Plants Can Aid Small Business

ROGER STEVENS

Chief of Industrial Plant Division, Smaller War Plants Corporation, Washington, D. C.

WHEN the war production period is over, the Government will own approximately fourteen hundred industrial plants, that is, manufacturing plants.

They will have cost somewhere in the neighborhood of some sixteen to seventeen billion dollars. They will include approximately 430,000,000 square feet of floor space. Maybe it will be easier to visualize it as ten thousand acres, ten thousand acres of industrial plant floor space.

The plants are large. Out of that 430,000,000 square feet approximately 94 per cent is in plants whose individual areas are one hundred thousand square feet or more.

A one hundred thousand square foot war plant is a small war plant, but in order to get one hundred thousand square feet you might have a single building a hundred feet wide and a thousand feet long, or two hundred feet wide and five hundred feet long. That is a great big plant in most towns.

About fifty-five per cent of that 430,000,000 square feet is in plants having areas of one million square feet or more. And a million square feet would be ten buildings two hundred feet by five hundred feet. That is the size of the problem nationally.

The South, as we define it here, thirteen states, has somewhere in the neighborhood of three and a half billion dollars worth of government-owned war plants. Now, that is approximately one-fifth of the total on the dollar basis.

There are two further figures that will be of interest. The 430,000,000 square feet of industrial floor space represents somewhere near 20 per cent of the total industrial plant space in the country before the war. That figure is a little difficult to substantiate because, unfortunately, the Census Bureau did not carry any accurate figures on the industrial plant space before the war. But it is, within reason, accurate. The figure probably would hit somewhere between seventeen and twenty-four or twenty-five per cent.

A further interesting figure is this: that approximately one-third of all the people now engaged in war production are engaged in production in those Government owned plants. That is, one-third of the labor force involved in war production will inevitably be out of jobs from the time the war contracts are terminated in the war plants — in the government-owned plants — until we get those plants back into some kind of production or until they find jobs elsewhere in industry.

It isn't difficult to see that the successful solution for the problem of getting these government-owned war plants back into production, will determine largely the success or failure of our attempts to get into some kind of normal production swing after the war.

Advantages of Multiple Tenancy

About a year ago, the Smaller War Plants Corporation asked me to make a special study of these government-owned war plants. I was asked in particular to look into these plants with reference to their being used to help the small business man in our post-war economy.

After spending weeks gathering the facts which I have already cited, the size of the

plants, the role they might play in post-war employment, it became apparent to me that we could not hope to solve the problem of getting these large plants into production in the shortest possible time if we chose to seek an individual buyer for each individual plant.

The reason for this becomes obvious when we examine the normal routine involved for any one large company to arrive at the decision to purchase or construct a new plant.

If a company wants to expand its industrial facilities, it looks over the whole country, or at least that part of the country that is suitable to its industry. It will spend a year or maybe two years investigating communities to see what the labor supply is, to see what the labor conditions are, what wage rates are, what the tax situation is, whether the tax burden on the plant will be greater than it can carry. It investigates the sources of raw materials to see if it can get raw materials that it needs, and when it needs them, at reasonable transportation costs. It looks over a given community from the standpoint of its distance to its principal markets to make sure that it won't use up all of its profits in transporting its products to the market.

All of these things take a long time. Then it decides what type of plant it wants and the type of construction it can afford to buy or build.

Now if you start off with a group of thirteen or fourteen hundred plants whose sizes and types of construction were already determined, not by ordinary peacetime production requirements, but by specific war conditions and whose locations were determined by war expediencies rather than normal industrial considerations, you can see that it is almost impossible to try to match up individual company requirements with such individual plants.

That, together with the enormous size of the war plants, led to a decision, on my part at least, that the only feasible way to get these plants into operation in the post-war period is to operate them as what we commonly call "multiple tenancy facilities."

Here is what is meant: we have got a plant in a given location that is too big for any one company. It is physically not suited to the needs of any one company; its location is not appropriate to the needs of any one company. But there are always in any given locality a lot of small companies who need space. Obviously, the thing to do is to subdivide the big plant and rent space in it, in suitable units, to anybody that wants it.

I was for a number of years in the engineering business in New York and was familiar with the Bush Terminal Company, the New York Dock Company and the Port of New York Authority Industrial Center. Each of those is exactly what I propose to make of the major war plants. One has about five and a half million square feet and the other about six million square feet extending two or three miles along the Brooklyn water front.

You could go to them and if you are a little trucker with a fleet of trucks to rent out to manufacturers, you can get space for a garage in one of their plants. If you just want a place to take orders and have a girl at the telephone to schedule your trucks out, you can get a little space about half the size of this table to put a telephone on. Or you can get a half million square feet of space in a multi-story building and go ahead and manufacture cocoanut products. The thing is done. It has background existing back over forty or fifty years. Most of the bugs have been wiped out of that type of operation.

My proposal specifically is this: that we encourage local groups to form in a given case a corporation to buy a suitable local plant from the Government at the most advantageous terms that can be arranged, subdivide it as needed, re-run the utilities, water, sewer, steam, air, gas lines, lighting and ventilation; and rent space to all comers for whatever their businesses may be.

MULTIPLE TENANCY AND THE SOUTH

There is a field in the general picture that I have explored rather carefully and which applies particularly, I think, to the Southern States. I think it applies here especially because you presumably are getting ready for a surge along these lines of industrial development.

I think everybody agrees that a diversification in the development of industry in the South is essential to the development of the sound economy here, and the proposals that I make in connection with the use of the war plants will work toward a particularly wholesome development of that kind.

Take, for example, a community which has a single large war plant. Take a community, for example, of fifty to sixty thousand people in which a war plant has been constructed that hires ten thousand people. That is a moderate

sized war plant. If a single corporation buys that plant and fills it up with its own manufacturing operations, we'll have ten thousand people working for the one corporation.

That will be a fair-sized chunk out of the total employable labor in that town of fifty thousand people.

That corporation will probably carry one moderate-sized bank account in the city. It will carry its payroll account and current cash account. Almost surely the greater part of its funds will be carried in the banking correspondent in the nearest large financial center. That corporation will have its own closely integrated service departments. It will have its own lawyers, probably on salary. It will have its own engineering staff, on salary. It will run its own fleet of trucks. It will have enough trucks so that it will maintain its own service garage. It will buy its own gasoline and oil at wholesale and run its own service station. It will do its own mimeographing and multigraphing, photography, blueprinting. It will have a fully integrated accounting staff. It will have an industrial physician on salary and run a first aid establishment. All of those relatively minor service operations will be carried on by the corporation itself.

Now, let us assume that a local group takes over that plant as a multiple tenancy facility and fills it up with a group of, we'll say, one hundred small concerns, each of whom hires a hundred people on the average.

There you have your ten thousand people taken care of again. But each of those small concerns will probably have one of two or three trucks. That is not enough trucks to justify a private garage, leaving room for a number of commercial garages to operate in the town. None of those concerns can afford to buy gasoline at wholesale, or can buy gasoline at wholesale, so the local service stations will benefit. These hundred concerns will provide enough business to support a number of local physicians with their industrial compensation business, and local hospitals will get first aid business. There will be room in that town for multigraphing, mimeographing, real estate offices, engineers, lawyers, blueprinting establishments, and all of the service industries that such a group of industries will support will find a place in the town.

ADVANTAGES OF INDUSTRIAL DIVERSITY

Now see what that means. If a man wants to go into business — a returning war veteran or any other young man — he is considerably limited by the amount of capital he has available as to the type of business he can choose.

A man with two or three thousand dollars, or ten thousand dollars, is almost limited to service types of business. A town that has catered to the establishment of a large group of small industries is going to be in an incubator for new small businesses. The only way we can get a wholesome big business economy is by fostering the establishing of small businesses.

The whole development of industrial towns has indicated the desirability of industrial diversification.

One of the best examples of the multiple tenancy operation is the Amoskeag Mills in Manchester, New Hampshire. Manchester was a town of about forty or fifty thousand people, which grew up around Amoskeag Mills, the biggest cotton textile plant in the world. At the peak in the late twenties, Amoskeag Mills employed about thirteen thousand of the twenty-six thousand people employed in the town. Due to a number of conditions, including the tendency of the New England textile industry to move South and take advantage of lower wage rates and a number of other considerations, Amoskeag Mills closed down.

The town of Manchester was faced with the loss of just about fifty per cent of its total payrolls, and that means ruin to any town. This was in the early thirties. A group of local business men, the local hardware dealer, the local undertaker, the two bankers, the drygoods store owner, and others of that kind of people got together and bought the mill property from the defunct corporation.

Over a period of about eight years they managed to fill about half the company property with small businesses. They restored nearly half of the previous payrolls to the town. That made the difference between a town that was simply a ghost city and a town that was going along. When the war came they filled up all the space, of course, and Manchester now is one of the most properous of the New England towns.

There is a warning in the case of Manchester for other cities which are on the make industrially. A one-company town can be wiped out by a general depression or by a depression in the business in which that one company engages. A town with a whole lot of industries can't be badly hurt.

In every city in the country there were a great many industries that survived, and some industries actually prospered as a result of the depression.

What that means to the South in its building upsurge industrially, it seems to me, is rather obvious. You have got some one-company towns now. You are not as badly cursed with them as some parts of the country have been. You have got your picture to make, and it seems to me that that should be kept always in the forefront of your planning minds, that you can't afford to get too great a proportion of the industrial development in any city tied up with a single company or a single industry.

The post-war industrial welfare of the country is going to be tied in integrally with the success or failure of our efforts to put these war plants into operation. The success or failure of the attempt of any single community to get into a wholesome post-war industrial condition will be dependent largely upon its ability to use the war plants effectively. That statement, of course, is limited to those communities that have war plants. But where there is a war plant in a community, it will almost surely control the success or failure of the post-war industrial development.

How to Go About Getting a Government-Owned War Plant

The next question is this: How does one go about the businesss of getting hold of a government-owned war plant?

First of all, Smaller War Plants Corporation is setting itself up now to be the agency which will assist any community, or individuals and groups in the community, who wish to get hold of war plants. Since the Surplus Property Board was formed and the Surplus Property Act became effective, we have been working with the Board and the Disposal Agencies, and we are beginning to see a fairly good picture now.

Let us suppose that one of you aspired to form a corporation to take over a particular war plant.

You would first of all get together suitable people in your community so that you would know that you have a reasonable assurance of basic financial backing and community backing. Next go to the local district manager or division director of the Smaller War Plants Corporation and outline your proposals.

He would approach the local manager of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which is the disposal agency for industrial plants, and inform him of the desire of the local group. At the same time he would notify the industrial plants division of the Corporation in Washington. Industrial plants are being handled somewhat differently from other surplus disposals. They are being handled on a centralized basis by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, in Washington, so, where in the other cases of surplus disposals, our local offices are operating almost autonomously, in the case of the industrial plants, we are trying to run parallel negotiations, one negotiation in the community between the local agencies and another negotiation in Washington between the central offices of the agencies involved.

Our local office and our office in Washington would then attempt to get the most favorable, the most appropriate terms for the purchase of that property — and that is a great big negotiation.

Evaluating War Plants

I will outline a little bit of what we are up against and what we are trying to do.

First of all, each of the operators of the government-owned industrial plants has an option for the purchase of the plant. That option provides that he can purchase the plant within ninety days after his production contracts are closed or terminated, at a price which is represented by the cost of the plant, less five per cent per year depreciation on the building, less 12½ per cent depreciation per year on the equipment. The option specifically operates only on the entire plant and equipment. And the options are apparently not going to be taken up in very many cases because they frequently represent very high prices.

The average government-owned industrial plant has cost a good deal more than what a parallel plant would cost in peace times. This is not a criticism of anyone; it is a condition inherent in war time construction.

When you have abnormally high costs, it is impossible to arrive at a rational selling price by the application of any depreciation factor. You may be able to get a fair price, but not a rational price.

So the first thing we must do is de-water the values of these plants. We are working now towards the establishment of a method of evaluating the plants. The tendency up to now has been to make an appraisal based upon re-

production costs. We do not approve of reproduction costs as a basis for appraisals for this reason: Reproduction cost is an effective criterion of value only if you can answer "yes" to one question. That question is: Given the money, given the opportunity, would you *now* build exactly that plant in exactly that location? Obviously, you can't answer "yes" to that question with a great number of war plants. Therefore reproduction cost is not a sound criterion of value.

I propose that it would be appropriate for an appraisal board to be appointed to consist of a local banker, a local industrial real estate man, a local civic representative, possibly appointed by the local chamber of commerce, and a local member of the disposal agency, which, in general, will be the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

I propose first of all then that they examine the plant and determine the actual rentable area; then, that they survey the community and determine the average long-time earning power of space of that kind in that community in terms of price per square foot per year; that they then apply the one to the other and say, "This is what we believe the property can reasonably be expected to earn over a long period of time;" and that they then capitalize that earning power and use the result as the basis for establishing its value.

Smaller War Plants Corporation will, when approached by a group that wants to buy a plant, give every possible assistance to help in arriving at some such reasonable basis for valuation as that.

PURCHASE TERMS

Then there is the matter of purchase terms. Again I propose that the purchase terms be made very easy. It seems to me that five per cent cash payment on a plant of this type, considering the immense value that its operation will have to the community, is adequate. Maybe in some cases, ten per cent would be better, but I think the plants should be sold on relatively easy terms, both as to first payment and as to length of mortgage period and mortgage terms.

To establish a suitable price and suitable purchase terms for a particular plant will require a careful study; and careful consideration of all the factors that determine value and earning power. The tendency certainly should be toward making it as easy as possible for a suitable buyer to acquire the property. And he should be able to get it on such terms that he can earn money with it, or nobody will be ahead.

Smaller War Plants Corporation is further developing the facilities of its regional offices to maintain files of information as to suitable local industries. In many cases our regional offices will be able to carry on independent research to put together information relative to the location and types of suitable industries.

The intent of Congress to foster the establishment and welfare of small business and independent enterprise was clearly set forth in the Surplus Property Act of 1944.

The power conferred upon Smaller War Plants Corporation to make loans for the acquisition, reconversion and operation of surplus properties reflects the determination that assistance shall be made available to small business in its endeavor to make use of the war facilities.

How far and in what manner these powers will be exercised and this assistance given is not yet clearly apparent. But it seems to me that almost any small business that proposes to acquire and use a war plant or war plant material in its activities is a pretty good candidate and could profitably make application for the help it needs.

Where surplus property is not directly involved, I think the eligibility for assistance is not so apparent as far as financial help is concerned. But I am certain that help along other lines would be forthcoming even in those cases.

The government-owned war plants hold the key to a large part of our successful reconversion in the communities where they have been constructed. I feel that each person in such a community should be actively thinking about what he can do to make those plants available to the community and to himself.

It seems to me that these plants represent one of the best opportunities that has come along for a long time for a man or a group to get control of a valuable and potentially profitable property with the risk of a relatively very small amount of money, and at the same time materially to advance the general welfare. I think it is an opportunity that should not be lost sight of.

Southern Industry and Post-War Markets

WILFORD WHITE

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RIGHT now it would be hard to select a region in the United States with greater opportunities than are being offered by the South. It is an area abundantly fortified with raw materials and amply equipped with manpower. The war has greatly stepped up its management know-how, skills, plant and equipment. We can with reason and sound logic call it a number one frontier. And what we make of this frontier during the next ten years is largely up to us.

In speaking of the South and post-war markets, I take it that I am not expected to list for you specific markets for particular products, to estimate the dollar volume of these markets, or to tell you how soon you can invade them with civilian goods. Rather, I shall outline procedures so that you may weigh my ideas with yours in your building of market plans for individual products, for individual states and cities.

Markets are people, products, and purchasing power. The existence of a market further assumes the production of these products, their distribution to the point of consumption, and a willingness upon the part of the consumers to exchange their purchasing power for them.

People are not predictable, except in large groups. They don't stay put and they do change their minds. This means that market research is a dynamic subject, ever changing, never quite the same from day to day.

Because of this dynamic characteristic of the market, I would like to emphasize at the outset: Start your planning with the ultimate consumer, not with a product. It makes no difference how new, shiny or attractive the product is. It makes no difference how economical it is. It makes no difference how much Ummph it has. If the consumer does not feel that he has a need for it and if he cannot be convinced that he is wrong, you make neither a sale nor a net profit.

Types of Consumers

After all, this is the correct approach. Our economic system is for the benefit of the ultimate consumer. If we as consuming individuals did not need food, clothing and shelter, there would be no need for business . . . there would be no business at all. Therefore, we are in business because the ultimate consumer needs things and services.

It is easy to fall into the impression sometimes that the consumer serves the purpose of buying what we have to sell. But when we get far enough away from our immediate tasks, we realize that we are in business to serve the consumer, and our net profits at the end of the year represent, in a measure, the foresight and management ability we exercise in that direction. This is not philanthropy. It is good hard common sense, as large, successful, merchandising organizations can tell you.

I assume that no one in this room would make the mistake of producing a product and then trying to find a market for it. Certainly not. But I did hear once of a manufacturer who designed a product, produced it, and then found out that he could in less than six months supply *every* potential customer in the United States with *all* the machines each could use in a lifetime. And he was a large manufacturer of industrial machinery. If he had been a small manufacturer, he most certainly would not have spent $500,000 to learn that lesson.

There are two types of customers and, therefore, two types of markets. One is the ultimate

consumer . . . the 130 million men and women in the United States. The other is the industrial consumer . . . the 3 million individual businesses in the country . . . which buy paper and light bulbs and lubricating oil . . . as well as raw materials and machinery and large industrial buildings.

So far, we have been using the term "Markets" as though it had no geographical meaning. Markets are people, but people live some place. In this respect, the markets for goods manufactured in the South can be divided into three groups: those located in the South itself, those located in the remainder of the United States, and those located abroad. I should like to concentrate on markets in the South. Certainly that is the first place to look in selling products produced in the South.

In studying the markets of the South, we should start not only with the individual consumer, but with products and services which are produced or brought into the market for these consumers. The number of these items is tremendous. I was shown a wholesale catalog a few years ago and was told that it contained descriptions of over 90,000 hardware items alone. Even in the smallest retail grocery store, there may be several hundred different items, the ingredients of some of which came from the four corners of the globe.

INDUSTRIES FOR THE SOUTH

We do not, and we cannot produce in the South, all the products which we need and desire to consume. But we do product many, and as time goes on we shall be able to produce more. In expanding manufacturing, what lines should we take on? We cannot answer that question today. We shall have to go to these consumers, determine their wants, and estimate what they are willing and ready to buy. And sometimes they themselves do not know. Certain preliminary observations, however, may be pertinent.

For the most of these products, we shall not need large plants with expensive machinery. I would rather expect that we could occupy small buildings in the smaller cities, towns or villages where, with a minimum of management know-how, operating skills and capital, a good business could be developed, creating new jobs, steady employment, and purchasing power.

In passing, I should like to refer to two broad industries which may well be of peculiar importance to the South immediately after V-J Day. Our job now is to be prepared for that day when it comes.

The first is the construction industry, which general opinion has listed as one of the important sources of jobs and profits as soon as materials and labor are available. It is estimated that, for the five-year period beginning with 1947, there will be built upward of 1 million homes a year. Many of them will be built in the South.

In anticipation of this market for many Southern products, it might be well to consider recent advances in residential construction, the present advance of home cooling and heating equipment, the trend of building shapes and sizes, the modernization of kitchens and bathrooms in houses of different sizes and price ranges, the location of raw materials and small processing plants, and the review of building codes which may have to be rewritten to permit the use of new materials and methods.

The second industry is recreation, or more particularly that part of it which has to do with the traveling automobile public, the tourist and his family. Recently I was in Jacksonville and was interested to see the modern motor courts which lined Route No. 1 south of the city. I find that they dot the highways of the South.

Over these roads, in the post-war period, will roll hundreds of thousands of cars, vacation bound, spending a minimum of $10 a day on gasoline and oil, automobile repairs, overnight lodging, meals, amusements, buying locally produced products, and generally stimulating many related retail and service trades. With few exceptions, the South has not taken advantage of its natural location as a vacation area; yet there is not a state among the 13 which does not offer a number of places naturally attractive to people from that and other regions. And what is most important, in many of these states there are vacation-lands available to the public all months of the year.

PURCHASING POWER

The people who make things buy things. The people who distribute things buy things. We are all producers and consumers at the same time. As producers, we create purchasing power. As consumers, we use it up. The more we produce, the more we consume. That is why purchasing power is so important and why we are hearing more and more about it.

In 1940, there were 37 million people . . .

37 million consumers . . . in your 13 Southern states. Some 74 per cent of these were native white, 25 per cent Negro, and only 1 per cent foreign born. These figures compare with national averages of 82 per cent native white, 9 per cent Negro, and 9 per cent foreign born.

In our South, 42 per cent of the people live on farms; in the United States as a whole, 23 per cent of them do so. A further study of vocations of the Southern people emphasizes this point.

In comparison with the national figures, the South has a surplus or more than the average number of farmers and farm workers, domestics and day laborers. It has a deficiency of professionals, non-farm proprietors, clerical workers, craftsmen, machine operators, and other service workers. These facts not only reflect the present character of our economy, but they suggest something of the market which we must measure, quantitatively and qualitatively.

WHO DOES THE BUYING

But the best measure of purchasing power is dollar income, and we have some rather recent figures on this subject.

The Department of Commerce estimates that, in 1943, the 13 Southern states had a total income of 26 billions of dollars. This figure represents 19 per cent of the entire income of the nation for that year. Of this 26 billions of dollars, 66 per cent was earned as salaries and wages; 22 per cent of it was classified as proprietor's income; another 7 per cent, as property income; while the remainder, 5 per cent, can be called all other income.

These figures can be broken down by states. Unfortunately, for marketing men, not by counties. But there, in the aggregate, is our purchasing power as of 1943. It is gratifying to learn that not only has the dollar income increased in recent years but the proportion of that earned in the South has increased to the total for the country as a whole. For example, that proportion in 1929 was 15 per cent. By 1939 it had increased to over 19 per cent.

To [illegible] this idea still more concretely, the per [illegible] for the average individual in the 1[illegible] [illegible]tes is as follows:

1929	$372
1933	207
1939	320
1940	338
1941	418
1942	547
1943	672

Those estimates of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce suggest a doubling of the average dollar income from 1939 to 1943 for every one of the 37 million southerners, with no exception.

These trends reflect what you have known for some time, namely: that the total income, the family income, and the income per capita has been increasing in the South. These facts are important to any market study because they point out that the purchasing power is increasing, that standards of living are increasing, and that there is a wider market for more and better quality merchandise.

BEHAVIOR OF INCREASING INCOME

May I illustrate this point? An excellent basic study was made of consumer expenditures covering the years 1935-36 by several cooperating federal agencies. They came to the conclusion that, as the average family income increases: (listed in the order of expenditure)

The proportion spent for food decreases.

The proportion spent for housing and home operation remains constant.

The proportion spent for clothing increases.

Note that these trends are for the share of the consumer's dollar. It does not refer to the total amount of money spent, which, of course, increased in all instances.

Thus it is that the entire market pattern changes as the average family income changes. A further study of the facts revealed by this investigation will give other ideas concerning the effect of increasing family incomes upon markets for specific groups of commodities.

In the January, 1945, issue of our SURVEY OF CURRENT BUSINESS is a long list of consumer goods, classified into 12 groups, and divided on the basis of their sensitiveness to individual income changes. For example, shoes are listed as "insensitive," washing machines, "somewhat sensitive," and furniture, "sensitive."

This tabulation is most interesting to any region enjoying a rising income, such as the South, in that it will indicate which industries are likely to enjoy the most activity. Reference to the products listed as "sensitive" and "somewhat sensitive" will give the clue since these terms mean that such commodities tend to have

a rising demand with an increase in purchasing power.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES

The products which the people purchase with their earnings or savings can be produced locally, nearby in other parts of the South, in other portions of the United States, or abroad. Without detracting in any way from the two latter sources, we today are most interested in the local and other Southern sources. As we learn more specifically what our people want and what our areas can most economically produce, we are in an ideal position to select, develop and distribute individual products. This must be done through the medium of manufacturing plants, wholesale houses, and retail stores in most instances.

Most of the 3 million business organizations referred to above now operating in the United States are small; over 92 per cent of them are small. Please understand me: 92 out of every 100 manufacturing establishments in the United States have 100 or fewer employees; 77 out of every 100 wholesale houses have less than $200,000 annual sales; 91 out of every 100 retail stores have less than $50,000 annual sales; and 99 out of every 100 service establishments have less than $50,000 annual receipts. They are local businesses, and to a large extent buy and sell locally.

Let us look at this question of size from another angle. In the last count, there were well over 1,700,000 retail stores in the United States. Adding them all up together — the big and the small — and striking an average, what would you guess was their average annual sales volume? It was $23,729. And if you figure that on a weekly basis, it comes to $456; or on a daily basis — figuring six days to the week — it is $76. That is the average daily sales for all 1,700,000 retail stores. Suppose we assume that this average store takes a gross margin of 20 per cent. It would gross $15.20 a day. And if it made 5 per cent net — and most of them do not — the daily take-home would be $3.80.

In considering industrial markets, we need to have a perspective for size. It is too easy to think of big manufacturers employing hundreds and thousands of people. Or the big downtown department store. But for every one plant that employs more than 500 people, there are 80 plants which may employ less than that number. So I suggest that we concentrate upon developing and strengthening small business organizations to produce, distribute and consume the products and services of the South. Let us not forget the big fellows. But they can take care of themselves.

Thus, when we realize that over 9 out of every 10 business houses are really small, we need not be so concerned over the need of large markets, heavy capital investments, scores of trained management men, hundreds of skilled workers.

There is not a village or hamlet in the entire South too small for a small processing plant provided the raw materials are there and markets are nearby.

Whether, however, the city is as large as Atlanta or as small as Georgetown (Texas), it is essential to know what we need, what we have, and how we are going to do the job. That means, we must have facts before we venture with our plans and our money.

To the extent that it is economical and profitable to produce goods in one area and ship them to another in the South, or farther away, transportation becomes an essential part of our problem. Transportation takes time and it costs money. In order to transport some products long distances, they have to be packed more uniformly, packaged more carefully, and possibly cooled or refrigerated. The farther we ship them, the greater the cost.

Moreover, when we start looking for distant markets, we must consider the kinds of transportation available. After this war, the South will have its railroads, its public roads for trucks, and the airlanes. Transportation rates in the South have not been low. But here again is the age-old situation: Do small freight loads keep rates high, or do high rates reduce the volume of pay loads? Whichever it is, a study of markets, the products which those markets will absorb, and the most economical places in which to produce them will give all persons relying upon transportation a better knowledge of future traffic and a better basis for making their own peacetime plans.

WILLINGNESS TO EXCHANGE PURCHASING POWER FOR PRODUCTS

We must remember that purchasing power does not necessarily mean *buying* power. It does not mean at all that for every pay check of $100, there are purchases in the local stores and shops totalling $100. Some money will be

put into the bank, some will be given as insurance premiums, some will be invested in War Bonds, and so on. There is the item of willingness to exchange purchasing power for products — willingness to exchange what I have for what I need and want. Our needs are never satisfied. If they were, we would spend more than we receive. But generally, in the South as elsewhere, many people build up a reserve which we call savings. The volume of these savings determines in part the prosperity of the area in which the savings are made. For example, total liquid savings in the United States in 1939 was roughly $56 billion. By the end of 1944, this figure rose to $135 billions.

The cause of the great increase is obvious. Most of us just couldn't spend all we earned as fast as we earned it. But after there war, there will be products and services available. Will these savings melt away as purchasing power, produce jobs, and keep the plants and shops busy? That is the $64 question, and the extent of post-war prosperity depends upon its answer. It depends in part upon confidence . . . confidence in our country and its ability to function wisely and usefully; confidence in the business man, the farmer, the mine owner, and others, to maintain jobs for those who need them; confidence in the intricate human relations of employee and employer, consumer and farmer, business man and government official, Negro and white. And the key to these human relations is the job and the evaluation of the job holder of its ability to produce a steady income for an indefinite period of time. That is the key to the future of the South. It is the key to the future of America.

That is why post-war markets are so important to the South. Post-war markets mean jobs. And jobs mean purchasing power. And purchasing power means consumption. And the cement of it all is confidence, mutual respect, and the sense of being able to plan ahead with reasonable assurance that those plans can be carried out.

MEASURING MARKETS

I hope that some of the ideas which I have presented have have proved of interest and that they suggest some of the market opportunities which exist where you live for products in which you are interested. But I should like to go further and suggest a somewhat systematic method of procedure in evaluating both the markets and productibility of the South, a method which you can use on a grand scale or for only one small community.

Two programs can be started simultaneously — one concerning markets and one concerning products. Let's discuss markets first.

From the Bureau of the Census reports, you can determine the number of people living in the area with which you are concerned. You can also learn many other facts about these consumers from the same source, depending upon your product and the detail desired in your study, such as age, race, family relation, number employed, and so on. You can determine the character of their employment and their average wages. Since the latest Census data are for 1940, these figures must be interpreted if there has been any major economic change in the area in the meantime. For this purpose, 1943 estimates by the Census, and "Regional Shifts in Population, Production and Markets (1939-1943)" by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce will be helpful.

Purchasing power can be estimated for minor geographic areas starting with state income payments, prepared by the National Income Unit of our Bureau — the latest figures being for 1943. Or it is possible to build up estimates from reported retail sales by kinds of retail business, the latest Census figures being for 1939. An unofficial but practical measure is the purchasing power index, estimated annually, by "Sales Management" magazine, under the title of "Survey of Buying Power." Whichever approach is used, it must be adjusted to meet local conditions at the time the study is made. And such adjustment can be made only by someone familiar with both the statistics and the region.

Estimates for consumer durable goods, such as automobiles, electric refrigerators, and so on, can be prepared from questionnaires circulated among townspeople and farmers. Retailers may be able to estimate the pre-war and post-war demand for other lesser articles on which you decide you need information. When you are through, you will have the local demand, estimated for the post-war period as best it can be estimated at this time.

While this work is being done locally, possibly with the aid of some teaching or research members of a nearby university school of business, work can be proceeding on products. According to the Census classification, there are 446 manufacturing industries in this country. The number of products runs into the hundreds of thousands. But while we are thinking of new products which we might profitably pro-

duce locally, let us not forget the possibilities of those which we are already producing.

If the area is large, Census reports for 1939 again will list the local industries, and by definition, the individual products, the total value of these products, value added by manufacture, number of wage earners, and other pertinent facts about local industries. Data for individual industries by counties, however, are not available — only the number of establishments.

If the area is too small to find these figures segregated, use the yellow pages of a telephone directory, a city directory, McRae's "Blue Book of American Manufacturers," Thomas' "Register of American Manufacturers," or a Dun and Bradstreet rating book. Or if necessary, count smoke stacks or front doors. From one or another of these sources, list the products produced; try to secure as much information about each one as possible.

Now match up these two reports. What are the needs and what is the local supply? What about housing needs for bricks, a small planing mill? Are there products produced on nearby farms which could be processed locally? What of the need for a food locker plant, an agricultural machine repair shop? These ideas will not come automatically from figures assembled. The figures and facts if properly gathered and classified will stimulate the thinking of your local committeemen, but their imaginations will produce the results.

For example, the figures will not themselves suggest new uses for existing products or new products to meet the demand of changing buying needs. But the application of scientific knowledge and good common sense by one man, such as Dr. George Washington Carver, has resulted in hundreds of uses for the peanut. Other products, such as citrus fruits, the sweet potato, await further study along similar lines. For that reason, the establishment of the Southern Research Institute at Birmingham, and similar scientific organizations, should be encouraged and supported. The new products of tomorrow are going to come from the organized research of such bodies.

As you study these products and market facts, certain products will appeal to you as logical ones for expansion. If you are not certain about the product itself, call in expert aid. If you are not certain about the market, check this problem with the proper authorities. Once you are certain that you have found an old product, a modification of an old product, or a brand new one for which a definite market exists, check up on competition. You know and I know that these 37 million consumers are not going to buy something just because it is produced in the South. There is no reason why they should be asked to pay more for less of any product. Therefore, keep searching until you find a product which meets the requirement: filling a local need with a satisfactory product at a competitive price and a satisfactory net profit.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

In any such program, it is essential to keep everyone informed, to secure the continued cooperation and participation of all who may become personally interested, and to continue with the investigation until production is under way and the private owners see their way into the black profit column. No manufacturing plant is of maximum value until it is producing a saleable product, steady jobs, and satisfying net profits.

To this end, I should like to call to your attention four different sources of aid and information on this subject which is uppermost in our thinking today.

First, I should like to call to your attention the state planning boards. In Georgia, it is the State Planning Board and the Georgia Agricultural and Industrial Development Board. In Alabama, it is the State Planning Commission. In Tennessee, the State Planning Commission has done some excellent pioneering work. These and others are sources of basic industrial and commercial information and should be consulted before any final plans are laid.

Second are the bureaus of business research connected with many state and other educational institutions. Among those in the South are ones at the University of Alabama, the University of Texas, and the University of Florida. These and others have done some basic work which will make it much easier for you to conduct industrial and consumer studies.

Third, the Committee for Economic Development, or, as it is better known, CED, is doing some excellent exploratory work in the South. By the end of March of this year, they had 726 local committees in the South alone. Already Fort Smith, Arkansas, has released a report which shows an unusual penetrating understanding of its post-war economic position and opportunities. I have recently scanned reports from Dallas and Beaumont, Texas, and read summaries of the realistic work of committees

at Anniston, Alabama, and Bradenton, Florida. CED at Richmond, Virginia, has done an unusual job in surveying that metropolitan area for post-war jobs for veterans. And I have read with a great deal of interest some illuminating charts prepared by the CED Committee of Atlanta. Information on these and many other reports can be secured through your local CED Committee. I urge you to acquaint yourselves with them.

But finally, I should like to call your attention to the reports and services of the Department of Commerce itself. That agency, which I have had the honor of serving for almost 11 years, is fostering, promoting and developing the foreign and domestic commerce of the United States. And because of its statutory functions, it has prepared much material which will prove of value to us in studying the post-war markets of the South.

First are the Census reports, broad and deep sources of highly specific information. These reports should be in many of your local libraries or nearest university research file.

Second are the source books of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, some of which are not as up to date as you will like. They still remain good sources, however. There is *Market Research Sources,* 1940, which contains a full list of both government and non-government publications on marketing and markets. There are the *Consumer* and *Industrial Market Data Handbooks.* The statistics are now almost 10 years old, but for comparative relationships and for some information which has never been brought up to date, they remain the best single sources.

More recently, there is *Outline for Making Industrial, Commercial, Local and Regional Surveys,* 43 pages of outline of topics which should be included in any such survey together with the sources of the latest information on each topic.

Two check lists have been published, one on the *Introduction of New Consumer Products,* and one on *Establishing a Retail Business.*

We have recently issued 324 county basic data sheets, each containing 78 statistical facts about the population, housing, commerce, industry and agriculture of one county. More recently these have been bound together by states. A similar sheet has been prepared for the 13 Southern states and the United States.

If this information is not available locally, write our nearest Department of Commerce field office. Department of Commerce men are located at Atlanta, Richmond, Charleston, Jacksonville, Memphis, New Orleans, Houston and Dallas. These offices are miniature Department of Commerce store rooms, full of information on domestic and foreign trade. Write to our nearest office and ask them to put you on their mailing list for the bi-monthly *Regional Commerce Bulletin.* On this little sheet, they list all our new publications and services. Most of them are yours for the asking.

Briefly, then, to summarize:

1. *The individual consumer is the most important part of our business life. Cultivate him.*

2. *The markets and industry necessary for a sound post-war economy in the South can, for the most part, be found right here in the South today.*

3. *These markets can be filled with goods and merchandise by small plants and distributors. Help them grow.*

4. *Convert these ideas into action by studying your needs and opportunities with the research facilities which you have at hand.*

5. *Make full use of the publications, reports and services of the Department of Commerce.*

Post-War Foreign Trade and the South

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THE SOUTH has a very important stake in foreign trade. I should like to say at the outset, however, that the solutions to the pressing economic problems of the South are not, in my view, to be found through foreign trade, at least not directly. The reasons for this will appear as I proceed.

The importance of foreign trade to the South can be measured in several ways. For example, the value of exports through Southern ports amounted to $1.5 billion in 1927 and to nearly $1 billion even in 1937, when conditions in the cotton trade especially were relatively unfavorable. Imports through Southern ports in the same years amounted to $400 million and $300 million, respectively.

These figures should be very carefully interpreted. Note that they represent the values of exports and imports *through Southern ports.* They do not represent the values of Southern products which were exported to foreign markets or of foreign products that were imported for consumption in the Southern states. We have, unfortunately, no data of that kind.

The amount of traffic through Southern ports understates the importance of foreign trade to the South from one point of view, and overstates it from another.

This traffic does not include the Southern products which are exported through ports such as New York and, what is even more important, does not include the raw materials and semifinished products originating in the South which are converted into finished manufactures in other parts of the country and then exported.

The volume of imports into the Southern states is, for similar reasons, not fully covered by statistics of imports through Southern ports. On the other hand, the traffic through Southern ports consists, to some extent, of the exports of other regions of the United States and of imports destined for other parts of the country.

With these limitations in mind, we may note that exports through Southern ports during the period between the last war and the present war represented about 30 per cent of total exports from the United States and imports through Southern ports 10 per cent of total imports into the United States.

These two figures, 30 per cent and 10 per cent, measure in an approximate way the direct shares of the Southern states in export and import trade. The percentage applicable to export trade will undoubtedly seem very high to many of you, but it should be borne in mind that it reflects the importance of cotton in our prewar export trade.

We can also identify among our major exports commodities produced almost exclusively or largely in the South. Cotton appears at the head of the list, of course, but there are other notable examples, such as tobacco and phosphate rock.

During most of the interwar period, exports of cotton constituted more than half of all the cotton produced, without allowance for cotton exported in the form of manufactured goods produced in the South or elsewhere. The proportion of our tobacco going to foreign markets averaged approximately 37 per cent, and the proportion of our phosphate rock sent abroad 46 per cent.

In the aggregate, exports of Southern products probably constituted more than 20 per cent by value of the total production of mov-

able goods in the Southern states in the late twenties and about 15 per cent in the late thirties.

This means that, out of every dollar of income earned in the South in agriculture, manufacturing, and mining during the latter period, about 15 cents was directly attributable to foreign trade. The importance of foreign trade to the country as a whole measured in this way was only about half as great.

PROSPECTS FOR EXPANDING FOREIGN TRADE

The Department of Commerce believes that foreign trade after the war can be greatly expanded from its prewar levels. We believe that it is not unrealistic to think in terms of annual exports of $10 billion in the post-war period. This would be approximately double the dollar amount of our exports in the late twenties and about three times what they were before the present war. This goal can be achieved, however, only if certain requirements are met.

The first and most important of these requirements is full employment in the United States. Let me explain. Whereas most other countries of the world are concerned primarily in their foreign trade relations with finding through exports the means of paying for the imports which they must have to live, the United States has in its foreign trade relations a problem of providing foreigners with sufficient dollars to buy our exports. That is, there is not, or at least never has been, any question about the potential foreign demand for American products in general; but there has been at various times, and particularly during the thirties, a serious question of how to provide the dollars to make this demand effective.

Under these circumstances, the course of United States foreign trade depends mainly on the course of our imports. The volume of our imports depends in turn mainly upon the level of industrial production in the United States. This is true because two-thirds of our imports consist of materials for further processing, so that when industrial production is high we buy more of such materials and when it is low we buy less. Other imported commodities also rise or fall with the level of business and the general state of demand in this country.

Thus, if we are to achieve the goal of $10 billion of exports, it is necessary that imports be maintained at a high level, and this means that industrial production and employment at home must also be at high levels.

The Department of Commerce has calculated that full employment after the war would mean, at 1942 prices, a gross national product of about $170 billion, or a national income of about $140 billion. At this level of general economic activity, imports into the United States would probably be in the neighborhood of $6 billion, thus providing the means of payment for $6 billion of exports.

The remaining $4 billion of the $10 billion of exports that we hope to achieve must be financed very largely, at least during the early post-war period, by the investment of American capital in foreign countries and by expenditures of United States residents for foreign travel. This leads me to the second prerequisite for a high level of foreign trade after the war.

If American capital is to go abroad on a substantial scale, foreign investment must be made an attractive and acceptable outlet for investible funds. There are at least four classes of investors which may be involved in foreign investment: corporations, individuals, institutions such as banks, insurance companies, and the like, and the Federal Government itself.

Corporations will have an inducement to place a part of their available capital in production or distribution facilities in foreign countries because the potential return, especially in underdeveloped, capital-poor countries, is very high. They will actually do so, however, only if they feel reasonably certain that their earnings can be brought back to the United States should they so desire.

Individual investors will invest abroad by buying the obligations of foreign governments and foreign corporations only if they feel reasonably certain of receiving payments of interest and principal as they fall due. Because of the legal restrictions under which they operate and because of their moral responsibilities to the individuals for whom they act, institutional investors will want to be assured that the risks of foreign investment have been reduced to a minimum before they place their funds in foreign securities.

The Federal Government may itself assist foreign countries in financing certain types of public projects such as roads, airports, irrigation, and the like for which private financing is either not suitable or not available. The Government will be justified in placing public funds in foreign countries in this way only if there is reasonable assurance that the amounts loaned will be repaid and that the developmental proj-

ects concerned will redound to the benefit of the United States.

Although there are many other conditions which must be met in order to stimulate the investment of American capital abroad on a large and sustained scale, a long step will be taken, in our opinion, with the establishment of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as proposed at Bretton Woods. The Monetary Fund will stabilize exchange relationships, facilitate the transfer of dividends and interest on international investments, and in this way encourage new foreign investment. The International Bank will add the joint and several guarantee of all its members to the obligations of foreign countries offered to individual and institutional investors in the United States and thus make them acceptable to the most conservative among them.

If the International Bank is established as proposed and if the resources of our own Export-Import Bank are increased as is now contemplated, we believe that new foreign investment by the United States may amount to as much as $3 billion annually during the early post-war period. If this expectation is borne out, dollars will be made available to foreigners to purchase $3 billion of our exports over and above the $6 billion financed through imports into the United States.

An additional $1 billion of exports will probably be made possible as a result of net purchases by the United States of services from foreigners, especially services to the hundreds of Americans who will travel to foreign countries after the war. (Parenthetically, it should be noted that the gross receipts and payments of the United States arising out of the sale and purchase of various services run to several billions of dollars each way. The net figure, however, is relatively small and for the sake of simplicity may be attributed to what will probably be the principal source of payments in our post-war balance of international payments.)

Thus, in over-simplified terms, the foreign trade "budget" of the United States after the war may consist of $10 billion of exports on one side of the account and on the other side three items as follows: imports, $6 billion; foreign investment, $3 billion; and net payments for services, consisting largely of travel expenditures, $1 billion; or a total of $10 billion.

There is at least one other prerequisite for the attainment of this foreign trade "budget." It is a substantial reduction of barriers to international trade. It is especially important that the United States reduce its tariffs and import more freely as a necessary counterpart of its foreign investment policy. For, if service on a growing volume of American investments in foreign countries is to be transferred to the United States without burdening our export trade, our imports and other transactions involving payments of dollars to foreigners must increase steadily and increase more rapidly than our exports.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT EXPERIENCE OF THE UNITED STATES

Parenthetically, I think it is important that we clear up some misconceptions about the foreign investment experience of the United States. During the twenties, the United States invested a considerable amount of capital in foreign countries. In the decade as a whole, the amount averaged about a billion dollars annually. It is popularly believed that most of these investments resulted in losses to the investors.

Now there were substantial and, in some instances, ruinous losses to individual investors. If any one of you held certain foreign securities after 1929, you know very well what your losses were.

This is the aspect of the matter which is responsible in the public mind for the belief that our foreign investment experience as a whole has been unsatisfactory.

On the contrary, it has been fairly satisfactory even under most unfavorable circumstances.

If you make a calculation, which I will describe in a moment, you can show that since the last war, we got out of our foreign investments about $9,000,000,000 more than we put in, as a country. This has no application to individual cases. As a country we got out $9,000,000,000 more than we put in.

And here is the calculation. Start with the value of our foreign investments at the end of the last war in 1919 and add to that figure the amount of new investment during the twenties and the thirties, primarily during the twenties, because we didn't invest much during the thirties. This is a measure of what we put in; it is what we had in 1919 plus the additional amount we invested abroad.

Now set against this total the amount we

got out in the form of interest and dividends and amortization payments plus the market value of our foreign investments in 1940 and you will find that the second figure is between eight and nine billion dollars larger than the first figure.

There is a good deal more to the story than that. Many of the investments that were made during the twenties were unsound at the outset. They were made for bad purposes, or they were made for ostensibly good purposes and the proceeds of the loans were diverted for bad purposes. There were, however, a great many good loans made during the twenties which became bad loans during the thirties simply because the behavior of our own economy made it impossible for foreigners to meet their commitments on account of interest and amortization.

When our economy went into a tailspin in 1929, we were supplying to the rest of the world more than seven billion dollars annually through imports or investments and so forth.

By 1932 the amount had dropped to less than two and a half billion dollars, and out of that amount nine hundred million dollars would have been needed to meet contractual service on United States investments in foreign countries. If all of that service had been paid according to contract terms, there would have been left about a billion and a half dollars to buy exports from the United States. As it turned out, there were a number of defaults, and, of course, our exports were greatly depressed.

The point is that the behavior of our own economy made it impossible for good loans to be paid off. And so we stress repeatedly when we advocate renewed investment of American capital abroad that we must keep our own economy on a high and reasonably stable level if we expect our foreign investment program to work out. It is the only condition under which it can work out.

Participation of the South in Larger Post-War Trade

Suppose the United States does attain an export volume of $10 billion after the war. Does it follow that the South will share in the trade to the same extent as it did before the war? Will it enjoy, say, 30 per cent of the total export trade and sell $3 billion of its products in foreign countries as compared with $1.5 billion during the prosperous twenties?

If the South were a highly diversified economy producing a variety of products for export, the answer would undoubtedly be "yes." This is, however, not the case.

Cotton alone probably accounted for close to half of the total exports from the South during the interwar period. If the place of American cotton in the world market were assured, the South could probably look forward to a considerable expansion in the cotton export trade. But under present circumstances it is difficult to see how one can be very optimistic about the propects for the export of American cotton.

It is therefore difficult to be very optimistic about the total *direct* contribution of foreign trade after the war to the economy of the Southern states as a whole.

While discounting in this sense and to this degree the direct stimulus to the post-war economic activity of the South as a result of a larger foreign trade, I hasten to say that the indirect benefits can scarcely be exaggerated. The South has made considerable industrial progress during the past two decades. It has, to mention several obvious examples, a well-established textile industry, a flourishing steel industry, and an important pulp industry. The principal industries of the South are not, however, primarily export industries but rather industries producing for regional and national markets. Furthermore, the South as a whole is still predominantly an agricultural economy producing largely for the domestic market, with the notable exception in past years of cotton exports.

Thus, the immediate interest of the South is in a large and expanding domestic market. But, as I shall indicate in a moment, it is completely unrealistic to think in terms of regional and national economies and the world economy as if they were separate entities. Although the connection is one step removed, the South has as great a stake in a healthy, vigorous foreign trade for the United States as a region which is producing mainly for export.

The South probably cannot continue to develop its resources, industrialize, raise the incomes of its low-income groups, and thus attain a diversified, expanding regional economy unless the country as a whole is prosperous; and a full measure of prosperity cannot be achieved in the country as a whole unless a high level of foreign trade is achieved.

The reasons for this are clear. The South will want domestic markets for its products;

it will want enterprise; it will want capital. Capital will be available on reasonable terms, enterprisers will be eager, and markets will exist if the rest of the country is working at capacity. A high level of foreign trade can contribute in an important way to producing this condition. In this sense, the foreign trade interests of the South are an integral part of the foreign trade interests of the United States as a whole.

It is logical, therefore, that the Southern states should include in their program support for a well-rounded foreign trade policy for the United States. The elements of this policy, as suggested previously, are (1) *a high and reasonably stable level of domestic production and employment;* (2) *foreign investment on a large scale; and* (3) *participation in a world movement to lower tariffs and remove other impediments to international trade.*

ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD ECONOMY

I should like to enlarge for a moment on the position of the United States in the world economy and on the economic, political, and moral responsibilities which flow from that position.

Before the Great Depression, the United States accounted for more than 40 per cent of the world's manufacturing output. We were the leading exporter among the nations of the world and second only to the United Kingdom as an importer. The United States consumed a high proportion of world production of many raw materials. Individual countries were dependent to the extent of 50, 60, 70, 80, even 90 per cent of their total exports on the United States as a market.

The enormous economic weight of the United States in the world economy means that the welfare of whole countries and the well-being of hundreds of millions of people depend upon the course of economic activity in the United States. The position of the United States is unique in other respects. We alone among the industrial and financial powers have the capacity to supply large quantities of goods to the rest of the world after the war without requiring immediate payment in goods, services, or gold. This is another way of saying that we have an unparalleled capacity to invest abroad based upon a high rate of savings and an enormous capacity to produce capital goods.

For these reasons, it is incumbent upon the United States to assume the leadership in promoting an expansion of its own and world trade. It can do so without incurring undue risks. Other countries, even major economic powers, have no such freedom of action. Thus, the rest of the world is naturally looking to the United States for assurances that we are going to take the measures necessary to achieve full employment at home and to create the conditions necessary for a growing volume of balanced international trade.

LESSONS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES

As I indicated at the outset, however, the solution of the economic problems of the South does not lie primarily through foreign trade. In what direction does it lie? You have heard many constructive proposals from those who have preceded me and will hear more from others who will follow. I venture to suggest, however, that we may draw a useful lesson in this connection from outside the United States.

The South today is dependent to a large degree upon the production and sale of a single commodity: cotton. Many of its resources lie virtually untapped. A large segment of its population receives incomes so low as to make production even for local markets unattractive. Similar circumstances prevail in a number of foreign countries. Now, what are these countries doing to improve their economic condition and raise the levels of living of their peoples?

Countries which are most likely to realize their economic potentials in the shortest possible time are those which are formulating comprehensive and long-range plans. They are giving attention first to matters which are of primary importance. Basic surveys of their natural and human resources are a necessary preliminary. Next come the fundamental facilities for economic development, including transportation and communications, power, and fuel. Adequate planning must cover these foundations for economic development before individual industrial and other projects can be intelligently considered.

With respect to individual projects, the factors being studied include the extent and accessibility of markets; the adequacy, cheapness, and accessibility of raw materials; availability of transportation, power, and fuel at reasonable cost; the availability of labor of the types required; and the availability of capital on reasonable terms.

WHO WILL DO THE PLANNING?

These aspects of planning may be commonplace. A more significant question is "Who shall do the planning?" Now it is often believed

that plans for economic development consist of general programs and specific undertakings which are imposed upon a country or a region by some central authority. This need not be the case and, if the planning is to be soundly conceived and soundly executed, will not be the case. Economic planning is the function of many individuals and many organizations.

Under our system, much of the planning will be done by individual businessmen seeking profitable employment for their managerial talents or profitable investment for their capital. Local groups composed of businessmen, bankers, engineers, economists, and others can play a vital role in local and regional planning. For example, the principle of organization which has been so successfully used by the Committee for Economic Development would seem to be particularly applicable in the Southern states.

Beyond the local groups there are the state governments and regional organizations which are in a position to take a broad view of developmental problems and to coordinate the activities of local groups and of individuals. The Federal Government has also its role to play, but it should be emphasized that it is only one role among many.

It is my personal conviction that the role of the Federal Government will be large or small depending directly upon what business does for itself and upon what localities and regions do for themselves. The role of Government will be large if individuals and organizations accomplish little. The role of the Federal Government will be correspondingly small if planning and the execution of plans by private institutions is successful.

It is the duty and responsibility of local and regional groups interested in economic development to make known to the Federal Government what it can do to remove obstacles to regional development and to encourage that development by positive measures.

Thus, the function of planning, properly conceived, is a decentralized and diffused function. If it takes this form, it is much more probable than otherwise that the development of a region like the South will be balanced and enduring.

THE GOAL FOR THE SOUTH

I know of no bettter formula for the economic development of the South than the one offered by Van Sickle in his book *Planning for the South*. He says, "Our goal for the South calls for a more diversified agriculture, varied and prosperous industries, a marketing organization equipped to facilitate the intra-regional exchange of the products of Southern agriculture and industry, and to exchange regional surpluses for the goods and services most advantageously obtained from outside the region, a financial organization capable of providing at economical rates the funds for current transactions and of directing regional savings into regional opportunities, and finally a governmental organization equipped to satisfy the educational, recreational, health, and aesthetic needs of a civilized people."

In other words, there must be a many-sided approach to a problem for which there is no simple and easy solution. One of the approaches is through a larger and more stable foreign trade. But a foreign trade program, however well conceived and effectuated, is no substitute for a well-rounded regional program for economic development.

Freight Rates and Southern Industrial Growth

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THIS discussion relates to what the economists call "place value." A commodity of little market value at one place may be much more valuable at another. Whether this increased value is obtainable depends upon the cost of transporting the commodity to the place of higher value. These are obvious statements, but Mr. Justice Holmes once said that we need education in the obvious.

That the development of industry is at least partly dependent upon, and is stimulated or retarded by, the cost of transportation, will not be denied. The producer, the manufacturer, the entrepreneur, and the consumer, are all interested in the cost of transportation

If this cost is higher than the added place value, there will be no transportation; and, if this cost is less from one place than from another, the lower-cost place will be preferred for production, manufacturing and selling. If it is too high, consumption will decrease.

The South, like little Jack Horner, sat in a corner largely indifferent to this law, pulled out a plum labeled "state rights," and said, "How great am I!"

The South had, and has, large natural resources of minerals, timber and water power, much fertile soil, an equable climate, and pleasing "aspects of nature." Other parts of our nation, conspicuously the northeastern part, having received a more niggardly treatment from nature, were driven to manufacturing, using therefor the South's resources. To utilize these resources required low freight rates from the South, and to discourage the South from manufacturing her resources, the North needed and obtained lower rates on its finished goods than were accorded to such goods when manufactured in the South.

Review of Freight Rate Controversy

As early as 1869 the Supreme Court of Georgia found that "for several years" Georgia railroads had charged more per mile on shipments in Georgia than they charged on shipments in other states. Generally this unfair injury to Georgia was continued and increased. Similarly other Southern states and the Western states east of the Rocky Mountains, were discriminated against.

Within the last twenty years, some individual shippers sought to remedy the situation as to themselves. The textile industry obtained a mitigation of its handicap, but there still remains a freight charge discrimination of 10%. Cement and lime shippers and a few others obtained parity.

About 1934, the Southeastern Governors began a discussion of the situation, and in 1937, under the leadership of the Honorable Bibb Graves, then Governor of Alabama, complaint was brought which resulted in a parity of rates on a limited number of commodities. Later the Interstate Commerce Commission began a general investigation of class rates in all that territory east of the Rocky Mountains. If the press is correct, and I believe it is, this investigation has resulted in findings which may end the unjust discrimination against both the South and West. The Commission has now decided and provides for territorial uniformity of class rates.

In 1944, Governor Ellis Arnall, tired of the long delays in giving Georgia her rights, brought a suit in the Supreme Court of the United States designed to end the delays. The Supreme Court, on March 26, 1945, permitted this suit to be filed.

While only one state is a party to this suit,

all the states against which there is unjust discrimination will be helped by a favorable decision.

This history shows that after hope long deferred, equality, which is justice, is near of attainment.

EXTENT OF DISCRIMINATION

As our difficulties in respect of rates are soon to be removed, there is less need for discussing their extent; but, that we may make some appraisal of the effect of this result, it is helpful briefly and generally to describe the extent of these difficulties.

Fully to understand the technical terms used, it may be of interest to you to define how transportation students use certain terms. You frequently hear reference to "classification." We have now three classifications in the United States, known as the Official, the Southern, and the Western. "Official" relates to that territory, broadly, east of the Mississippi River, and north of the Ohio and Potomac. "Southern" means, broadly, the territory east of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio and Potomac, and "Western" territory relates to all the territory west of the Mississippi River. "Classification" is contained in a large book of thousands of items, describing each item, the territory in which it is applied, and classifying it according to its supposed relationship to the cost and value of transportation. Class I is the basic class. Other classes are percentages of Class I, sometimes above, generally below.

"Commodity rates" mean rates on those commodities that properly do not fall into a class. They may have special transportation characteristics, and cannot always pay the class rate, so some commodities are given rates made with more regard to the particular commodity than to its relationship to Class I commodities. The document on which commodities are described and the applicable rates stated, is called a "tariff." Not an inappropriate use of a word taken from our protective tariff laws.

"Carload" rates are usually referred to as "CL," and less than carload as "LCL" rates. The "minimum" prescribed on commodities means that the carload rate is figured on a minimum weight and if less than the minimum is shipped, the CL or LCL rates are applied, whichever is the higher.

The amount of discrimination against the South is based upon a general scale of rates which are about 39% higher in the South than in the North, or Official, territory. This percentage above the Official territory rate is higher in the West and Southeast than in the South. The Commission, in describing this situation in the Commodity Rate Case, brought by the seven southeastern governors, said (235 *I.C.C.* 267):

> *"The present north-bound interterritorial rates on a few of the commodities named in the complaint are somewhat more than* 139 *per cent, on a few others about* 139 *per cent, and on the remainder of such commodities considerably less than* 139 *per cent, of the rates on like articles within the North."*

From this it is seen that some rates from the South, generally on commodities which are not produced or grown in the North, had lower rates than rates in the North. Some had a percentage higher by 39% than in the North, and others, such as drugs (p.194), electric supplies (198), paper articles (217), 60% higher, and pottery (230), 80%. A fair statement of the weighted average of the South's discrimination is that it is about 20% higher than the Northern rates.

ARGUMENT OF NORTHERN SHIPPERS

Merely to state the discriminatory situation is, in the minds of most people, a sufficient argument in favor of the South's and West's claims for parity. Perhaps you may want to know some of the defenses set up by the Northern carriers and Northern shippers. The Northern carriers act on the principle that the traffic should "pay all it will bear," and so testified in the Commodity Rate Case, as was reported in 235 I.C.C., beginning at page 255.

The Northern shippers claim that if they did not get lower rates than the South, natural advantages possessed by the South would destroy the manufacturing industry in the North. Perhaps the argument of Governor Cross of Connecticut, in the Governors' Commodity Rate Case, is the frankest and best brief summary of the claims of the Northern shippers. Governor Cross said (Vol. 2, pp. 26, 27, brief of complainants):

> *"With all the natural advantages of climate which bring with them materially reduced living costs in fuel, clothing, recreation and food, the South has God-given aids which even the Interstate Commerce Commission cannot match."* (*Record*, 1961).

Some Southern shippers are representatives in the South of businesses owned in the North. (Some Southern shippers, as stated above, on certain raw materials not competitive with the North, get lower rates than in the North. These two classes of shippers fear any change in rates, and generally they have sought to put brakes

on the efforts of the South and West to obtain a parity.) The Southern carriers have always contended that because of less density and higher cost of traffic, they are entitled to higher rates than the Northern carriers.

Without going into unnecessary details, it can be said, without fear of successful contradiction, that the claim of the Southern railroads, that their density of traffic is less than that of the Northern railroads, while true in fact, is not a good defense, because when you take as a unit the investment of the Southern railroads, and the investment of the Northern railroads, the Southern railroads are earning as much or more than the Northern railroads, and the Commission itself found that there was no evidence that it cost more in the South to haul than it does in the North. The Commission, in the Governors' Commodity Rate Case, after hearing the evidence, which ran to some thousands of pages, said: (p. 326, 235 I.C.C.):

> *"It is a fair conclusion from the record as a whole, and we accordingly find, that the cost of transporting the articles named in the complaint from producing points in the South into the North, compared with that of transporting like articles within the North, does not justify the maintenance thereon of higher levels of rates than are applicable on like articles within the North."*

Speaking of costs, and on cross-examination, the record of the testimony of the principal rate witness of the Northern carriers in the Governors' Commodity Rate Case shows:

> *"Q. (By Mr. Watkins) So, it does not make any difference to you in performing your function what it costs in the South, New England, or the North to haul the freight?*
> *"A. What we are interested in, Judge, is what the traffic will bear, and the revenue needs of the carriers.*
>
> *"Q. You get all you can regardless of what it costs you to haul it?*
> *"A. We will get what the traffic will bear, or we try to get what the traffic will bear."*
> *"Q. Do you think it is fair to exact a higher rate from the South, assuming that the cost of hauling the traffic in the South is less than it is in New England, than you exact from the New England shippers?*
> *"A. If the traffic will bear it, my answer is yes."*
> (*Record* 1284, 1285, 1886).

PARITY WILL BENEFIT THE NATION

It is not unnatural that the Northern industries oppose parity. Throughout history, you find no instance where the beneficiary of an unjust preference voluntarily gave it up. He thinks his existent preference has become a vested right. Indeed, the principal explanation of why the South and West have so long borne their handicap is that groups of people are slow to change what is. They generally prefer to suffer the evils they know, rather than to run the risk of greater evils. However, no fair-minded person, free from the predilections of self-interest and geography, can fail to reach the conclusion that ours is a nation, that our railroad system should be national in its treatment of the public, and that justice requires, in general, a parity of rates throughout the country.

That justice which will follow rate parity will injure neither shippers nor carriers in either the North, West or South. Thereby the growth of industry will be accelerated, and the chances of unemployment will be lessened in these formerly handicapped sections, thus adding prosperous consumers for the products of the now favored sections and increasing the amount of traffic the railroad system will haul. This traffic these carriers will probably need after reconstruction and readjustments shall be made. The elimination of world trade barriers, for which we all hope, will be accompanied by the elimination of such barriers in our own country.

The South's Post-War Housing Problems

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I WANT to say first that I am not here to tell the South how to solve its housing problems. Housing is peculiarly and particularly a local problem and a problem that, in peace-time, can best be solved by local information, local planning, local initiative, local private action and public action. It requires a keen sense of local responsibility in all these fields.

Beyond this, there are six things I want to say in regard to post-war housing.

The Size of the Job

The first, as we see it—and we are not alone in this — we see housing after the war in a stature and scale that it has never before attained in this country.

We have made a preliminary estimate of the need for housing construction in this country after the war. These are non-farm figures, limited to urban and rural non-farm areas. We have estimated that for the first decade after the close of the war, we will need in this country 12,600,000 *additional family dwelling units—an average building rate of a million and a quarter units per year.*

Just to give you some comparison of that figure with past experience: the largest single construction year on non-farm housing in the history of this country was 1925 in which we built 937,000 units. We are talking about a post-war *average,* for the first decade, a third greater that the highest *single* year in the history of the country.

The average of the Twenties was roughly 700,000 family units, so we are talking about a 70 per cent increase above that average. The average for the Thirties, which, of course, was a period of low residential construction, was about 273,000. We are talking about a housing construction volume almost five times the annual average of the Thirties.

Let me emphasize that our figures are an estimate of need, not a prediction of what will happen.

We have broken that need down also into what we call *new* need, which flows from the increase in families and the backlog need of soldiers, and *replacement* need, which comes from doing away with the existing blighted and slum property, and pulling out of the supply the older property now fit which will become unfit as time goes on. For our national estimates the total need is divided almost fifty-fifty between new and replacement requirements.

Estimating the replacement need, we used a rough index of substandard housing based on materials in the 1940 housing census. In our judgment, the job that might reasonably be done in replacement in the first post-war decade would be to replace half of the substandard housing in the country in 1940 plus a number equivalent to those that will become substandard by 1956. The 12,600,000 additional units, with fifty per cent of them replacement, are not going to make a slumless America. But if we can proceed as fast as this estimate suggests, we certainly will have made more inroads against that problem than any Western nation has made in a like period of time.

There are those who may feel that our approach to the task of slum clearance is not ambitious enough. Let us examine the slum clearance program as it operated in the past, so that we might see the true magnitude of our proposed undertaking.

The program of the U. S. Housing Authority and the local housing authorities produced

in about three years before the war a little over a hundred thousand units in the whole country. Since then, there have been completed about sixty odd thousand additional units that have gone into war use but have been financed out of those funds and at the completion of the war will go into low-rent use. That was the effort in 1938, 1939, 1940 and part of 1941.

The largest single year was 1940 in which we hit about 70,000 starts in public housing. Although by no means all of the replacement job will be done by public housing, it seemed to us that to anticipate a clearance program that would do away with half of the seven million non-farm substandard units that we estimate, plus the 2,500,000 that will probably become substandard between 1940 and 1955, would be a tremendous job in light of our experience and tools. If anyone disagrees on this judgment, he can take the same basic facts and make an estimate of his own.

Speaking nationally, we figure that about 22 per cent of the housing to meet this need should be made available at a rental or equivalent cost under $20 a month, about 29 per cent from $20 to $40; and 49 per cent from $40 up. Some people think that estimate is distributed too low in the cost-rental scale. But, remember, 50 per cent of that need is replacement and replacement housing, of course, by and large is the housing occupied by the less well-to-do groups of the population. And if we are to do the big job, we will have to produce a very considerable volume of housing at these lower costs.

ESTIMATE OF SOUTH'S NEEDS

We have also made a total need estimate for the South, taking the 13-state area that is represented by this Council. We have not previously published these figures, and they are subject to further study and revision.

In these thirteen states there were almost exactly 20 *per cent of the nation's non-farm dwelling units in* 1940. *That may serve as a general scale to give you some idea of the proportions. But our need estimate placed about* 3,700,000 *out of the* 12,600,000 *in these thirteen states, and that is almost exactly thirty per cent of the total. In other words, according to our estimates, about half again as much of the new housing may be in the South, as the South had of the total non-farm housing supply in* 1940.

And interestingly enough, instead of having a fifty-fifty break or division between new need and replacement need, the 3,700,000 units in the South divide into 1,600,000 units of new need and 2,100,000 for replacement need. In other words, replacement is heavier, larger in proportion to the total, according to our estimates, in the South than it is for the nation as a whole.

I hope no one takes these figures as anything more than what they are — a rough estimate based on what is admittedly very inadequate information with a generous sprinkling of assumptions where we don't have the facts. Anyone who is interested in the detailed calculations and in the assumptions that have been made, can procure a bulletin we put out, called *Housing Needs, a Preliminary Estimate* (National Housing Bulletin No. 1).

So much for the needs — a tremendous opportunity for construction, for employment, for investment and for better living conditions.

How much of that need we meet depends to some extent upon the Federal Government, to be sure, but to a much greater extent upon the local communities, builders, lending institutions and local housing authorities.

The only other thing I want to say about it is this: we do not claim that our need distribution according to rent-value figures is precise or unalterable. We do know that if we start another building boom in this country by concentrating almost exclusively on the top rental and sales bracket, it won't last; it can't last. We can run through that market in three, four, five years. So, if we want stability, if we want a long-term campaign for better housing in this country, we have to get something approaching the distribution by rental costs I have indicated.

NEED FOR MARKET ANALYSIS

The second fact I would like to point out is a great need in this country for what we call local housing market analysis.

Housing, as everyone knows, is produced in local markets. And I suppose there is no industry or any economic activity in this country of comparable size, measured by any standard you want to set, that knows less about its market and about the needs it is trying to meet than the house building industry.

We have been working with the aid of some local agencies and groups to develop a type of market analysis for housing purposes. Housing demand in a peculiar sense is a derivative demand. It flows from population and family increase, from employment, from a community's economic base, how its people make their living. True, housing can and does make some con-

tribution to the economic base, but its demand is primarily a derived demand. In short, local market analysis has to start with an understanding of how the people in the communities make a living and what kind of a living they make, and how much they have and may be expected to pay for housing. It goes on from that to the condition of the existing supply, the available facilities for construction in terms of manpower, savings for investment, local agencies, and so on.

We believe that we will really be on the road to a firm housing policy only when we have throughout this country responsible groups, preferably combinations of official bodies and the business and industrial groups concerned with housing, making from year to year this type of local analysis of need, putting the results up in the market place where people can know and understand and talk about them and do something about them.

I would also like to believe that one of the by-products of this process of market analysis might be to give a cooling bath of fact to some of the ideological disputes that are constantly cropping up in housing.

EXTENSION OF FEDERAL AID

The third point is: We hope to have at the Federal level some extensions and improvements of the financial aids that will be available for doing this big housing job.

The National Housing Agency, as you probably know, is a war agency, established under the emergency powers of the President. It is divided into three parts, each of which has statutory position: the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration, the Federal Housing Administration and the Federal Public Housing Authority. Just a word about the program of each may help.

The Federal Home Loan Bank Administration does for the home financing institutions of the country, or a considerable part of them, roughly what the Federal Reserve System does for commercial banks. It provides a reserve secondary credit. It also insures share accounts in savings and loan associations and is liquidating the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, one of the most successful government rescue agencies in our history. The Federal Housing Administration insures loans, privately made loans for house building, repair and purchase. The Federal Public Housing Authority's long-term program is the making of loans and grants to local housing authorities for the provision of low rent housing for families of low income.

You might be interested in the participation the South has had in the programs of these three constituents of the National Housing Agency, remembering again, just for purposes of general perspective, that these are mainly non-farm programs and that the South has 20 per cent of the non-farm housing of the country.

The regional Home Loan Banks serving the South have exactly 20 per cent of the member institutions of the Federal Home Loan Bank System and these institutions have about 17 per cent of the System's total assets — just a little bit below the proportionate amount in that respect. For FHA insurance on new home mortgages from 1934 through 1944, 23 per cent of the total was in these same Southern states and they have accounted for 26 per cent of the war housing insured by the FHA. In the public housing program, the FPHA-aided program, 35 per cent of the number of units of the low-rent, pre-war program were in the South. I think this is a relatively new program in which the South took hold early, vigorously and effectively. In the war housing that is publicly financed, the South's proportion is not quite as high, being 25 per cent. These figures will give you some idea of how much the South has participated in these Federal aids that have been available in the past.

ENCOURAGING PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

We hope in the future to recommend to Congress — in fact, there are some bills pending now — certain technical changes in the law of the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration, that we believe will strengthen it, particularly by making the facilities of its member institutions available over larger areas and by giving the System a firmer financial position in the event of financial crisis.

We are also contemplating some rather technical changes in the FHA program aimed to encourage private builders and mortgage lenders to do more in the $20 to $40 area we call the middle market. Now here in the South I would say that the top of that market is considerably below $40. Around Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago, it is considerably above $40. Again I am talking in rough national averages.

We hope to provide a new form of FHA commitment-to-insure that would cover a specific housing project or a series of projects to be built. The housing construction might be carried on over a period of two or possibly even three building seasons, which would allow the

local builder to develop an organization to hit a fairly steady stride and to achieve substantial economies in construction costs. The firm commitment would also make possible more favorable construction loans to builders and reduce their marketing risks. Both of these developments ought also to contribute to lower costs.

To offset some of the uncertainties faced by purchasers of homes, particularly by families in the lower income brackets, we are working on what we call a lapse-payment schedule, which would allow a man who has a good record of payment on his mortgage to lapse a certain number of his payments on principal in the event of illness or unemployment. We think some combination of these variations of the present FHA plan might bring substantial economies in construction costs and open up this market so that some part of it can be met by sales housing.

There is, of course, the other side of the job, which is to bring in capital for rental housing for these same income groups. There we are working on what we call yield insurance which would encourage lending institutions and others to make direct investments (100 per cent investment with no mortgage) in rental projects. The Government, instead of insuring a mortgage, would insure a minimum yield on that 100 per cent investment. We think this plan might interest a very considerable number of substantial institutions which at the present time are looking for new outlets and relatively safe outlets for investment. Because the owner of such housing properties would have his own money in them, we would get more economically built, lower cost and lower maintenance property.

I don't think anything is going to blossom up over night in this area, but I do believe there is a need here for private investment and private enterprise that is not being met at the present time by any of our established and orthodox methods. And I think we can find some way of breaking down what Judge Edgar Watkins refers to as human inertia. If we do, we may have something to show by way of better housing and much better volume, as the years go on.

PUBLIC HOUSING AIDS

In the public housing area we are also working on a number of amendments, again some of them rather technical. They have three major objectives. One is to get as large a proportion of the capital necessary for public housing on direct investment in the bonds of local housing authorities rather than on loans from the Federal Government. This would give us a more effective program and a greater sense of local responsibility. We are also for a form of change in the Federal financial formula that would encourage rehabilitation projects undertaken by local authorities. So far they have undertaken only new construction. Finally, we are trying to develop a variation of this program that will make it more effective in farm areas. Let me add a few comments on this last point.

There isn't any doubt that public housing was, in its original conception, largely an urban program in spite of the fact that the preamble of the Act does refer very specifically to farm housing. Nevertheless, there were before the war, various experiments, largely in this part of the country, that adapted the formula to the needs of the poorer farm family. But they were all rather inconclusive, and the procedure was rather artificial, to put it mildly.

Roughly, it consisted of a county authority, or, in some cases, a group of county authorities, together entering some sort of a regional authority, going out to a farm where the housing conditions were poor and acquiring an acre of the farm, taking title to it, building a house on it, and renting that house either to the farmer or farm tenant. That procedure fitted in, I think it is fair to say, with few, if any, of the mores or customs of the people in such matters.

What we are trying to do is to find a more flexible and more readily understood formula. It is now suggested that the local authority building the house on the farm would sell it to the farmer over a long term of years at a rate that would return the capital only, and that there would be a subsidy to the local authority sufficient to take care of the interest during the period and any incidental expenses. It should be understood, of course, that if the farmer rented his farm and made any extra charge for the house, it could not be greater than the amount he was paying to the local authority for it.

Now two other things were very awkward in the original Act with respect to farm housing. One was the requirement that the Federal subsidy had to be matched in the past by a local subsidy in the form of a cash contribution or a tax reduction, that is, tax exemption with a service charge in lieu of taxes somewhat less than the full taxes would be. When the housing

authorities came to apply their program to farm housing, the tax exemption on farm houses would not provide enough subsidy to meet the requirements of the Act. We now recommend that the exemption of the farm house itself from taxes, regardless of the amount of that tax, should be regarded as sufficient to meet the requirements of the local subsidy. The other difficulty is the requirement that for each new house provided, a substandard one must be torn down or brought up to standard. We propose that, for farm housing, some leeway be given for varying that requirement to meet local conditions.

URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

We are also going to propose to the Congress at the appropriate time a plan for Federal aid to what has become known as urban redevelopment or land assembly for urban redevelopment.

Everyone knows that American cities rather generally are showing a pattern of blight at the center. The great blighted areas are in the older parts of the town.

The public housing program has gone into some of those areas, acquired the land and rebuilt under a subsidy for families of low income. But some of the land in large blighted areas of cities is not suitable for low income housing. Some of it should be redeveloped with privately financed housing; some of it should be turned over for non-housing uses. In addition, under the plan where the public housing authority goes in, the high cost of the land and the cost of slum buildings are loaded into the financial structure of the housing project and subsidies and interest are paid on them over a period of years. Besides, this procedure makes for confusion on the costs of this kind of housing. It seems to us, therefore, that it would be desirable to extend financial aid to a local body with power to acquire the land and make it available at an annual rental that would be much lower than is possible now if the land is bought with money under ordinary financial terms.

Let us examine this proposal. A man is building a $4,000 house and, let us say, the land and improvements cost $500 of that four thousand, about 12 per cent, which is a fairly typical figure. If he is getting money under the maximum terms allowed under the FHA, he is paying about 7.1 per cent on his capital cost for interest and amortization. On his $500 land cost, he is paying about $35 a year. Of course, one reason most modest houses built in recent years have gone up in the outlying parts of our cities is that only there can the builder or prospective owner get land for $500 and an annual cost of $35.

Now if it were possible for a local public body to borrow money from the Federal Government, say at two per cent for 100 years, the annual financial charge would not be 7.1 per cent but 2.3 per cent. The local public body, therefore, having acquired the land could lease it or sell it on a long-term contract to a builder at a little more than 2.3 per cent of the acquisition cost. Thus a plot of land costing about $1,500 would be available for redevelopment at $35 a year, the present cost of a $500 piece of land. Under such a plan of financial aid, fairly expensive blighted areas could be made available for redevelopment, either for public housing or for private housing with necessary community and neighborhood facilities. Furthermore, and this is important, the land would become available without the usual incentive to build up excessive densities in order to chop down the land cost per unit.

In addition to these near-in areas, however, another type of property in most urban areas, metropolitan areas particularly, might be handled effectively by some such plan; i. e., the outlying, defunct subdivision. There are probably as many as fifteen or eighteen million defunct subdivision lots in this country. They are not expensive, but they are almost blocked off from redevelopment by poor subdivision, poor layout, bad titles, delinquent taxes and special assessments. If we don't do something to assemble these lots and to make them available for redevelopment, the new development is going to jump on beyond them, and the process of pulling the cities apart will go on at an accelerated rate.

We feel these two related jobs—clearing out some of the interior blighted areas and making available some of the defunct subdivision property—should be undertaken by local agencies with some federal financial help. By proper judgment the local agencies could develop a program that would make available a part of those areas for redevelopment without any direct Federal subsidy, particularly in Southern cities. Perhaps in some of the cities with more expensive land in the North, where blighted property runs up to three to five dollars or more per square foot, we might need some direct subsidy. But we can go a very considerable

way merely with the benefits of the long-term interest plan I have outlined.

CONSERVATION AREAS

We are also interested in what we call conservation areas in cities. We estimate that somewhere around 35 per cent of our urban dwelling units are in what we call middle-aged or conservation areas — areas that are not now being added to, in which little or no new building is going on. Although they are not blighted, they are approaching the stage of decline and blight.

We feel that some means must be found by which this process of decline and decay can be slowed down, if not prevented. We know, however, that this also will be largely a local job. In most localities it can be attacked by better zoning. It should include some way of doing away with non-conforming uses. The local police power could also be applied through carefully drawn housing codes that would not only guide housing construction but would set decent standards for occupancy, maintenance and repair, and would establish an effective means of doing away with definitely substandard dwellings before they infect the whole neighborhood.

In times past, housing codes or ordinances that attack some of the same problems have been on the books but have been very ineffectively enforced. The great difficulty, of course, is that enforcement of occupancy and demolition standards is a very up-hill job, unless there are in the locality alternative accommodations to which the displaced families might go. When local communities will have under way a broad program of housing construction for a wide range of income brackets, they will have the necessary setting for more effective enforcement of police power regulations for the maintenance, operation and demolition of older properties. Instead of being a substitute for new construction, as some people have tried to make them out, police power measures are complementary to adequate housing construction over a broad price and rental range.

In addition, in the protection and improvement of conservation areas, attention should be given to more adequate parks and particularly small playgrounds, better routing of traffic, more convenient shopping facilities, including those for parking, and more adequate municipal services. In short, anything that adds to the safety and livableness of a residential neighborhood will help these middle-aged districts to provide acceptable housing until the time shall come for their redevelopment.

Again let me point out that most of the job to be done here lies squarely in the hands of local agencies and local citizens. The NHA will be prepared to act as a clearing-house of information and experience in neighborhood conservation and I would not belittle that service. A lot has to be learned and a means of facilitating exchange of ideas and results will help materially. We are also hoping that the FHA insurance of repair and modernization loans may be even more effective in the future and that the proposed changes in the FPHA loan and grant formula may encourage local authorities to undertake some rehabilitation projects, in addition to new construction.

LOWER HOUSING COSTS

And finally, we are very much interested in technical advance in house building and operation. The NHA has made a housing cost study from records of the FHA, the Federal Trade Commission and others, of a $5,000 house. We broke down its production cost, and we found that for each dollar of cost of the finished product, 46 cents went for materials; and of that 46 cents, 21 cents was the cost of the materials as they left the plant; and 25 cents was the cost of distribution, transportation and various profits. We found that 30 cents went to labor on the site, 12 cents for profit and overhead of general contractors and subcontractors, and about 12 cents for land and land improvements.

We then took that house and computed the monthly cost to own. It included, of course, interest, amortization, taxes, insurance, and an allowance for maintenance and repairs. And then just to show the relative proportions of these various factors of monthly cost, we figured a twenty per cent reduction of each — not that we thought a 20 per cent reduction could be or should be attained in each, but just to show their relative importance in the monthly cost to own. And we found that a 20 per cent reduction in interest rate from the 5 per cent we had assumed, made a reduction of 5.4 per cent in the monthly cost to own; 20 per cent reduction in the amortization payments reduced the monthly cost only 4.5 per cent; 20 per cent reduction in taxes produced a monthly reduction of 4.4 per cent; 20 per cent reduction in maintenance and repairs made a 3.5 per cent reduction in monthly cost; 20 per cent reduction in capital cost of the house made a reduction of 16.4 per cent in the monthly cost to own during the period of loan repayment and 11.9

per cent thereafter. I think that makes a pretty conclusive case for the desirability of all feasible reductions in the capital cost of housing.

I want to emphasize one warning: this study does not mean that reduction in capital costs of housing is the only way to open up this larger market and to realize this larger volume we are talking about. It doesn't mean that, merely because a 20 per cent reduction in the capital cost has a larger effect on monthly cost to own than 20 per cent in the other factors, we should neglect any other possible savings.

In technical research, we feel that the Federal Government might have a role. In the first place it could take and keep up to date an inventory of what has been done in universities and commercial laboratories. It could provide guidance and encouragement to those who would want to get into research in this field. It could help them avoid unnecessary duplication and overlapping. It might undertake some applied research in cost reduction as a Federal research operation. This would be limited to key problems not covered by other research programs.

IN CONCLUSION

Well, these are the things that seem to us to constitute the chief phases of an effective attack upon housing in the post-war world: (a) a clear realization of its importance and size, (b) the development of a system of local market analysis to bring the facts home so the people can do something about them, (c) certain revisions and expansion of the forms of Federal aid, (d) an urban redevelopment program that will make land available somewhere near its annual use cost for housing and other purposes, (e) some programs of Federal assistance, largely in the form of clearing house activities, to encourage conservation of middle-aged areas, and (f) research programs, the results of which will be made available to the house building industry in all its branches and, I hope, to housing consumers.

May I also suggest that achieving our full housing goals is a matter of more than construction costs, amortization periods, financial terms and aids. In addition to these technical, legal and financial practices, housing can become an art, even a fine art, if we give proper attention to design, to better neighborhood planning and layout, to better management of low rent projects, and to a wider and more democratic participation in community planning and other public features of the housing of tomorrow.

I think it is entirely possible, if we pay some attention to these things as well as to the more technical matters, that we may be able to revive the old boast among a large proportion of our population, that they are citizens of no mean city. And I think that boast is well worth the effort and the time it takes to make it a reality. With the same idea in mind, some unsung philosopher has said: "After all, nobody ever wrote a song about my old Kentucky dwelling unit."

January 2, 1946

South 200 no

Honorable Thomas L. Bailey
Governor of Mississippi
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Governor Bailey:

Thank you for your letter of December 26. I am delighted that you want to make copies of The South - America's Opportunity Number One available to the members of the Mississippi Agricultural and Industrial Board. Twenty-five copies are being sent to you under separate cover.

New Year's greetings and best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m - Separate cover
Dictated 12/28/45

25 copies of the South

✓m 1/3/46

THOMAS L. BAILEY
GOVERNOR

WILLIAM E. BARKSDALE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
JACKSON

December 26th, 1945

RECEIVED
DEC 28 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The courtesy which prompted you to send me the copy of the recent publication, "THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One", is very much appreciated. I am indeed glad to get this publication.

In view of your statement that you will make additional copies available to me, if possible, I would like to have twenty five copies to be given to the members of our state Agricultural and Industrial Board.

Thanking you for your courtesy and with best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Tom Bailey

Governor

TB/wm

STATE OF OKLAHOMA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
STATE CAPITOL

ROB'T S. KERR
GOVERNOR

January 28, 1946

RECEIVED
JAN 31 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Many thanks for sending me a copy of your recent publication "The South - America's Opportunity Number One".

While I have not, as yet, had an opportunity to go over the publication, it can be readily seen that this pamphlet will be of special interest to us in view of the problems and obstacles that face the South in this post war period.

I deeply appreciate your sending me the pamphlet.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rob S Kerr

RSK:hc

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June 4, 1946

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Dr. L. P. Gabbard, Chief, Division of Farm and Ranch Economics, Texas A. and M. has written asking that we send a copy of "The South - America's Opportunity Number One" to:

Ambassador E. J. Kyle
American Embassy
Guatamala, Central America

Ambassador Kyle, former Dean of Texas A. and M., recently saw a copy of the report in Dr. Gabbard's office and expressed a keen interest in it and a desire to have a copy for his own use. We do not have additional copies here, and I would be ever so grateful if you were to send him one.

Mr. Davlin is writing you regarding progress on our southern project. Things have moved slowly, but we believe we will soon be in full motion. As you know, we are grateful for your continued interest and look forward to your active collaboration.

E.W.
6/11/46

Sincerely,

E. J. Coil

E. J. Coil

db

cc: Dr. Gabbard

THE SOUTH

AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY NUMBER ONE

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY IN THE POST-WAR SOUTH.....Mordecai Ezekiel

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON SOUTHERN LABOR.....A. F. Hinrichs

HOW SOUTHERN GOVERNMENT-OWNED WAR PLANTS CAN AID SMALL BUSINESS.....Roger Stevens

SOUTHERN INDUSTRY AND POST-WAR MARKETS.....Wilford White

POST-WAR FOREIGN TRADE AND THE SOUTH.....August Maffry

FREIGHT RATES AND SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL GROWTH.....Edgar Watkins

THE SOUTH'S POST-WAR HOUSING PROBLEMS.....Coleman Woodbury

This booklet contains the addresses which were delivered at a Conference on the South's Post-War Economy in Atlanta, April 11-12, 1945, under the sponsorship of the Southern Regional Council. One reviewer calls it "the best thing that has been published in our part of the country since the report on Dixie by President Roosevelt's National Resources Committee." Order your copy from:

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

Price

1 copy	3 copies	10 copies
50¢	$1.00	$3.00

A PUBLICATION OF

Southern Regional Council

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
4901 Ellis Avenue
June 21, 1951

Dear George: I am sorry not to have answered your letter of May 16th, but I assumed that we had settled the matter when I talked to you on the phone.

As I suggested then, I am quite agreeable to you developing the pamphlet, and your proposal that it be written in your office and sent up here to be looked at is O.K. with me. There should be no trouble with the Louisville copyright, and I can take that matter up when the pamphlet is ready.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph D. Lohman

JDL:nl

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1951
Southern Regional Council

August 27, 1951

Mr. W. H. Headley
Chief of Police
Miami, Fla.

Dear Mr. Headley:

Here is a manuscript for a pamphlet our Council hopes to print in September. We are sending out eight or ten copies to people whose opinions we particularly value. If you would be so kind as to read through it and make changes or give suggestions as may occur to you, we would be most grateful.

You may be sure we won't quote you or involve you in any way; what we want is professional advice.

Our plan will be to get local members and friends of our Council to carry the pamphlet to chiefs and sheriffs.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

August 27, 1951

Mr. Joe Lohman
4901 Ellis Ave.
Caldwell, Ill.

Dear Joe:

Here is our proposed pamphlet. A Couple of long sections, as you will see, are boil-downs of your stuff. Other parts have drawn on still other sources.

We have aimed it at the everyday police official. We wanted to be persuasive of him when our local members carry the pamphlet to the chief or to the sheriff and talk it over with the head man.

I am trying to get opinions about the manuscript from the chief in Miami and from a former chief in Charlotte and from the chief here in Atlanta. I don't know any small town chiefs that would give me an honest opinion of it.

Fleming was helped enormously in writing it by your work.

I have a half promise from McCandless to do a foreword to it, and will write McCandless, of course--and am today sending him a copy of this manuscript.

We are a little unclear as to the paragraph on the law of arrests. Your phrase in the Louisville manual was open to the interpretation that you were describing the Kentucky law. We have assumed that what you have used here is broadly compatible with Southern legislation in this field. Are we right or are we wrong?

We send this to you not merely duty-bounden, but in earnest plea for advice and correction.

We want to print it by mid-September, so do stick it near the top of your stack.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

August 28, 1951

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Guy:

You remember we wrote Joe Lohman some time back and asked his permission to boil down the dope in his two police manuals. Joe said okay. When Fleming got into it, he used Joe's stuff as to only one or two main sections of the pamphlet.

We think it is pretty good, but we are sending it out to three or four chiefs that we know for detailed criticism.

We all remember the time and thought you put on to an earlier draft or manual. If you have the energy to run all that through your head again in looking at this, we would be grateful.

We have not loaded into this the weight of woe that Negroes in the South feel, because we thought the topmost thing to do was to win the approval and consent of plain policemen.

I have asked the Marshall Field people to give us $2,500 toward printing it and getting it out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

August 28, 1951

Mr. David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Ky.

Dear Mr. McCandless:

Many thanks for your letter. We are delighted that you have two applications from Atlanta. I know that was a hard trip, but worthwhile.

Here is a manuscript we have just finished. We propose to print something like it in mid-September. We wrote Joe Lohman a couple of months ago and had his permission to boil down the subject matter of the Chicago and Louisville manuals. And you will see that stout sections of this pamphlet are compressions of the manuals. But there are other long sections of the pamphlet which draw on gereral sources.

Our plan will be to send the pamphlet out to Southern chiefs and sheriffs and to our 3,500-odd members, with the suggestion that they arrange for local discussions of the pamphlet with the chief or with the sheriff. Additionally, we are in touch with six or seven thousand churchwomen over the South who have expressed a special concern in matters of law enforcement and court procedures. And we thought we would ask them to bring the pamphlet to the attention of local law enforcement officials. I assume we would also try to get the pamphlet some press notice. What we really hope for is that the pamphlet would help substantially in moving police personnel and the public in the South along toward thoroughly modern standards.

It is quite a lot to ask you to read it with care and make us your criticisms and suggestions. But we would be most grateful for them. We are similarly asking for criticisms from Chief Headley in Miami, Mr. Henry Yancey of Charlotte, Chief Jenkins here, and Joe Lohman himself.

You will remember that in conversation over the phone I said I hoped that you would write a foreword to the pamphlet. We think it very important to the success of the pamphlet for you to do that, if you will. We have been at pains in writing it not to be fussy and not to pick at sore points. We try to draw out the professional spirit. And a foreword from you would do a lot to set the character of the pamphlet in that professional mold. It would also get the Southern Police Institute still more widely known.

One other matter: After a good deal of thinking about it, we have not put into the pamphlet any mention of police training opportunities. They could be listed somewhere toward the end of the pamphlet. But we hesitate for several reasons. One is that we think it brash of us to be advising police departments on matters of which they all have official notification anyway. And the other is that we don't want to relate police training opportunities too intimately with race relations. We would be extra grateful for your advice on whether we should say something about training opportunities.

With high regards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

August 28, 1951

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leonard:

Do you think you could find the time to look through this proposed police pamphlet?

We are perhaps a little shaky on the paragraph (#77) on the law of arrests.

I have asked the Marshall Field Foundation to give us $2,500 toward getting this printed and sent around.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

August 28, 1951

Mr. Alex Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor St., S. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Alex:

Here is Harold's manuscript toward a police pamphlet. We had the consent of Joe Lohman to boil down parts of the two great manuals for the Chicago Park Police and the Louisville Police system. But there is a lot in here that isn't in Joe's books.

If I could persuade the Marshall Field people to give enough money to get this printed and out, then I would need your help in getting it circulated through all of your channels.

Read it if you can get the time, and tell us the changes you think it needs.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

August 28, 1951

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Ave.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hahn:

You will remember that on June 27, 1951, we made a request for $2,500 for publication of a pamphlet on improved police practices in the South.

We have completed a draft of the manuscript, and I send it along with this. We are currently getting criticisms of it from a number of police chiefs and other competent people.

We would have three main ways of getting the pamphlet into use. Firstly, it would go out as the September issue of New South to our four thousand-odd members and subscribers. Secondly, we would mail it, either from here or through our State officials, to about nine hundred sheriffs and a thousand or so chiefs of police throughout the South. Thirdly, we would get copies to as many as possible of the several thousand church-women scattered about (many of them in small places), who, as members of The Fellowship of the Concerned, have already signified to our Mrs. Tilly their interest in law enforcement and the procedures of justice.

We have been at pains in drafting this not to pick at points which would unnecessarily anger police officials. I suppose it could be argued that we have unfairly withheld from the pamphlet evidences of the accumulated woe and anger of those who have suffered from prejudiced police conduct in the South. But we did it of purpose, in order to get the maximum improvement. We honestly think that with skill and vigor in using our friends, this little pamphlet will show real results in Southern police administration within three or four years' time.

Race in the News, you will remember, amazingly changed the Southern press—in only a couple of years. This one is slower, but we will be catching a tide of sympathy and interest.

Can the ~~Fund~~ Foundation help us? The printing costs will be somewhere around a thousand dollars for 8,000 or 10,000 copies. Postage and clerical expenses for getting it out will add $500. It is hard to put a price tag on the time and effort that the Council and its staff have put into the writing, but I do not think a thousand there is out of line.

I would be most grateful for your kindness in putting our request for $2,500 on this project to the ~~Fund~~ Foundation and seeing whether it would win their approval. We would like to print it soon and would be grateful for the earliest word that would be practicable.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

August 28, 1951

Mr. Channing H. Tobias
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Ave.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Tobias:

Here is our manuscript for a pamphlet on how the police ought to behave in the South.

I have asked Maxwell Hahn to see whether the Marshall Field Foundation would give us $2,500 to print it and distribute it. A thousand of that, more or less, would pay for our cost in writing it. I put the whole matter before Mr. Hahn as a project some months ago and have just now written him (with the manuscript) for decision.

We would get it out to our own three or four thousand members. And in addition, we would get Mrs. Tilly to send copies of it to each of the six or seven thousand women who, as members of The Fellowship of the Concerned, have signified their interest in law enforcement and court procedures. We are satisfied that we could get little committees of local citizens to go, pamphlet in hand, for a visit with the chief of police or with the sheriff. And we know what that will do in little back towns.

I really think this comes at a time when the South is willing to do a lot better.

I confess that we have not loaded into the pamphlet the weight of woe felt by those who have been injured by brutal police activities. But we have written it with a view to capture the consent and approval of everyday policemen. And I hope you will agree that it is skillfully written to that end. All credit to Harold Fleming, who wrote it.

We had Joe Lohman's full approval for boiling down in some sections of the manuscript the contents of his two great manuals for the Chicago Park Police and the Louisville Police System. And we hope to have a foreword to the pamphlet written by McCandless, who is head of the Southern Police Institute at Louisville, which the Carnegie people, among others, put some money into.

I don't know how we will print this without a special grant. And I don't know who would give it to us unless the Marshall Field Foundation would.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

August 23, 1951

Mr. Henry A. Yancey
City Manager
Charlotte, N. C.

Dear Mr. Yancey:

Here is a manuscript for a pamphlet which our Council proposes to print in mid-September.

We hope that pretty widely throughout the South our members and friends will bring the pamphlet to the attention of local police departments and sheriffs.

We would be extremely grateful for your advice to us, in confidence, about the manuscript. If there are places where it would offend, let us know. And if there are other matters that require to be treated, please tell us. We wanted to be persuasive of everyday police people. And we have tried to weed out things that would unnecessarily arouse opposition.

I assure you we have not sent this around broadly, but we would be most grateful for your opinion, because we know you have had wide and truthful experience in these matters.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

August 28, 1951

Dr. Charles Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Here is our police manuscript and a letter I wrote Maxwell Hahn.

Anything you can do toward getting a small grant from the Marshall Field Foundation toward printing it would be greatly appreciated.

I send you the manuscript also because we particularly want your criticism of it--if you can find the time to look through it or have some of your people go through it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Office Copy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

August 28, 1951

Mr. Paul S. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

Here is Fleming's manuscript. I think it is quite good.

We will be grateful for your comments and criticisms, in general or in detail.

You will see I have asked Marshall Field for the money to put it out. If they flunk on us, I guess we would want to take it up with Palmer at Kingsport. But we are kind of in haste, because we want it to be the August-September issue of New South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:ec
Encl.

August 28, 1951

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, President
The Ford Foundation
1440 Wentworth Ave.
Pasadena 5, Calif.

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

You will recall that our Southern Regional Council has a request before the Ford Foundation.

As a sample of the kind of work we are doing, I send a first draft of a pamphlet we hope to get out next month. It will be sent to all chiefs of police and all sheriffs in the South, to our members, and to several thousand churchwomen who have already expressed an interest in following up on law enforcement matters in their own communities.

We hope that by these devices and with the aid of the press and with steady pushing for several years to come we can do a good deal toward bringing everyday police performance in the South up to a better standard.

The manuscript is in good part a boil-down from an important manual on police training in race relations, done by Joseph Lohman of Chicago, originally for the Chicago Park Police. We have had Mr. Lohman's permission to make use of his material in this way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

August 28, 1951

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

Could you find time to go through this manuscript? I don't know anybody whose detailed criticisms we would rather have than yours.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

August 29, 1951

Ralph A. Rose
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Ralph:

We are all appreciation for the American Friends Service Committee's check for $2,000 that came this morning.

It saves our lives, literally.

I think that the arranging about it is the wisest; and exceedingly understanding and kind of AFSC.

I think that the arranging about it is the wisest; and

Here is the first draft of the police pamphlet. We will be grateful for any comments you will make.

Your sounder sleeping friend,

George Mitchell

GSM:ec
Encl.

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WM. WALLACE LYONS (1922-1946)

August 30, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

RECEIVED
SEP 4 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

With regard to Paragraph 77 under "Standard Police Performance," as stated to you over the telephone the laws of the various States differ on an officer's authority to make an arrest without a warrant. I am not at all well versed in matters of criminal law, and I don't have any modern text book on the subject in my office.

The Encyclopedias and other legal authorities which I have examined in my office state that at common law an officer has authority to make an arrest under the following circumstances: (a) On issuance of a warrant; (b) When he has reasonable grounds for believing the person has committed a felony; (c) When an offense is committed in his presence; (d)When one is attempting to obstruct justice; (e) Fugitives from justice generally; (f) A suspected felon endeavoring to escape.

In addition to the foregoing grounds for making an arrest at common law, any deserter from the United States Army may be arrested without a warrant under an Act of Congress.

I do not find in my books that an officer has authority to make an arrest without a warrant "when a magistrate or judge orally orders him to arrest a person for an offense committed in the presence of that official."

I am sorry I cannot give you anything better than the foregoing.

Very truly yours,

Leonard Haas

Leonard Haas.

LH:LPM

"Topknot"
LINVILLE FALLS,
NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
SEP 3 1951
Southern Regional Council

1st September 1951

RECEIVED
SEP 4
Southern

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

"Race and Law Enforcement" has my complete endorsement and approval. Since you ask for suggestions, I shall make a few of a very trivial nature which you may feel entirely free to disregard. I am doubtful that the paper can undergo improvement but feel that you might like to consider the things which I mention. They go to form rather than to substance.

Several minor changes are indicated on the copy. Most of these will require no comment. Taking up those which require comment:

1 In paragraph 1 I feel that "higher standards of fitness for police service" might be preferable to your sub-heading.

2 In paragraph 12 I would suggest "professional conduct should be unfluenced by private opinions" rather than your sub-heading. The point may be a technical one but I believe that a good policeman may still retain his private opinions so long as they do not influence his professional conduct.

3 In paragraph 17 the changes which I suggest are to meet the situation that one cannot say, about an Irishman, for example, "Negroes are natural-born criminals", as the copy indicates.

4 At the end of paragraph 26 I would suggest adding: "And, if heredity were the controlling factor in criminality, no one should be punished since no one ~~knows~~ chose his ancestors".

5 I suggest switching places with paragraphs 55 and 56. The "Aggressive Crowd" seems to be the climax of that discussion and leads naturally into your discussion of mob behavior.

After paragraph 74 I suggest an insertion as follows:

Press and Speeches

The intelligent police officer should have awareness of those factors and conditions in his community which tend to produce racial conflict. The news and editorial pages of some newspapers and the speeches of some politicians have been fertile causes of friction. Whenever - now, happily, quite rarely - a newspaper advocates under one guise or another the quaint

old doctrine of "white supremacy", the officer should beware. Men of weak intellect may take the paper seriously. When at two or four year intervals a politician blows upon the embers of an ancient prejudice, he should not be dismissed as a curious relic of an age long past. The man possesses potentiality for harm. Such explosions from sanctum or hustings are danger signals to a policeman mentally equipped for his job. He will sharpen his alertness to see that the illiterate and unintelligent are not incited to violence.

At the end of paragraph 79 I would suggest adding a paragraph as follows:

A policeman's duty, of course, involves much more than the detection of crime and arrest of the offender. The officer is frequently a witness; he is always a potential source of news. In the former capacity, common honesty and decency require that he not color his testimony by reflecting racial antipathy; in the latter capacity, his disclosures to the press - if, indeed, they are necessary at all - should be completely uninfluenced by the race of the parties involved. Too often the verdict of a jury has been determined by advance publicity, responsibility for which in some instances must be shared by policeman and reporter.

At the end of paragraph 81 I would suggest adding a paragraph as follows:

Often the policeman is custodian of the prisoner in the interval between arrest and trial. He deals with an individual who is physically at his mercy. Under such circumstances the obligation not to abuse power is paramount to all other considerations. Yet the annals of all courts reveal instances of confessions extorted by violence and of brutality when confession is not the object. While race is not always a factor in such brutality, it must be admitted with shame that Negroes, far more often than whites, have been the victims. Under all circumstances, prisoners are entitled to humane treatment. Merely to treat prisoners differently because of difference in race is itself inhumanity.

The article seems to me to end somewhat abruptly. I believe it might be strengthened by adding after paragraph 91 the following:

Policeman as Embodiment of the Law.

We are abjured to have respect for law. But the law is an abstraction and it is difficult to have respect for an abstraction. As we do with all abstractions, we tend to

personalize the law, to think of it in human terms, as the legislators who wrote it, the judge who interprets, the lawyer who practices. If we have respect for those men we tend to have respect for the law. But for most of us the figure who personifies the law is the policeman. Since he alone regulates conduct - which is the function of law - to most of us he is the Law. There can be no genuine respect for law combined with contempt for the policeman.

The policeman who brings proper mental and professional equipment and high moral principle to the discharge of his exacting duties does far more than walk a beat or direct traffic. He contributes to the creation of universal respect for law upon which depend the security and happiness of all mankind.

These suggestions are diffidently submitted and only in order that you may have them before you so as to determine whether or not adoption of any of them would actually strengthen the paper.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

MAW:L

M. A. Wright

enc.

RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

A Guide To Modern Police Practice

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

THE PROFESSIONAL POLICEMAN

The good police officer is a good public servant

1 Time was when all it took to make a policeman was a badge and a gun. That kind of law enforcement officer is a familiar figure in stories and movies about the "Wild West". He wasn't just a servant of the law; he was the law.

2 All of us have about the same idea, dating back to our childhood, of what this "hombre" was like. He was the toughest man in those parts. He could shoot straighter and faster than anybody else around, and, what's more, he had a habit of shooting first and asking questions later. (The stories and movies don't tell us how many men he "shot first" and found to be innocent "later".) This hard-riding, hard-shooting specimen probably never read a book in his life. If he knew anything about statutory law, the rules of evidence, or constitutional protections of the individual, it was pure accidental. His main activity was throwing his weight around, and he didn't need much training for that.

3 Such a frontier character would be hopelessly out of place on any modern police force. Picture him directing traffic at a busy intersection, gathering scientific evidence at the scene of a crime, or giving factual testimony that would stand up in a well-run court. He wouldn't get very far, either in any self respecting community, striding down the main thoroughfare, shoving people around and shooting off his six-guns at the slightest provocation.

4 Yet, far-fetched as that sounds, something like it can be found even today in many towns and cities. Nearly every police force has its members whose attitude toward law enforcement would fit better in the old West than in the present-day United States. Those are the policemen who always use strong-arm methods in making arrests, who are experts in

the "third degree", who bully underprivileged and unpopular elements of the community, who think their badge gives them authority to judge and punish a suspect, who don't hesitate to enforce not only the law but their own prejudices as well.

5 Some people are inclined to take such policemen as representative of all law enforcement officers. That is as unfair, of course, as any other prejudice which condemns a whole group because of the actions of some of its members. Able, conscientious policemen have no use whatever for the bully in uniform. They know he disgraces his fellow officers and brings discredit on one of the highest callings in our society.

6 Fortunately, there is a growing understanding, both in police circles and in the public at large, of just how important law enforcement is. More and more, we are realizing that it's not merely another job, but a profession, requiring the same high standards of public service as medicine, law, or education.

7 To understand why this is so we only need consider for a moment the tremendous responsibilities which fall on the law enforcement officer. His duty is to preserve law and order, no matter what the danger or the difficulties may be. The public looks on him as a symbol. He stands for the impartial authority of government, which favors no race, religion, national origin, income bracket, or social group. In carrying out his duties, he is expected to be immune to pressures of all sorts -- personal, political, or financial. He has an obligation not only to apprehend the guilty, but also to protect the innocent. He must know what the law is and, equally important, what the law is not.

8 Obviously such a position calls for more than just a badge and a gun. This is how J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has summed it up:

9 "Law enforcement is a career service. Each officer should dedicate his life to the service and protection of others. A successful police

officer must put aside his personal opinions in the line of duty, renounce pursuit of wealth, and seek only the highest good for the organization he represents so that the community may live in peace and security. The badge of a law enforcement officer is a sacred trust which must be guarded with his whole mind and his whole body, for it is his to hold only while he lives a life beyond all reproach and censure.

10 "The law enforcement officer is the guardian of civil rights, the protector of the weak, and the defender of the innocent. The community recognizes his training in public service and his loyal devotion to duty. He is the friend of every child and the ally of each law-abiding adult. By far the greater portion of his work is the removing of the ugly finger of suspicion from innocent persons.

11 "A modern law enforcement officer is a well-bred gentleman of clean habits, high morals, clear mind, and sound body. Well trained in his profession, he treats all with respect without deference to anyone..."

THE PROBLEM OF PREJUDICE

The professional police officer lays aside his private opinions when he puts on his uniform

12 The professional attitude is easy to describe, but it is not so easy to achieve. It is particularly hard where the policeman's own deepest prejudices are involved. Like most people, he has had certain notions drummed into him by parents, friends, neighbors and society in general. Some of these notions have to do with minority groups -- people who, in one way or another, are regarded as "different." It's a rare policeman indeed who hasn't absorbed one or more of the unreasoning prejudices against racial, religious, or nationality groups to be found in this country.

13 Fortunately, he can do something about it. There's nothing inevitable about prejudice. It is something we learn, not something we're born with. And what can be learned can be unlearned.

14 In the South, of course, Negroes make up the largest minority group. And most white Southerners have fixed ideas about Negroes as a race which they seldom bother to question. Take these statements, for example:

"Negroes are natural-born criminals."

"You can't trust a single one of them."

"Give them an inch and they'll take a mile."

"Colored people are biologically inferior to white people."

15 The person who says these things isn't really expressing a thought-out opinion about the Negro race. He is either repeating something he has heard all his life, or he is trying to find an easy excuse for the way he feels and acts toward Negroes. He makes no effort to find out what science has to say about differences between the races. Nor does he try to explain why it is that so many Negroes plainly don't fit his defini-

tion. If you contradict him with well-known scientific facts, he will very likely refuse to accept them -- or even more likely, he will get angry. The trust is, he isn't interested in facts; he is only interested in what he wants to believe.

16 This attitude is my no means limited to the South or to anti-Negro groups. It is the age-old pattern of prejudice anywhere, any time.

17 An interesting thing about the statements quoted above is that they have been applied to any number of "minorities". The same things were said, for example, about Irish immigrants to this country in the last century; about Polish and Italian-Americans; about Mexicans and Orientals. Hitler used them to stir up hatred against the Jews. In every case, the minority involved was described as criminal, untrustworthy, aggressive, and innately inferior.

18 A wise police officer has pointed out that officers of the law ought to be especially able to understand the falseness of such group libel. "We don't have to look at a racial minority group to make that point," he said. "We can just think about ourselves. I run into far too many people who think of a policeman as an ignorant, flat-footed, stupid fellow that any private detective or layman can outwit. This stereotype of us has been developed in detective stories, in the movies, in cartoons, and on the stage. We know there are as many different kinds of people in police work as there are patterns of finger prints. Yet some of us have the stereotyped idea that a Negro is lazy, indolent, lustful, and carries a razor. And that thinking doesn't work for us as policemen. Until we realize that there are just as many different kinds of Negroes as there are different kinds of policemen, we shan't be able to make intelligent and creditable decisions."

19 It is to every American's interest to rid himself of prejudices and to avoid its outward form, discrimination. For a country such as ours -- made up of many racial, religious, and nationality groups -- could not long

survive bitter conflict between those groups. The cornerstone of a democracy is the idea that differences, between individuals and between groups, should be accepted and, what is more, can be made to advance ~~work together~~ ~~for~~ the common welfare. When any group is persecuted or denied equality before the law, the very basis of our American system is threatened.

20 If it is important for private citizens to recognize these facts, it is doubly important for police officers, whose job is to maintain public order and protect individual liberties. Unfortunately, the record of the police in this respect has been far from perfect. Minority groups have often had good reason to feel that the cards are stacked against them -- that they don't stand a chance of an impartial treatment at the hands of the law.

21 A police officer who takes his profession seriously has a double duty to perform. First, he must examine his own attitudes so that he can recognize his prejudices and put them under strict control. (Ideally, of course, he will want to free himself completely from prejudiced opinions; but whether or not he wishes to do that, he has an absolute responsibility to exclude them from his official conduct.)

22 Secondly, he must learn the nature of group prejudice and its dangers as a threat to law and order. To cope successfully with racial conflict, mob violence, and other tension situations, he will need more than impartiality -- although that is essential. He will need to know the facts about race, what causes racial friction, and how to proceed so as to ease rather than aggravate tension.

THE FACTS ABOUT RACE

Modern police science relies on verified technical knowledge, not on idle rumor and superstition

23 Most of us hold some beliefs that have no basis whatever in fact. These range all the way from the superstitious fear of black cats to the conviction that all people with red hair are quick-tempered. Though such notions have no more substance than fairy tales, we cling to them for one of two reasons -- because the notions suit our purposes, or because we are too lazy to find out the facts. Thinking -- the only way to form sound opinions -- is hard work. It's much easier to swallow what somebody else tells us is the "low-down". If the hand-me-down idea gives us a chance to feel superior, to take advantage of a situation, or to ease our conscience, all the better.

24 The more reasonable we are, however, the less stock we put in the things people "know for a fact" but can't prove. We want at least some authoritative evidence for what we believe. The professional person, in particular, can't afford to put his trust in popular myths that are belied by the findings of science. If a doctor insisted on using the old folk remedy of "letting blood", his patients would soon leave him -- either head first or feet first. He certainly couldn't claim much professional standing.

25 No one needs more authentic knowledge about human beings than the policeman does. He is involved with people constantly, often under the most trying circumstances. If he lets himself be guided by false notions about them, he cannot hope to be either competent or respected.

26 The modern practice of crime prevention couldn't develop so long as police authorities held to the mistaken belief that criminals are born, not made. We know now that this is not true, that there is no such thing as inborn criminality. The criminal is the product of the influences he

is exposed to from childhood — at home, at school, in his neighborhood. If crime prevention and reform were based on the old idea of "born criminals", the police would spend their time checking up on the individual's ancestors instead of on the individual himself. (1)

add

27 By the same token, efficient police work with minority groups hinges on accurate knowledge about them. The following brief summary of the scientific facts about race is presented with that in mind.

The Human Race

Most scientists agree that human beings can be roughly classified into three racial groupings: Caucasoid (the "white" race), Mongoloid (the "yellow race"), and Negroid (the "black race"). But this classification is mostly a matter of convenience. All human beings had a common origin and so are distant cousins. As they scattered over the earth, they developed certain surface differences. People of the three main racial stocks, like members of big families, developed a general sort of resemblance. But even in the same stock, there has always been a wide range of physical features and personality traits.

29 At one time, the three racial types lived in fairly distinct areas of the earth and had a high degree of racial "purity". But for thousands of years migration and mixture have been taking place, so that today the races are not clear-cut. For that reason, some scientists look on racial classification as artificial and recognize only one category — the human race.

30 Nationality and Race

It is an all-too-common mistake to think of people with a common nationality or common history as a race. There is no "Irish race", "Italian race", or "American race." People of all three racial stocks — Caucasoid, Mongoloid, Negroid — can be found in Ireland, Italy, and the United States: the majority in all three countries is of the Caucasoid or white race.

Nor is there a "Jewish race." The Jews are a religious and cultural group, identified by a common historical background rather than any inborn traits of body and behavior. There are those who claim they can always recognize a Jew, an Italian, or a member of some other non-racial group. But their own experience contradicts them. The many different physical types in each group often makes such identification impossible.

Race and Color

31 Though we sometimes think of color and race as the same thing, we are not thinking very clearly. Many persons of Negro ancestry are lighter than persons of entirely white ancestry. This is partly because of racial mixture, and partly because the skin color of most of the world's people is somewhere between the extremes. Only a comparative handful are markedly white, black, or yellow. The exaggerated importance we attach to color is social, not biological. Its only meaning in physical terms is that, over the centuries, the skin of human beings adapts itself to such natural conditions as intense heat and cold.

Race and Bodily Structure

32 Tall and short, fat and thin, longheaded and roundheaded, straight-haired and curlyhaired -- each of these traits is found is all three of the racial stocks. The bodily differences that exist are minor ones, such as color, head shape, facial features, hair texture, shape of the shinbone. These are truly "skin-deep" and do not reflect any vast underlying differences in physical or mental ability. Differences between the races are not as great as differences between individuals of the same race.

Race and Blood

33 One of the most persistent of popular myths is the notion that inherited racial characteristics are carried in the bloodstream. (That is much the same thing as the false assumption that family behavior traits are "in the

blood".) But the expressions "white blood", "colored blood", "mixed blood" and "pure blood" are so much nonsense. Human blood is of four types, and every race has all four types. A transfusion between persons of the same race may prove fatal, whereas a transfusion between persons of different races may be life-saving. Separate blood banks for whites and Negroes thus can be a serious hazard in time of crises. The American Red Cross some time ago abolished this superstitious and dangerous practice throughout its organization.

Race and Intelligence

34 There is no scientific evidence that race has anything to do with intelligence. High and low degrees of intelligence are found among Negroes and whites and Orientals. Differences in intelligence scores result from differences in income, amount and quality of education, and general social background. Poor and underprivileged groups, whatever their race, fare worst in such tests. For example, tests of Army draftees showed that Negroes from certain Northern states made higher intelligence scores than whites from certain Southern states. The results did not reflect racial differences, but differences in educational and cultural opportunities.

Race and Achievement

35 As the facts above show, the notion that one race is naturally superior or inferior to another race is without foundation. Each race has its geniuses and each its morons. At various times in history, each of the three racial stocks has been dominant in the civilized world, and each has experienced savagery. Customs, like prejudices, are learned, not inborn. Language, clothing, technology, religion, personal habits are acquired after birth. When a man boasts of his "superior race", he is really boasting about his good fortune. He should say that he was lucky enough to be born in a society that offers unusual opportunities. Every normal individual, given the necessary training and opportunity, is capable of normal achievement -- regardless of race.

BACKGROUND OF RACIAL TENSIONS

The first step in curing a disease is to understand its causes

36 Science tells us that physical differences between the races are unimportant. Yet racial tensions do exist. The police officer, of all people, needs an understanding of why they exist. More often than not, it will be his task to act as mediator in racial disputes and keep them from spreading into large-scale disorders. He can do so successfully only if he knows what forces are at work among the persons involved.

Negro-White Relations

37 Although slavery in the South was abolished over eighty years ago, its effects are still with us. As we have seen, there is no evidence that Negroes are an inferior race, that they were intended by nature to be servants, or that they are any less capable of achievement than white people. But, in an effort to justify slavery, the white South convinced itself that these things were true. All kinds of differences between the races were thought up to make slavery seem natural and right.

38 Over a period of time, these notions became deeply rooted in people's minds. It became easier and easier for the white Southerner to persuade himself that the Negro was an inferior being. Lacking the opportunity for education, Negroes were described as ignorant by nature. Denied basic human dignity, they were labeled "shiftless", irresponsible, criminally inclined. Dependent on white people for their very survival, many learned to act in ways that would please the whites; for this, they earned the reputation of being child-like and "born servants." Since any show of discontent on their part threatened the whole basis of slavery, they were constantly reminded to stay "in their place".

39 The passions and bitterness growing out of the Civil War and the Reconstruction era served to freeze these attitudes into law and daily custom. The fact that the newly-freed Negro was held to the lowest educational and economic level helped carry on the stereotypes of the slave society. Various individuals and groups found they could secure power for themselves by stirring up racial fear and hatred. When their purposes could not be achieved within the law, they resorted to extra-legal violence.

40 As a result of all this -- and more -- we are faced today with a problem in Negro-white relations in which emotion rather than reason calls the tune.

Demagogues and Special Interests

41 Many racial incidents don't just happen. They are caused. There have always been unscrupulous men who have used racial, religious, and national prejudices to further their ends. Sometimes, as in the case of the Nazis and Fascists, they are after personal power. Sometimes, as in the case of professional bigots, they are after money. Sometimes, as in the case of race-baiting politicians, they are after votes.

42 But, whatever their aim may be, their methods are always the same; a minority group is singled out as a threat to the majority's welfare. By focusing attention on this "enemy" and drumming up fear and hostility against him, the demagogue hopes to blind people to the true issues. Once he has worked his followers up to the proper hysterical pitch, he moves to accomplish his own selfish ends. That is how Hitler came to power in Germany -- and how many small-scale Hitlers work here at home. The police officer must be on his guard against these hate-mongers. Above all, he must not let himself be taken in by their appeals to emotion and prejudice.

Competition

43 One of the raw materials with which the demagogue works is the human tendency to want to keep ahead of the other fellow. People compete for all manner of things — for jobs, for homes, for prestige. They compete as individuals and, on a broader scale, as groups. In the South — as well as many places in the North — this competitive drive assumes its most dangerous form in race relations. Many white persons mistakenly regard the Negro as a threat to their security. They see him as a potential competitor for jobs, for decent housing, or for public services. Consequently, they are quick to oppose any efforts by Negroes to improve their lot in employment, housing, and citizenship.

44 On the other hand, Negroes are naturally interested in bettering their condition. They are, increasingly, protesting the limited opportunities which set them apart from other citizens. They seek the unhampered right to vote, to run for public office, to enjoy an equal share of public services, to move into adequate housing outside slum areas, to hold better jobs. Where Negro pressure at these points is strong and white resistance is high, emotion can most easily be fanned into conflict.

"Scapegoating"

45 It should be stressed that Negro ambition does not of itself produce tension and conflict. Many white Southerners believe it only right that Negroes should share equally in the fruits of our society. Others are at least willing to live and let live; they have their prejudices, but they do not condone lawless activities. A third and much smaller category are those who are quick to answer the call to violence; they are the first members of any mob, the natural followers of the rabble-rouser.

46 This last group is one with which the civil authorities are especially concerned. What makes these persons so prone to emotional appeals, so ready to resort to force? All of them, of course, are individuals with their

own distinctive families, friends, enemies, problems, fears, and so on. What is the common element that fuses them into a frenzied mob, moved by a single destructive purpose? Psychologists tell us this common element is a deep sense of insecurity and resentment. The violence-prone man is one who feels he has been cheated by life, that he has been neglected and mistreated. As an outlet for his feelings, he seeks a "scapegoat" -- someone to blame, and thus to hate.

47 In the South, the presence of the Negro furnishes such persons with a ready-made hate object. The Negro has been a relatively "safe" victim, since he has lacked the political and social influence to fight back effectively. And the existence of widespread prejudice against him has lent some degree of social sanction to mob violence. Fortunately, however, in recent years public opinion has turned sharply against the terrorist activities of such groups as the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians. But the mob spirit is still a serious threat to law and order.

48 Plainly the solution to race prejudice and conflict calls for more than good policing. But knowing the roots of the problem enables a police officer to handle racial tensions with the necessary skill and impartiality.

MOB PREVENTION AND CONTROL

Riots, like forest fires, are best stopped before they start

49 As we have seen, the person with a marked taste for violence is emotionally abnormal. But "normal" and "abnormal" are relative terms. All of us are affected, to some degree, by emotional appeals. We have all had the experience of "going off half-cocked," of being "carried away" by group excitement. That should help us understand why the mob spirit is so contagious. Even people who are usually reasonable and law-abiding may, on occasion, succumb to mass hysteria. When they do, they lose all sense of responsibility and are capable of cruel and destructive acts that ordinarily would horrify them.

50 Police work should be primarily concerned with stopping such emotional epidemics before they get started. The efficient police officer knows the danger signals and knows what to do when he sees them.

TYPES OF CROWDS

51 Crowds of all kinds, peaceful or disorderly, develop in much the same way. Most of them, of course, do not require the active intervention of the police. But it is just as important to know when not to intervene as it is to know when to exercise police authority. Generally speaking, crowds are of four types: causual, conventional, aggressive, and expressive.

Causual Crowd.

52 A good example of this type is the group that gathers at a store window to watch a demonstration. Such a group has little organization, no unity of purpose, and its members come and go. It responds easily and directly to a "move-on" or "keep-moving" order.

Conventional Crowd.

53 The conventional crowd gathers for an appointed purpose -- to watch a

ball game, a wrestling match, or some other set event. In this type of crowd, established rules govern the behavior of the individual, and outbreaks of large-scale disorder are not common. But it is possible for such a crowd to become unruly and violent. The hurling of pop bottles at an umpire is a familiar instance; the example of one excited person often serves to start a chain-reaction of bottle-throwing. The likelihood of mass disturbances is reduced by rigid enforcement of the rules and by eliminating easily thrown objects. (For example, the practice of serving drinks in paper cups at athletic events is a wise precaution.)

54 In times of tension, public excitement, or strong feeling of any kind, the conventional crowd should be well policed. The restraining effect of the police uniform has been demonstrated time and time again. The mere presence of uniformed policemen in considerable numbers is enough to curb aggressiveness in the conventional crowd.

Aggressive Crowd.

55 This type presents an acute policing problem. The aggressive crowd is bent on damage. It has leadership, purpose, direction. We will discuss it further under "Mob Behavior."

Expressive Crowd.

56 This type is often mistakenly regarded as dangerous and treated accordingly. It is important to avoid this confusion. An expressive crowd is so called because its members are involved in some of expressive behavior -- dancing, singing, worshipping. Such action is not harmful to others and is best let alone, so long as there is no serious breach of the peace. Indeed, harsh interruption of it may have the undesirable effect of turning the crowd's energy into destructive channels.

MOB BEHAVIOR

57 A race riot is much like a forest fire. It starts with a small, seemingly trivial spark. But, left to its own devices, it spreads rapidly and is soon completely out of control. The initial spark may be any incident that sets off public excitement -- an automobile accident involving a white person and a Negro, an expression of resentment by a group of whites toward Negro home-owners in the neighborhood, or any similar occurrences.

58 The key to successful police handling is calm, decisive action -- the earlier the better. Much depends on the individual police officer's ability to estimate the stage of mob development, for on that must hinge the right decision as to a course of action.

First Stage -- Milling.

59 Any exciting incident will attract a curious crowd of onlookers. If a policeman is on hand early, he can head off trouble by making a quick determination of the facts and then removing the disputing parties from the scene.

60 Many times, however, an officer arrives on the scene only after a crowd has formed and is already showing considerable excitement. As an incident attracts more and more individuals, they are pushed and jostled against each other, much like sheep in a corral. They move about in a rather aimless fashion, passing on to each other the collective excitement of the situation. This is known as the milling process.

61 The milling crowd is caught up in a vicious circle: one individual stimulates excitement in another. He, in turn, stimulates it in a third, who may, in turn, restimulate the first individual to an even higher pitch of excitement. If this process goes on, the crowd will develop a life of its own. The individuals will lose themselves in the mob and respond only to its moods and feelings.

62 The resourceful police officer can sometimes put a stop to the milling process before it gets out of control. His aim is to separate the individuals from each other as much as possible, so that the contagious circle is broken. The methods he uses will depend on the nature of the crowd and his own imagination and common sense. One skillful officer was successful in ordering an excited crowd to form a column of fours, thus substituting an orderly formation for the milling process.

Second Stage -- Collective Excitement.

63 Often the unity of a crowd is too great for a simple measure to be effective. In such instances, it becomes necessary for the police to remove the most excited individuals -- that is, the "ringleader" who play such an important part in organizing a mob. It is foolhardy, however, for a lone police officer to try to carry out such an action single-handedly. He not only will endanger his own safety, but probably will further arouse the crowd's ugly tendencies. What is called for is a show of force -- the presence of an impressive number of uniformed policemen. That does not necessarily mean that they should use force. Their mere presence often has a sobering influence. The removal of the key individuals then makes it possible to disperse the remaining crowd.

64 This method has the advantage that an early show of force usually averts the necessity of a later, often tragic, use of force.

Third Stage -- Social Contagion.

65 In this period, the small original crowd is swelled by large number of bystanders. They usually know little, if anything, about the incident which set off the excitement. But, though they are attracted solely by curiosity, they are quickly captured by the mood of the mob and begin to take part in its behavior. As experienced policemen know, the majority of the people

injured or arrested in the course of a riot are "innocent bystanders" who were drawn into the disturbance.

66 The police cordon is an effective means of curbing the growth of a mob. Policemen, stationed around the area of disturbance, permit people to escape from the crowd but keep new individuals from joining it. The danger is thus isolated and prevented from mushrooming.

67 Other control techniques are based on the natural structure of crowds. Tension is usually highest at a point -- front and center. Here the excited individuals who play the key role in mob behavior are located. And this is the point where police attention should be centered if the most disturbing influences are to be controlled.

68 For the same reason, it has often proved effective to start at the outer edges -- where individuals are less aroused -- directing the crowd to "break up and go home." Such a direction, broadcast over a loudspeaker, can do much to turn a crowd away from its most excited members. Once the individual's attention is attracted from outside the crowd, he begins to respond again to reason and authority.

RUMOR

69 Wild rumors about minority groups are not only a symptom of tension; they are one of its chief causes. Because of this, they are a matter of concern to the police authorities.

70 Rumors, like idle gossip, change in the telling. Every time they are repeated they take on different, more distorted details. By the time they have been repeated several times, they no longer bear any resemblance to the events which first inspired them. Studies have shown that the person who repeats a rumor alters it unconsciously to fit his prejudices and expectations. Thus rumors involving race are likely to assume a particularly false and violent aspect.

71 One of the most common, and most dangerous, of rumors is the one which spreads the warning that "the Negroes are arming." During the war, this rumor, in various forms, made its appearance in place after place. In one large Southern city, a riot was narrowly averted after the story spread that Negroes had bought up all the ice picks in town. This charge, which probably got its start in the over-active imagination of a single individual, was pure fiction. But repeated public assurances to that effect by the police, radio, newspapers, and civic organizations were required to prevent public disorder from resulting.

72 The most dangerous feature of rumors is their tendency to produce counter-rumors. For example, the ~~disastrous~~ sanguine race riot of 1946 in Columbia, Tennessee, stemmed largely from this process. The story spread in the white community that the town's Negroes were arming in preparation for an attack; whereupon, many of the white people took up arms. This inspired the belief in the Negro community that the whites were readying an attack; as a result, many Negroes did, in fact, arm themselves for defense. By nightfall, mutual suspicion and hostility had grown to explosive proportions. An ill-considered expedition by police authorities into the Negro community was all it took to touch off the fuse.

73 It seems hardly necessary to point out the folly of the police believing or acting on the basis of rumor. Yet it has happened. That should be warning enough of the need for an active awareness in police circles of the nature of rumor.

74 The role of the police in dealing with rumors has a double aspect. First, police officials must regard them as signals. If rumors are plentiful, they should be reported. Cleared through the central police offices, they can become an effective barometer of the state of mind of the community, a warning of possible trouble to come. Second, the individual officer can help minimize the effect of rumors by not repeating them outside official circles.

He can also demand proof from the carrier of the tale and make clear to him the danger of his action. Scotching a rumor at any point can be of great value in limiting its spread. add (3)

STANDARDS OF POLICE PERFORMANCE

The proper object of police surveillance is conduct, not color.

75 Following are some of the key principles of good policemanship. While they are essential in police work generally, they are especially so in situations involving the ~~sensitive~~ delicate factor of race.

1. Knowledge of the Law. Nobody can be a police officer, in the proper sense, if he does not know the law he is supposed to uphold. The competent officer is familiar with the federal, state, and local statutes which most commonly apply to his duties. Included are those which define the authority of the police, the rights of the individual, and in some cases the relations between the races.

76 The police officer who lacks this knowledge is in constant danger of exceeding his authority. In such areas as race relations, he is likely to go beyond the law and attempt to enforce his private notions of "what is good for" people. That is not only poor policing, but is itself a violation of the law.

77 It may be well to note here that the law of arrest has its own limitations. Briefly, an officer's authority to make an arrest is confined to these ~~four~~ five circumstances: (a) on issuance of a warrant; (b) when he has reasonable grounds for believing a person has committed a felony; (c) when an offense is committed in his presence; (d) to prevent the commission of a threatened felony; (e) when a magistrate or judge orally orders him to arrest a person for an offense committed in the presence of that official.

2. Courtesy. One of the first duties of a policeman is courteous treatment of the citizens he has been selected to serve. That applies in all but those fairly rare cases when the policeman is faced with open violence. Too

often, police officers forget that they are, literally, public servants. Their livelihood is made possible by tax funds. The public, then, has a special right to expect courteous treatment from them.

3. Fairness and Impartiality. As we have already observed, the professional police officer, whatever his private sympathies may be, plays no favorites in his official capacity. But when a racial dispute occurs, almost invariably he finds that he is expected to take sides. The fact that an officer is white is often taken as a guarantee that he will favor the white disputants. At the very outset, he must make it clear to both parties that that is not the case. As a representative of the law, he recognizes no color — he sees only individuals and their actions.

78 If this is to be understood, he must take particular care to avoid offensive racial terms. The policeman who uses the word "nigger" or addresses a Negro man as "boy" has forfeited every claim to impartiality. On the other hand, if he uses the same official manner with whites and Negroes alike, he will find that both respect him for it.

79 In an interracial dispute, when issues are muddled and tempers are hot, it is a good rule for the policeman to insist that both parties file complaints. Add 2

4. Acting on the Facts. People involved in a racial incident are nearly always excited and upset. That is all the more reason why the police officer must not be. It is his job to remain calm and find out exactly what has happened. Not until he is sure of his ground does he take action. But then he acts quickly and resolutely. Prompt action, based on the facts, is the best safeguard against spreading disorder.

5. Force. The American idea of justice is well expressed in the everyday phrase, "A man is innocent until he is proved guilty." The Bill of Rights

says essentially the same thing when it declares that no person shall be deprived of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

80 This Constitutional provision puts definite limits on police authority. The responsibility for branding a suspect guilty rests with the courts, not with the police. When guilt is established, the courts -- and only the courts -- are empowered to impose punishment. The policeman's functions are to preserve the peace and, when necessary, to make arrests. He may make investigations and collect evidence, but he does so, in effect, as an agent of the court. It is the court's business to decide whether or not the evidence warrants finding a suspect guilty.

81 It follows from all this that the use of force is not usually the policeman's function. It is justified only when absolutely necessary to overcome resistance to arrest, or when the police officer is physically attacked. Even in these two circumstances, the policeman may legitimately use only as much force as is required. Anything beyond that is not law enforcement, but punishment. This is true even when the policeman has had insulting language hurled at him. Disrespect for an officer may be grounds for a legal charge, but it is never grounds for physical violence. Add

6. <u>Community Relations</u>. The police officer daily comes in contact with a large segment of the public. The impression he creates affects not only his own reputation but that of his department and civil authority in general. For people tend to look on the individual policeman as typical of all law enforcement agents.

82 Thus the policeman who conducts himself well in his day-to-day activities wins respect for his whole profession. In addition, he makes his work easier and more productive. If he has the friendship and respect of the people in his area, he is more likely to know when trouble is brewing; and he will have little difficulty getting information and evidence when they

are needed.

83 Negroes are especially sensitive to the daily behavior of police officers. Their unhappy experiences with men in uniform have made them, as a group, unusually watchful. They are quick to spot evidence of prejudice -- and just as quick to spot fairness. Most Negroes, like most whites, are respectable, law-abiding people. They want to feel they are safe on the streets, at their work, in their homes. Consequently, they have no respect for the policeman who makes alliances with questionable characters in the community, who takes a light view of crime among Negroes, or who habitually uses rough tactics.

84 Too often, white policemen serving in Negro neighborhoods fail to recognize these elementary facts. Since, quite naturally, they often come in contact with the criminal element, they sometimes take Negro lawbreakers as representative of the whole community. That is not only unfair but is a great handicap to sound enforcement of the law. For the policeman who takes such a narrow view of the Negro community cuts himself off from all its constructive resources. He would be much wiser to develop cordial relationships with responsible Negro citizens, acquaint himself with their civic organizations and activities, and build a reputation as a conscientious officer who can be counted on to protect all law-abiding citizens.

85 Many Southern towns and cities have employed Negro policemen for service in the Negro community. This is a sound practice and has proved its value everywhere it has been tried. It gives Negro citizens a sense of participation in this vital area of local government. As a result, they have greater confidence in, and respect for, law enforcement agencies.

LAWS AFFECTING POLICE PRACTICES

Federal Law

86 In the 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, we find the language which has brought race and minority-group problems within the sphere of the Federal Government. Section I provides, in part:

> "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

87 Under this provision, the U. S. Supreme Court has outlawed discrimination based on race in such areas as the following: voting, residential zoning, interstate travel on buses and railroads, segregation in railroad dining cars, peonage, inequality in education.

88 A number of federal statutes have spelled out in more detail acts forbidden under the Constitution, and the penalties for violation. The following provisions of the United States Civil Rights Code are clear and self-explanatory:

> "All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every State and Territory to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses, and exactions of every kind, and to no other." (U.S.C.A., Title 8, Section 41)

> "All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property." (U.S.C.A., Title 8, Section 42)

> "Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other persons within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, and in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress." (U.S.C.A., Title 8, Section 43)

> "If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any

right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of having exercised the same,...they shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than 10 years, and shall, moreover, be thereafter ineligible to any office or place of honor, profit or trust, created by the Constitution or laws of the United States." (U.S.C.A., Title 18, Section 51)

"Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, wilfully subjects, or causes to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United State, or to different punishments, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color, or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."

State Law and Municipal Ordinances

89 The Southern state constitutions contain most of the protections of the individual found in the Bill of Rights and other Amendments to the United States Constitution. These provisions, together with state laws and municipal ordinances, will most commonly guide the police officer in protecting the rights of citizens and conducting himself impartially with minority groups.

90 Most Southern states prescribe segregation in certain clearly defined areas of public life. These rarely include purely personal relationships or private gatherings. The police should have a thorough knowledge of such regulations and should scrupulously avoid overstepping their bounds. Court decisions and legislative activity are constantly changing and revising existing law and reducing the situations to which it applies. These changes should promptly be reflected in police practices.

91 In order to protect minority groups from organized violence, a number of Southern states have passed measures outlawing the wearing of masks, forbidding the burning of crosses, and prescribing special penalities for lynching or attempted lynching. Similarly, many towns and cities have outlawed masked parades and other intimidating demonstrations. The thoroughness with which a police department enforces such regulations will do much to determine the amount of public confidence it inspires.

BRIEF READING LIST

Pamphlets, Booklets, and Articles on Race and Law Enforcement

A Guide to Race Relations for Police Officers, by Davis McEntire and Robert B. Powers. Department of Justice, State of California, in cooperation with the American Council on Race Relations. 1946.

Interim Report of Peace Officers' Committee on Civil Disturbances, by the Governor's Peace Officers' Committee. Office of the Governor, Sacramento, California State Printing Office. 1945.

"Mobile Violence; Motorized Mobs in a Florida County," from New South, publication of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia. August, 1949.

"Negro Police in Southern Cities," from New South, publication of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia. October, 1947.

Police Action on Minority Problems, by Joseph T. Kluchesky. Freedom House, New York City. 1946.

Police and Minority Groups, by Joseph D. Lohman, Chicago Park District Police, Chicago, Illinois.

"Police and Minority Groups," by Gordon W. Allport. Boston Police Department, Boston, Massachusetts. (Mimeographed.) 1942.

Principles of Police Work with Minority Groups, by Committee on Police Training, Division of Police, Louisville, Kentucky. 1950. (Adapted from Police and Minority Groups, by Joseph D. Lohman.)

Race Riots Aren't Necessary, by Alfred M. Lee. Public Affairs Committee, New York City. 1945.

The Police and Minority Groups, by J. E. Weckler and Theo E. Hall. The International City Managers' Association, Chicago, Illinois. 1944.

The Races of Mankind, by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. Public Affairs Committee, New York City. 1945.

"What Happened at Columbia, Tennessee," by Guy B. Johnson, from New South, publication of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia. May, 1946.

Sept. 6, 1951

Professor Louis Wirth
Department of Sociology
University of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Louis:

Here is one we have been cooking up for some months. The idea was to boil down Joe Lohman's stuff and get it out as a pamphlet which would have a chance of doing with the police much of what Race in the News did with newspapers a couple of years ago. We would print it as the September issue of our magazine, and therefore it would go to our members over the South. We would send it out to chiefs of police and sheriffs all over the South. And we have a way of getting several thousand into the hands of churchwomen scattered about who have already expressed a specific interest in watching the courts and police proceedings. That combination of sending it initially to the officials and then of getting a local follow-up is pretty effective.

Joe Lohman graciously said we could boil his stuff down. You will see that two or three long sections of this are from Joe's material. Others are from here and there.

Now to the point. I asked Maxwell Hahn to see if the Field Foundation would grant us $2,500 toward getting this out. He acknowledged it and asked if it would be possible to get the criticisms of such authorities as Joe and Gordon Allport and you. He went on, "I have the feeling that the copy in its present form would defeat its purpose. I consider it important that you obtain expert opinion independently."

I had already sent one to Joe of course, but it got bawled up in the mails and will only have reached him in the last couple of days. I am sending one today to Gordon Allport and asking him to be kind enough to go through it.

And here is the one for you. Goodness only knows how you and Gordon Allport are to read through it in time enough for us to get it out for the September issue of our magazine. But anyway, that's the request.

I don't see anything wrong with it. I didn't write it--my able information man Harold Fleming wrote it. Naturally, we think it is to the point and does the job.

I can see a perfectly proper line of criticism on its failure to carry the weight of woe that Negroes feel about police malpractices in the South. But we left that out because we are trying to appeal to the police to behave.

I have got it being looked at by three trusted chiefs of police in the South, but I haven't yet had their views.

If luck is with me and you can look through this, please write either me or Maxwell Hahn (Field Foundation, Inc., 250 Park Avenue, New York 17) and say what you think about it.

My apologies for thus calling on you, but you see I badly need some of your time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

Sept. 6, 1951

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Ave.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Many thanks for your letter of September 4 about the police pamphlet. I have sent copies off at once to Gordon Allport and Louis Wirth and asked them to write to me or to you directly with an opinion on the pamphlet.

I haven't yet had criticisms from the three or four police people we have sent it to in the South, but I will let you know as soon as I can get their views.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence.

Sept. 6, 1951

Professor Gordon Allport
Department of Psychology
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Professor Allport:

I guess everybody in the world asks you to read stuff proposed to be issued. And I don't know how you find time to do it.

On this one, I have asked the Marshall Field Foundation for a modest grant of $2,500 to enable us to print it. And Mr. Maxwell Hahn there wants some independent, expert criticism. He alarms me somewhat by the statement, "I have the feeling that the copy in its present form would defeat its purpose."

What we have done is first to get Joe Lohman's permission to use for important segments of the pamphlet our own boiling down of material in his Chicago Park Police and Louisville Police training manuals. When printed, we will send this to each of our 4,000 or so members over the South, to chiefs of police and sheriffs in Southern counties and cities, and to several thousand churchwomen pretty widely scattered in the South who have signified an interest in court and police proceedings. It is in some sense an adaptation of what we did with Race in the News a couple of years ago. And by putting the rules quite simply at a time when Southern newspapers were on the turn toward being willing to do better and by getting out the pamphlet to city and county editors all over the South, we had a share in a remarkable improvement in the practices of the Southern press in handling news about Negroes.

So we thought that if we put simply the rules that ought to govern police conduct and sent them to the police people and then arranged local follow-up interviews with sheriffs and chiefs, a similar patch of good would be done.

I confess that we have not loaded into this pamphlet the weight of woe that Negroes in the South feel anent the police. But that's because we want to appeal to the police to behave. There is a knack of stating what will be thought reasonable, and we had thought we had hit it.

I would be very grateful for your writing, either to me or directly to Mr. Maxwell Hahn, The Field Foundation, 250 Park Avenue, New York 17, what you think of the proposed pamphlet.

We are under some urgency, because this is copy for our September issue of our small magazine New South.

I sent one to Joe Lohman, but it got missent in the mails and will only have reached him in the last day or two. So I don't know yet what he will think of it.

I have sent it also to three or four chiefs of police in the South, but have not yet had time to get their views.

For the life of me, I don't see what gives pause. But if it needs substantial change, we could do it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

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SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

September 6, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have carefully examined the pamphlet entitled "Race and Law Enforcement," prepared by the Southern Regional Council. This appears to me to have been well prepared, and if you still desire I will send you a short foreword for possible use. I find only one or two minor errors which might be changed, as follows:

Paragraph 72 cites the race riot in Columbia, Tennessee. It appears to me that singling out one city by name might be injurious and that the effect of the paragraph would not be harmed by allowing the city itself to remain anonymous.

Paragraph 90 relates to police enforcement of segregation regulations. Should you not point out here, in sentence 3, that the police should have a thorough knowledge of such regulations and as long as they remain a part of the law of the particular city, he should do his best to enforce them as written, but that he also should scrupulously avoid overstepping their bounds. I think this is possibly a somewhat clearer statement of an officer's duties.

There are two typographical errors I have noticed, and they have possibly already been picked up by you. Paragraph 15, last sentence, the word "trust" probably is meant to be "truth." Paragraph 71, second sentence, the word is "during."

I will be out of town all of next week but will send you a statement within a few days after my return.

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless
Director

DAMc:c

Sept. 6, 1951

Professor Louis Wirth
Department of Sociology
University of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Louis:

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My apologies for thus calling on you, but you see I badly need some of your time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:oo
Encls.

Sept. 10, 1951

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Ave.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I have written, as I told you, to Gordon Allport and Louis Wirth.

Meanwhile, here is significant approval from McCandless of Louisville.

We will, of course, make the several minor changes he suggests. And I am requesting him again to complete the promised foreword.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Sept. 18, 1951

Professor Louis Wirth
Department of Sociology
University of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Louis:

My humble thanks for your taking our police manuscript out of a mountainous stack and reading it and giving us such careful comment.

I will write later in detail. In general, we are agreeing with you. We conclude that we are wrong to address our pamphlet toward policemen, when what we really want to reach is local opinion that is going to follow up on the police forces. We don't know much about policemen, but we do know something about local Southern opinion. So we will recast it and try it on you again. Details later.

Meanwhile, I know you well enough to know the tax on your time I have made. And I thank you for giving it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Sept. 18, 1951

Mr. David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Ky.

Dear Mr. McCandless:

You were very kind to send your helpful comments on the proposed police pamphlet.

It is getting some adverse criticism. Joe Lohman, in particular, whose opinion we are duty-bound to give a lot of weight to, has his worries about it. He questions whether the complicated business of reaching the police officer can really be done by our pamphlet in its present form. Perhaps the problem is that we are trying to educate the public with a document which seems to be aimed at police officers. The truth is, of course, that we know very little about the technical side of police work. But we do think we know something about persuading the Southern public. And maybe we can recast the whole thing as something aimed at the more thoughtful people in back Southern towns.

Anyway, we postpone publication for a good many weeks. So you can hold off the effort of a foreword until we get you a much altered manuscript to look over.

We have been happy to see in the Atlanta papers notice of the attendance of officers from here at the forthcoming session. Just a plain little news item that looked very good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
SEP 24 1951
Southern Regional Council

September 20, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your letter of September 18 reached me as I was preparing to send you Foreword for your proposed pamphlet. Under the circumstances you outlined I will, of course, keep it in the files, at least temporarily. I value the advice of Joe Lohman very much and am sure that he is sincere in whatever suggestions he has made. I trust that the pamphlet may be revised in a manner that can handle the objections and still possess the principles outlined in the original.

We are very happy about the coming term of the Institute. Ten states are represented, including two officers from Illinois, the first we have taken from outside the southern region. I am enclosing a list of the roster which I am sure you will find interesting.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless, Director

DAMc:c
Enclosure

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE

Roster of Class for Fall Term

September 24, 1951

Alabama:	Lt. Edward O. Ryals	Montgomery
	Sgt. Morgan L. Wray	Montgomery
	Sgt. J. V. Rawlings	Birmingham
Arkansas:	Sgt. M. H. Allen	Little Rock
Florida:	Sgt. Robert W. Johnston	Fort Lauderdale
	Sgt. Wm. H. McClamma	Clearwater
Georgia:	Lt. J. L. Tuggle	Atlanta
	Sgt. James L. Moseley	Atlanta
	Officer Laurie Pritchett	Griffin
Illinois:	Officer Dallas T. Shelton	Illinois State Police
	Officer Paul M. Zimmerman	Illinois State Police
Kentucky:	Capt. Wm. E. Bindner	Louisville
	Lt. Robert E. Creager, Sr.	Louisville
	Lt. Lawrence C. Timberlake	Louisville
	Lt. Joseph Megerle	Covington
	Sgt. Wm. D. Carpenter	Lexington
	Sgt. B. L. Sherrard	Kentucky State Police
	Officer Myron E. Marrs	Jefferson County Police
Louisiana:	Chief W. E. Boyd	Bogalusa
S. Carolina:	Detective Karl W. Karst	Charleston
	Officer Rufus A. Shealy	Columbia
Virginia:	Capt. Robert C. McNutt	Bristol
West Virginia:	Detective John Fenimore, Jr.	South Charleston

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SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

September 6, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have carefully examined the pamphlet entitled "Race and Law Enforcement," prepared by the Southern Regional Council. This appears to me to have been well prepared, and if you still desire I will send you a short foreword for possible use. I find only one or two minor errors which might be changed, as follows:

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I will be out of town all of next week but will send you a statement within a few days after my return.

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless
Director

DAMc:c

Sept. 25, 1951

Mr. Louis Wirth
Department of Sociology
University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Ill.

Dear Louis:

We continue to be deeply grateful for the careful comments in your letter of September 14 on the police manuscript. They are being used, paragraph by paragraph.

I have written Joe Lohman that, in the light of his and your comments, we would postpone the pamphlet until we can revise it quite a lot.

What we concluded is that we haven't the people, the time, or the money to become experts in everyday police administration and that, therefore, we couldn't turn out the sort of thing that would be directly appealing to local police forces in the South. And we think we see that what we had done was to write a document in reality aimed at our constituency and their (pretty wide) circle of friends in the South, and dress it as a publication for police officials. On the next go-round we will aim directly for the conscientious part of the Southern public, at the same time trying to avoid the pitfall of making the pamphlet a catalog of police abuses.

I hope that when the new one is done, you will find time (though with less of a rush) to go through it too.

I hope for some early opportunity—perhaps in Detroit?—to thank you in person for putting time and thought on it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1951
Southern Regional Council

September 14, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have just returned to the office after three and a half months abroad and in the mountain of things that confront me I find your letter and document on race and law enforcement. I have read the letter carefully to be clear about what use you wish to make of this document and have read the document in that light. As a result, I have the following comments to offer:

First on the document itself, I think the first section consisting of paragraphs 1-11. is very appropriate and might be very useful because it talks to the policeman in terms of his role as a public servant and brings in the question of equality for all and non-discrimination only incidentally in paragraph 7. I think the professional status of the policeman is somewhat exaggerated in paragraph 6. Policing isn't quite a profession yet, and it doesn't sound realistic to say that it requires the same high standards as medicine, law, or education, but otherwise I think it is good.

In the second section from paragraphs 12-22, I think you go astray because I think you fail to take full account of the fact that the Southern pattern of Negro-white relations will be regarded as the norm and the talk about this pattern resting upon false foundations will not make much of an impression. You are arguing with the people about their prejudices and that doesn't do much good. You are also berating people for their prejudices and that does even less good. The point that needs to be made, I think, is what you say in the heading of this section, namely, that regardless of what the police officer believes and what his "prejudices" are when he puts on his uniform he assumes the obligation of being colorblind. It might also be important to note that whatever the officer is in private life is probably not subject to official control, but what he does in his conduct

as a police officer is subject to scrutiny and control. His goal should be the enforcement of the law irrespective of the persons involved.

The section giving the facts about race from paragraphs 23-25 will, I think, also backfire or lose its value because it stresses race unduly and does not put race into a setting of other facts such as occupation, religion, education, or standard of living, which would make it seem like less of a case of special pleading. No matter how much you might tell the Southern policemen about racial myths, he will still think that race is a reality.

In the next section from paragraphs 36-48, I think it would be better if instead of trying to explain the roots of race prejudice one merely described the Southern race relations pattern and indicated how it interferes with equality under the law. In this section I think it would be wiser to stress the progress that has been made in the South in race relations than categorically to talk about the South as having certain inalterable ways. For instance, I think it would be wise to point out how many police systems there are where Negroes are employed, to show areas where Negroes are predominant and where crime is less than in areas of whites. In other words, I believe in introducing some facts here rather than relying on pedagogical proclamation about the nature of prejudice to cure people of it.

In the next section paragraphs 49-74, I think it is appropriate to explain how crowds behave and mobs act, but I think it is done on a plane which is too sophisticated and academic for policemen to understand without a good deal of personal and individual explanation and illustration. I think the section on rumor, especially paragraph 72, which illustrates it, is much more on the level of intelligibility. I would like to see that procedure followed more throughout the document.

I think the section beginning with paragraph 75 and ending with paragraph 85 is much superior and much more appropriate to the objective than the rest of the document. This is partly due to the fact that race is not talked about except where it is specifically pertinent and constitutes a special problem.

I think the last section on law should be adapted to the particular states and localities where the pamphlet is to be circulated, but I think there is one aspect of the problem of law which is illustrated by paragraph 90, which is particularly important in the South, namely, the fact that an officer of the law is called upon to enforce all laws and among these laws are such laws as segregation laws and other laws, which from the standpoint of American ideas and ideals generally are discriminatory. This is really one of the central

problems that the Southern policeman faces, which is different from that of the Northern policeman. Can we give him any help on this? All this document says is that the policeman should have the knowledge of the laws and should avoid over-stepping their bounds and that police practices should be in accord with changing court decsions. I think here is a place for some original work that still needs to be done.

As I have inferred in several sentences above I think some of the document is too academic in its level of presentation and should be brought down to the level of its audience. But I should like to raise now the larger question of whether anything good can be accomplished by just circulating such a document without personal teaching, explanation, and illustration to go along with it. I think the document is quite unlike your document on Race in the News which consisted almost entirely of concrete instances, and, what is more, was addressed to an audience, namely, editors and newspaper people, who could be presumed to be on a higher level of literacy and sophistication.

I am also raising in my mind the question of the auspices under which you want to circulate this document. With due respect to the prestige and acceptability of the Southern Regional Council, among the more enlightened people of the South, I wonder whether such a document should not be circulated under the auspices of some police organization like, for instance, the International Association of Chiefs of Police or more specifically by Mr. McCandless of the Louisville Institute. I think it would come as less of the gesture of a do-gooder organization and as a communication among insiders in a given occupation if this were done. Incidentally, throughout the document I would eliminate such terms as minorities and other terms we use in academic discourse that have little meaning to other people. I am sorry I haven't the time or the ingenuity to make a more positive contribution to the enterprise.

Cordially,

Louis

Louis Wirth

LW:MM

Sept. 25, 1951

Professor Gordon W. Allport
Department of Social Relations
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Dear Professor Allport:

How very kind indeed that was of you to take time from the beginning of a new year to read with such care and give us your comments on the proposed pamphlet Race and Law Enforcement. And we have profited a lot from the reprint you sent with it.

Your words of praise were balm to our wounds, because Joe Lohman (whose manuals we had drawn from heavily) thought the manuscript quite unlikely to be persuasive of police people.

We have concluded that we were really aiming primarily to reach the mind of what we call "our constituency" in the South--conscientious people, civic-minded, not necessarily interracialist by any means, but willing to act locally on behalf of better things.

And we had tried to reach them by appearing to talk to police people.

We will try our hand again, this time aiming directly at that part of the Southern public we have been able to move in the past, at the same time trying to avoid the pitfall of making the pamphlet merely a catalog of police abuses.

I am still persuaded that the pamphlet, as written, would do a whole lot of good, but we will do it differently and then see how well it holds up.

Our renewed gratitude to you for your kindness. May I add the note that the writing is done by Harold Fleming, who not so many years ago sat in your classes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence.

GORDON W. ALLPORT

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

RECEIVED
SEP 20 1951

September 18, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your proposed pamphlet, "Race and Law Enforcement," seems to me well written and to the point. While it does not mince the issues, it manages to be tactful. You cannot teach the police (or anyone else) if they think you are attacking them.

On two occasions I have taught courses to police officers (in Boston and in Cambridge). I know from experience how very difficult it is to train them even in the simplest rudiments of the subject of prejudice. For one thing I found they need to blow off a good deal of steam. Neither lecturing to them nor giving them "required reading" makes much of a dent. I am sending you an article of mine entitled "Catharsis and the Reduction of Prejudice" that tells something of my experience.

While your proposed pamphlet certainly will not solve the problem, it is probably better than any of the similar documents that I have read. For one thing it is simpler and more direct. To be sure, I should not publish it until you have considered the criticisms from police officials and sheriffs whom you are selecting as sounding boards.

My attitude is simply this: the problem is so serious that any honest attempts, such as you have made, ought not go unsupported. The pamphlet may open the eyes of some; it will plant seeds for needed reform; and it may encourage systematic courses in police training. I should expect it to have slightly less of an impact than your excellent pamphlet for newspaper men, "Race in the News," because police are not so literate. But its effect should be good unless your police critics bring to light contrary arguments that I cannot now foresee.

I have written the above paragraphs in such a way that you can quote them to Maxwell Hahn if you so desire. While the Field Foundation is a possible source of support, I wonder whether a still better bet isn't the Anti-Defamation League. A few months ago Dr. Frank Trager, in their New York office, told me they were forming a clearing house of information regarding police training. The subject has been kicked around a lot during the past 5 years, and I was happy to learn that the ADL seemed inclined to become an anchor for the growing movement, and to give it support. The ADL has funds for publishing purposes; and, if Hahn remains adamant, you might try Trager.

In any case good wishes for your work in general and for this project in particular.

Sincerely,

Gordon W. Allport

Gordon W. Allport

Sept. 25, 1951

Mr. Joseph D. Lohman
4901 Ellis Ave.
Chicago 15, Ill.

Dear Joe:

I thank you warmly for your long, thoughtful letter about the would-be police pamphlet. It was mighty good of you to take time from a great many other things and go through it with such care.

On the basis of your comments and Louis Wirth's, we will postpone publication until we can do the job in a different way.

We haven't the manpower or the money to do (what two and three years ago I was begging for money to do) the job of building a staff of people that combine our views and a close, experienced, traveled knowledge of the problems of Southern policemen. So we will forego the effort to put out a booklet aimed directly at police people.

But in the light of what you say, we have done some more thinking about what the pamphlet was intended to do anyway, and have decided that the thing we really wanted to do with the pamphlet was to reach the mind of the people in Southern places who are our constituents. That doesn't mean ~~persuading~~ necessarily interracialists; it means the much broader group of Southern people—troubled in conscience, civic-minded, and willing, when rightly urged, to do something helpful in local communities. It is their follow-up and their discussions with sheriffs and police chiefs that we really thought would be the helpful thing. And we perceive now that as a device for reaching them, we had written a pamphlet appearing to be meant for police officials.

We will try, therefore, to do it differently, without the feint toward the police themselves. At the same time, we will be careful not to make it a catalog of police abuses. After all, the thing we have had experience in is in reaching that particular stripe of conscience in the South. So we will see if we can write about police affairs in a way to reach it. And we suppose that in a great many instances the pamphlet would find its way into the hands of police people—preferably by local citizens taking it to the chief.

We will need your help again when we have done a new draft.

I wish I could send somebody to McCandless's school for November. But I haven't got but one man—Fleming—to send, and most other things here would stall if he were there.

I will hope to see you in the course of a late November trip to Detroit and Chicago.

Very many thanks again. I think it will be, in the end, much the better job for your care in going through it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence.

DIVISION OF CORRECTION
SPRINGFIELD

JOSEPH D. LOHMAN
CHAIRMAN

RECEIVED
SEP 18 1951
Southern Regional Counc

4901 Ellis Avenue
September 17, 1951
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear George: The manuscript on your police pamphlet arrived some time after mailing -- apparently it had been wrongly addressed. However, I have been out of the country and would have been unable to see it before this time anyway. I am a little troubled by the central emphasis in the treatment. As I see it, my emphasis on professionalism is not designed to treat directly with the prejudices of officers. Much of that material is in my manual merely for the record, and the primary emphasis was placed upon the problematic aspects of law and order as it is affected by present-day conditions such as race tension, meeting of racial groups under new conditions, the general world situation, the necessity of being able to cope with the kind of difficulties that arise given the objective conditions which do confront us.

I am afraid your treatment would be met by an immediate defensiveness by police officers. Indeed, I think it would be appropriate as far as the South is concerned to completely eliminate this kind of material. My chapters on the facts about race are in the main only for the record. I do not spend any amount of time or emphasis on this material in the actual instruction. As I observed on page 59 of my Park District Manual: "We can not dismiss or solve the problem by merely asserting that racial prejudices are based on false assumptions."

If anything, this material should be in the nature of an addendum, rather than of the central significance which you give it in your treatment. It would be much more valuable to set forth the concrete situations in which the races are engaging one another, and why and where friction ensues. If the police officer is taken up from where he is currently meeting the problem, then the emphasis on professionalism as his contribution and answer becomes attractive and acceptable.

By the same token, I think your approach should be in the light of southern law, even when inclusive of legalized segregation. Southern law is sufficiently high in its ethical content to provide a guide to the police officer which stands above many of their customary practices. There is a sense in which equality before the law can have a measure of validity, notwithstanding the existence of a legally segregated system; that is, the good offices of the law can be available and acceptable to all elements of

the population, irrespective of race. And as you know, I strongly oppose the notion that police officers should become legislators in any event. This is still another reason why legal sanctions should not be examined in the light of racial prejudices as such.

All of your material on crowds, mobs, and rumor should be spelled out and illustrated by police experience. There is much of that kind of information available from policemen themselves. It might be well to enlist the cooperation of a good southern police officer in this respect.

Frankly, I have serious questions about the advisability of merely writing out material which police departments will be in a position to understand and accept without rather careful interpretation. This is the kind of thing I have been attempting at the Louisville Police Institute where I have conducted the sessions on human relations during the first two terms, and will again in the third term in November. In my mind, the problem is something more than developing a statement of the problem. In my own work I have actually relied more upon my knowledge and background in the field of crime and law enforcement as a basis for communicating with police departments, than the traditional academic approaches of our sociologists and anthropologists.

This is the major reason why we have had some success as contrasted with the difficulties which most others have run into, and who have been immediately classified as "do-gooders" or special pleaders. In fact, I know of no group, including all of the race relations experts, who have not found themselves, whether they realized it or not, immediately confronted with this dilemma. This, of course, is the key significance of the emphasis upon the professionalizing of police departments, and one can not overdo or overstate this fact, since it becomes a prize or goal which the currently non-professional police departments aspire to achieve. It is not a matter of describing policing as a profession, but identifying in every police officer his aspiration to become a member of a "calling," and hence enjoy the status of other professional men, such as lawyers, medics, educators, etc.

If you feel so inclined, you might ask Dave McCandless to let one of your men visit with us at the Southern Police Institute when we again undertake the subject matter in early November. While there we might be able to help you produce something more in line with what our experience has indicated is palatable and effective stuff for southern police officers.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph D. Lohman

JDL:nl

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta 3, Georgia

P.S. Louis Wirth told me he had heard from you, and I mentioned some of these ideas in passing to him, about which he may have already written you.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

October 2, 1951

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

I am sorry to be so late in giving you a reply to your letter concerning the Police Manual. Here briefly are my comments on the copy which you sent me.

I think it is a very good piece of work. It is a good job of condensing a broad subject in readable style with very little use of six-cylinder words. Here are a few minor suggestions:

1. Under item 14, last line, why not change "biologically" to "naturally".

2. Under item 15, last sentence should read "truth" instead of "trust".

3. Under item 35, third sentence, I think this should be deleted as it would be rather hard to prove.

I offer two other suggestions for your consideration. The first is that it might be good to use a set of questions and answers covering some of the major problems which police officers are likely to bring up. The second which overlaps somewhat is that you might want to use some typical incidents or examples of good and bad techniques used by the police.

It was certainly good to have the news about the improved financial status of the Council. I hope that we are over the worst.

Best wishes to all the staff.

Cordially yours,

Guy

Guy B. Johnson
Professor of Sociology and
Anthropology

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

GBJ:gbm

P. S. You did not say whether you wanted me to return the Police Manual. So I will keep it and save some postage unless you want it sent back.

GBJ

See page 3

C-5-3

REPORT and RECOMMENDATIONS
to
THE WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
from
THE DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES
Adopted January 12, 1952

Preamble

The world we live in today calls for Christians who are willing to face world issues in terms of changing patterns, even in the midst of familiar experiences. Ten years have passed since Pearl Harbor, yet the world is confronted by many of the same tensions and needs. This nation is being mobilized with the same propaganda methods used ten years ago for a global war. Fear is gripping the hearts of peoples over the world -- fear that the hope for peace that was born in 1945 will again be dashed. Human freedom is in jeopardy -- not just from conquest by a shooting war, and not just from communist infiltration, but because fear brings "witchhunts" that destroy the very freedoms they pretend to preserve, even in our own nation.

This is a changing world. The families of this nation are on the move. Eight million children changed homes in one year. New patterns in family life and community are emerging. Youth faces new uncertainties. The military service program recently proposed by Congress may take a possible eight year toll out of the lives of the youth of the nation even in time of "peace."

In the face of these changing patterns the church and community must look with new insights and resources at their responsibility. The past ten years have had crammed into them the compact, unused resources of a new world order. Can we generate power enough soon enough to utilize the resources at hand for bringing peace with justice to the world? That is our job now and in the years ahead!

General Recommendations

1. The Department is grateful to Mrs. David D. Jones for the preparation of the Worship Service on "The Things That Belong Unto Peace," and recommends that ways be found for making it available for widespread use.

We Recommend:

2. That the theme of the study on Alcohol for 1953-54 be: Alcohol and Christian Responsibility."

3. That upon the request of the program committee of the Religious Organization Section of the UNESCO Conference three special resource people be brought to the Conference at the expense of the Department. (New York, Jan. 27-30,1952)

The following women are suggested because of the work they are doing in their respective areas on the United Nations: Mrs.R.T.Wilson, South Carolina Con.
Mrs.W.H.Allen, Nebraska Conference
Mrs.P.Gentile, Detroit Conference

4. That the Woman's Division request the Joint Committee on Missionary Education of the National Council of Churches to consider the advisability of using the new pamphlet "You Hold the Key to Human Rights," as supplementary material on methods of action related to the study Home Missions and Human Rights.

(This is a publication in process of preparation by The American Jewish Committee.)

The Department further recommends:

That the Woman's Division recommend this pamphlet as supplementary material for the use of Methodist women in connection with the study on "Home Missions and Human Rights."

5. That the Interdenominational Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations(known as the Menucha Institute,Portland,Oregon) be jointly sponsored and financed by the Baptists and Methodists in 1952, with the understanding that in the following year the Institute will be taken over by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

6. That the National Seminar be held at Scarritt College in 1953.

a) That the emphasis of the Seminar relate to that phase of the Quadrennial program that is concerned with moral responsibility and the world's needs.

b) That possibilities of a travel pool be explored.

c) That the following lines of work be invited to cooperate with the Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities in planning and promoting the Seminar: Vice-Presidents, Spiritual Life and Missionary Education.

d) That Jurisdictions and Conferences make provision for necessary subsidies for those who will attend the Seminar (As in previous years the Department will make available a $50.00 subsidy for each Jurisdiction).

7. That the Department plan for two (2) working committees for the next quadrennium: one with responsibility for the emphases of the quadrennial program of the Department and the other with responsibility for techniques for action.

8. The nomination of Mrs. Clifford A. Bender and Miss Dorothy Weber as Associate Secretaries of the Department, and that Miss Weber be granted a continued leave of absence without salary, but with the privilege of continuing the payment of pension through the regular channels.

9. The Department calls the attention of the Woman's Division to the plans being made by a group of returned J-3's to dedicate a period of time to work for those things in this nation that they consider basic to peace and justice in the world. As one means of working with this group of youth in their experiment, the Department recommends:

That Miss Betty Tennant of Wisconsin, or some other member of the group, be brought to New York for a 3-month period on an expense basis, to work with the Department in its program on the issues of peace. The expense of this experiment would be taken from the unexpended balance of Miss Weber's salary.

Recommendations on Special Issues

1. Looking toward "the things that belong unto peace," we believe that the practice of brotherhood is essential in every area of life. Bombings in St.Louis,Birmingham, Atlanta, Cicero and California, have been followed by the bombing in Florida of a high school, 12 Jewish synagogues, a Catholic Church, a Negro housing project, and most recently, the home of the leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, resulting in his death as well as the death of his wife. These recent trends in mob violence make immediate and continued action imperative.

We therefore recommend:

a) That the Woman's Division of Christian Service join with such organizations as the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Southern Regional Council, in urging the President of the United States, the Attorney General, and the Governor of Florida, to pursue the investigations of the Moore case and the Groveland murder case until the guilty parties are brought to justice.

b) That local societies investigate the training requirements of the law enforcement officers in their communities for the purpose of improving such training, if necessary.

c) Whereas the actions of our courts are so often colored by what court officials think is the climate of public opinion, and thus justice is defeated, we urge Methodist women to visit the courts, especially in cases that bear directly on discrimination against minority groups.

2. In view of the fact that this is the last annual meeting before General Conference, we call attention to previous action taken by the Woman's Division and urge Methodist women to assume the obligations expressed therein:

a) "That the members of the Woman's Society of Christian Service work to eradicate in church and community those attitudes which foster segregation. One of the goals resulting from such eradication would be the removal of organizational machinery that upholds segregation within The Methodist Church, on all levels, and with reference to all minority groups."

b) In the spirit of this recommendation the Woman's Division calls upon Jurisdiction, Conference, District and local groups to memorialize the General Conference.

3. That we commend local newspapers where there is no racial identification found in news items, and work towards this goal in all newspapers, as well as for recognition of outstanding contributions from minority groups.

4. We recommend that the Woman's Division seek to remove all discrimination from any agency or institution for which it has responsibility.

We again call attention to the following statement of General Conference in 1948:

"That the institutions of our church - colleges, universities, theological schools, hospitals, and homes - be asked to restudy any policy which proceeds on the basis of racial discrimination."

We request the Woman's Division of Christian Service to memoralize the General Conference to find ways for the speedy implementation of this recommendation.

5. We recommend that Methodist women on the local level support all efforts to help strengthen the Council of Church Women in its work across racial lines.

6. We recognize the importance placed upon the Christian family in each of the emphases of the quadrennium, and that out of the family must come the spiritual resources, the sense of values, the insights of moral responsibility and the recognition that the child is the world's best hope for peace, therefore we recommend:

a) That Miss Lenroot's address be published in the April issue of "The Methodist Woman."

b) In view of the great numbers of children who do not have equal educational opportunity, we recommend that the Woman's Division reaffirm its support of federal aid to public education based on state administration of funds without discrimination. We further recommend that at an early date an article be published in "The Methodist Woman" setting forth the principles of this recommendation and the arguments pro and con.

c) We further recommend the publication of a companion leaflet to "Making the United Nations a Part of Family Life," which would help parents interpret to the child the meaning of the World Church.

d) Due to the impact of the increased advertising of alcoholic beverages on the family through television programs, this Department recommends: That the Woman's Division support a movement to secure legislation which would make illegal interstate advertising of alcoholic beverages. It is further recommended:

e) That the Woman's Division work with The Methodist Board of Temperance and the General Department of United Church Women in support of such a program.

f) That in accordance with the recommendation adopted at the September meeting of the Woman's Division to work out plans for an action program regarding the alarming growth in the use of narcotics by the youth of America, we recommend the publication of a small, inexpensive leaflet setting forth this problem, together with a list of resource materials, and suggested action for local groups.

7. The Department concurs with the following resolutions from the Standing Committee on Children's Work:

"a) Because of the urgent need to continue to carry out the recommendations of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, we recommend that Secretaries of Children's Work keep their interest alive in the Findings of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, and that they participate fully in activities resulting from its recommendations.

"b) We further recommend that questions be listed from time to time by the Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities in 'The Methodist Woman' which would stimulate possible action by the Secretaries of Children's Work, the Secretaries of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities, and other members of the Woman's Society to implement the Findings of the White House Conference."

The Vatican

Because we believe that the proposed appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican would be contrary to the American tradition of separation of church and state, and would produce effects disastrous to national unity, we request the president of the Woman's Division to send a telegram at once to the President of the United States, urging him not to submit the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican for confirmation by the United States Senate.

We further request the president of the Woman's Division to send a telegram to Senator Tom Connally, Chairman of the State Foreign Relations Committee, requesting the Committee not to approve the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican, if such an appointment is referred to the Committee.

We also request the president of the Woman's Division to send a letter to the Conference presidents, and Wesleyan Service Guilds, with a copy to the

Conference secretaries of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities, calling attention to the communication which the Council of Bishops has forwarded to all pastors with the suggestion that Methodist women join in a cooperative effort in the local church to express to their Senators their opposition to the proposed appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican.

Support of U.N.Budget

We urge the Congress of the United States to accept the 36.9% apportionment made to it by the Budget Committee of the United Nations. We believe this cannot be considered a normal year in international affairs, and believe that the contribution made toward ultimate peace by our acceptance of this apportionment would far exceed the monetary valur of a little more than a million dollars, which would be saved by insisting upon the 33 1/3% apportionment.

We also urge that this principle be followed in accepting the budgets of other united Nations agencies.

UNICEF

The Woman's Division of Christian Service of The Methodist Church is firmly convinced that the first consideration of world organizations should be in the area of the welfare of the world's children. We also realize that these children have basic, continuing, long-term needs which must be met.

Therefore, we urge Congress to count the contributions in services and materials given by other nations, as well as the cash contributions of these nations, in determining the United States' share in United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, thus making it possible to appropriate the remainder of the United States' contribution as originally authorized by the Congress. We request the president of the Woman's Division to write the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations to this effect.

Publicity of U.N.

We urge Methodist women to redouble their efforts to publicize locally the accomplishments of the United Nations.

We further urge cooperation in interdenominational and other group programs that seek to win support for United Nations.

When it becomes obvious that efforts are being made to undermine the U.S. support of United Nations, Methodist women will want to rally church and community forces to the support of the United Nations.

Universal Disarmament

Since armaments can only impede our progress toward a better way of life, we must work consistently and persistently for universal, simultaneous disarmament.

We are cognizant of the fact that the United States, on many occasions, has declared its readiness to participate in arrangements that would bring the armaments of the nations under international control.

The Woman's Division of Christian Service of The Methodist Church supports the actions of the Commission on World Peace of The Methodist Church and of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.,on Universal Disarmament.

Universal Military Training

Since the Woman's Division is meeting at the time when UMT is again under consideration by Congress, it is urgent that we reaffirm our opposition to any form of peacetime conscription that includes Universal Military Training or Universal Military Service.

We believe that the Selective Service Law will provide the necessary personnel for meeting this emergency, and that to enact any form of Universal Military Training at this time will be contrary to and destructive of the basic principles on which this nation was founded.

It is recommended that the president of the Woman's Division bring this action to the immediate attention of Rep. Carl Vinson, Chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services, and that Methodist women be urged to communicate their convictions to their Congressman and Senators.

For further information and study we call attention to "The Christian Century" - Dec. 19, 1951; Resolutions adopted by the Commission on World Peace; Washington Newsletter, Nov. 16, 1951.

Ethical Standards In Government

We express our commendation to the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare for its recent report on Ethical Standards in Government, and we suggest that a letter be sent from the Woman's Division to the Chairman, Senator Paul H.Douglas, expressing our thanks and approval for the recommendations contained in the report.

We urge Methodist women to study the contents of this Committee's report and to work for its adoption by the Congress (see the Nov. 17,1951, issue of Information Service, published by the National Council of Churches).

Technical Assistance

Because of the great importance of Technical Assistance to the things that belong unto the peace, we urge that all appropriate channels be used to provide information on the subject.

We call attention to the excellent articles in WORLD OUTLOOK, and the excellent article on India in the December 31, 1951 issue of LIFE Magazine.

Items for Information

1. The Seminar on The Issues of Peace, that have a bearing on the National election of 1952, has been scheduled for March 1-8. This Seminar is jointly planned and promoted by the Woman's Division and the National Conference of Methodist Youth. There will be a maximum of 80 representatives from across the nation - 60 women and 20 youth members. Ten women are being selected by a Jurisdiction Committee from each Jurisdiction. A nation-wide program to implement point 3 in the National Citizens' Roll Call should be an outgrowth of this Seminar (Point 3 of the Roll Call - "Every local Society studying the issues in the coming election."

2. The Department is in the process of preparing another pamphlet in the series of "Primers" on U.N. This second publication will be entitled "A Christian's Primer on Technical Assistance and Land Reform.")

3. The Department has authorized the payment of the expenses of one person from the Department (or Woman's Division) to the Buffalo Conference on "The Christian and His Daily Work," if such a person should be appointed by the Council of Bishops. This Conference is sponsored by the Department of Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches.

The Quadrennial Program of the Department

The Department recommends that the Woman's Division adopt the Quadrennial Program of the Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities as outlined.

Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities
"The Things That Belong Unto Peace"

Basic Emphases for the Quadrennium, 1952-56

A backward look over this changing world for ten years or four years or one year finds the heart of the peoples everywhere crying out for peace and justice. As we look to the new quadrennium in The Methodist Church, the goal toward which we must work with greater urgency is inescapably tied to "the things that belong unto peace."

Followers of Jesus Christ may well remember His words spoken at the height of His "success" in the eyes of men -- following His triumphal entry into Jerusalem:

"And when he drew nigh, he saw the city and wept over it, saying, 'If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things that belong unto peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, when thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee, and compass thee around, and keep thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground, and thy children within thee, and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation'." - Luke 19: 41-44.

The following needs and principles point toward some of the things on which a peaceful world will be built, and indicate some of the essentials toward which Methodist women may well work in the years ahead:

1. Acceptance and sharing of those spiritual resources that motivate men to work for the good life for all the peoples of the world. If peace is to come to the peoples of the earth it will come because "men of goodwill" have faith to overcome "defeatism" and the spirit that considers war "inevitable"! There is no easy peace, but the formula is simple -- "God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting to us the message of reconciliation." On this eternal truth rests that inner peace of the individual as well as the ultimate unfolding of a social order whose foundation is God.

2. New insights into moral responsibility and righteous living. The increasing evidence of gambling, and political corruption, the use of alcoholic beverages, and narcotics, among both youth and adults, indicate a deterioration in moral standards and an indifference toward a righteous community. It also indicates great insecurity in personal and family living. Selfishness, greed for power, emphasis on secular values, the flourishing of political demagogues, the scaling down of civil liberties -- all are becoming familiar patterns. If the Christian church fulfills its purpose in these days there must be a united approach with a positive Christian program to uproot such evils and implant the principles of the Sermon on the Mount.

3. Recognition of the child as the world's best hope for peace. The seeds of war can find nourishment in the heart of a hungry child, a homeless child, and a child growing up in a family shot through with prejudice and fear. War becomes a horrible commonplace for the youth of the world facing years of universal military service and training

and an inevitable postponement of normal education, economic security, and the opportunity to establish a stable family. The job of Christians is clear if peace is to be permanent and good. It includes work toward (a) a program of education in church, community, and family that will uproot prejudice and build understanding, and give a sense of individual responsibility for the building of a good life for all peoples; (b) making available those economic resources that are essential to good family living; and (c) undergirding the life of children and youth with those spiritual resources that are the basis of faith in the good life and a righteous world.

4. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights must become the "worksheet" on human relations everywhere. The standards of human behaviour found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provide a common goal toward which the nations of the world must work from the standpoint of an international body of law, national and local legislation, and community practices. In our own nation the task of Christians at this point includes (a) forthright effort to influence legislation at all levels for the protection of human rights, (b) cooperating in specific plans to make community practices conform to the principles of the Declaration, and (c) working to remove patterns and practices within the Christian church that are contrary to the teachings of the New Testament and a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

5. Basic Economic Security for All Peoples Everywhere. Shelter, food, and clothing are the essentials that men the world over must have if we are to win the battle of "freedom from want." Two-thirds of the world's people are undernourished and thereby easier prey to disease. The farmers of the world, totaling nearly two-thirds of the population, could produce sufficient food if they used the right methods. If the Christian church worked with conviction and skill through its own channels, through national governments, and United Nations to: (a) achieve an adequate standard of living for all people, (b) make available necessary technical assistance, and (c) for the recognition of land and land tenure as a world issue -- peace would be nearer!

6. Full access by the peoples of the world to good resources for building a world culture. We must build a bridge of understanding to span the world's differences and over which ideas can speed to carry the hope and means for peace. The success of the United Nations requires that each of the member nations understand and value the contributions its fellow members can make to the world. A knowledge of traditions, religion, political philosophy, and social practices of a nation builds a historical perspective that is basic to sympathetic understanding. Talking together and planning together for permanent peace is then possible.

Techniques for Action 1952-56

I. In the light of these six emphases the Department recognizes that its greatest responsibility lies in the awakening of a social consciousness that is sensitive to the world's needless waste of human personality both in war and peace. Work toward this end should include study and action directed in these ways:

1. The Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities of the Woman's Division, and the Jurisdiction, Conference, District and local committees need to develop better techniques for presenting the basic problems and needs outlined in this quadrennial program.

2. The groups should be helped to find more effective ways of translating the interest thus generated into action in local situations.

3. Such experiences should contribute to the effort that is presently being made by many voluntary organizations to find better methods of making their social action program a two-way program so that they can know what people in the local situation feel about issues and what help they need in the process. Pilot plans and experiments must be a part of the process.

II. Workshops on "the things that belong unto peace" should be planned and sponsored throughout the United States and if possible in carefully selected strategic places in other parts of the world. (*See insert below)

The purpose of such workshops would be to arouse groups of Christian leaders to a recognition of their responsibility for generating a climate for peace, and working unitedly with other Christians to strengthen United Nations and make greater use of its resources as the best available force for peace in the world today. The major focus and specific emphases would vary according to need, but the goals would be the same.

III. The first year of the quadrennium, 1952-53, should be the time for initiating a churchwide effort to recapture the moral leadership once held by the church. Toward this end, the task of the Department will be that of helping women find ways to give effective leadership in solving the problems of the community as they relate to alcohol and narcotics, treatment of prisoners, juvenile delinquency, gambling, political corruption, and other crucial problems of social welfare. As one long-range means of strengthening this effort special attention will be given to the major study of The Alcohol Problem in 1953-54.

IV. The year 1954-55 will be a year of concentrated emphasis on United Nations in preparation for the U. N. Charter Revision in 1955. One dramatic focus of this emphasis might be the use in conferences and districts of a pageant. This pageant should emphasize the relation of U. N. to the World Christian Community and the kind of world sympathy and fellowship which Christians must achieve if they are to see the "rebirth of the New Testament community." A pageant of this nature might be introduced at a large national meeting such as The Assembly in 1954.

Another aid in focusing attention on this phase of the quadrennial program will be a major study in 1954-55 on U.S. Economy At Work for Peace.

* One type of workshop should relate to the action program growing out of the studies on "Home Missions and Human Rights" and "Africa," as this action program relates to the issues of peace.

150 Fifth venue
New York 11, N.Y.
January 30, 1952

To Conference Secretaries of Christian
Social Relations and Local Church
Activities, and Wesleyan Service Guilds

Dear Friends:

This is a very important communication and you will be greatly interested in the several items enclosed.

1. The enclosed letter relative to the United Nations Seminar, scheduled for May 27-30, is of special importance and calls for attention very soon. The enclosed card (only in the mailings of Conference Secretaries of Christian Social Relations - not in mailings to Presidents and others) should be returned after you have cleared the matter with your own President or Executive Committee and the Conference Executive Secretary of Board of Education, Chairman of Committee on World Peace, etc.

2. The recommendations adopted at the Annual Meeting in January are enclosed for your information. Some of the items may call for follow up immediately.

3. The Worship Service on "The Things That Belong Unto Peace," is for your own information. It was prepared by Mrs. David D. Jones for use at the Annual Meeting. We hope to make it available later with some revision for widespread use.

4. The 1952 Directoryof Washington Seminars, the leaflet on Church and Economic Life Week, The Things Most Surely Believed Among Us, and the reprint "Let's Launch An American Peace Offensive," are enclosed for your information and use.

The March issue of The Methodist Woman will contain the suggested activities and emphases for 1952-53. The April issue will contain the Officers' Letter File, and other important items. One specially significant feature will be the "Charter Of Racial Policies of The Woman's Division" as adopted at the recent Annual Meeting. This is one of the most significant documents of recent years and it should be widely publicized and studied and practiced!!

The May issue of The Methodist Woman will be the Quadrennial Program issue!

I am sure that the New Year has already brought new opportunities and responsibilities to you. These are days of grave uncertainties and unprecedented challenge to Christians at work for a good world.

With grateful appreciation, I am

Sincerely,

Thelma Stevens

TS-f
encl.

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

150 Fifth Avenue New York 11, N.Y.

January 30, 1952

Members of Annual Conferences
and District Committees on World Peace
Executive Secretaries and Adult Workers
of Conference Boards of Education
Conference Secretaries of Christian Social
Relations and Local Church Activities

Dear Friends:

The date is May 27-30, 1952. This is the United Nations Seminar for all conferences which wish to send up to ten delegates. This is the United Nations Seminar which was originally scheduled for last fall, which could not be held because of U.N. meetings in Europe.

In five United Nations seminars held co-operatively with the Commission on World Peace and the Woman's Division of Christian Service, 250 persons from 54 conferences have been trained to serve as resource leaders on international issues at local, district and conference meetings.

You may recall that the decision of the three groups sponsoring these seminars in the past few years is:

1. A United Nations Seminar will be scheduled annually for persons from any of the annual conferences throughout the church which wish to send delegates. It is expected that a conference will send no more than ten persons to this seminar. The general seminar for 1952 is May 27-30, 1952.

2. One or more United Nations seminars to be scheduled in the winter and spring months for only those conferences which wish to send delegations of eleven or more to such a seminar. These seminars will be arranged according to the dates requested by the annual conferences which are participating.

Some of you already know that during the past year the Ohio area had nearly forty persons in one of the seminars, the Des Moines area had twenty persons in one and the Baltimore area sent nine persons to another.

Kindly indicate on the enclosed card (Note: you must put postage on):

1. Whether or not your conference will send delegates, no more than ten, to the United Nations Seminar, May 27-30, 1952.

2. Whether or not your conference is interested in joining with other conferences in sending eleven or more persons to a United Nations seminar set up especially for two or three conferences. Kindly indicate a preferred date if you wish to participate in a seminar planned especially for your conference, together with others.

We need to have this information no later than February 29.

Best wishes to you in 1952 for a world in which there is peace and harmony.

Sincerely,

Charles F. Boss
Commission on World Peace

M. Leo Rippy
Department of Christian Education
of Adults, General Board
of Education

Thelma Stevens
Woman's Division of Christian Service
Board of Missions and Church Extension

PEOPLE WE WROTE ABOUT RACE IN THE NEWS, JANUARY & FEBRUARY, 1952

Heads of all State Divisions and affiliated interracial organizations--
Asked them to buy and distribute a number of copies.

Congressman Brooks Hays of Arkansas — His Info.

Senator John Sparkman of Alabama — " "

Senator Lister Hill of Alabama — " "

Mr. Seth Babcock
Longwood, Fla — Asked him to get local action on the matter.

Rev. George J. Flanigen
Sts. Peter & Paul's Church — Sent 32 copies in response to order.
214 E. 8th St.
Chattanooga 2, Tenn.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga. — Asked if he would use his influence to get the Negro BPOE to buy and distribute a number of copies.

Mr. S. L. Latimer
The Columbia "State"
Columbia, S. C. — His info.

Miss Anne Queen
A. F. S. C.
225 E. Lee St.
Greensboro, N. C. — Help in distribution & use

Miss Roberta Morgan
309 N. 23rd St.
Birmingham, Ala. — Info.

Ralph Rose & Jane Reinheimer
A. F. S. C.
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa. — They bought 80 for distribution.

Mr. Robert W. Hudgens
American International Association
for Economic & Social Development
45 Rockefeller Plaza, Rm. 968
New York 20, N. Y. — He ordered 12 for distribution.

Miss Almita S. Robinson
A. F. S. C.
University YMCA Bldg.
Austin, Texas — Asked her advice on getting it used in the South.

Mr. O. D. Duncan
Okalhoma A&M College
Stillwater, Okla.
Asked his advice about getting it distributed in Okla.

Negro Teachers Associations in Ala., N. C., S. C., Va., Tenn., Miss., La., Fla. Asked them to buy a number of copies for distribution in their respective States.

The following Industrial Union Councils, all of which had contributed to SRC: Tennessee Council, Alabama Council, Houston Council, New Orleans Council, Chattanooga Council. Sent for their information only.

Mrs. John W. Stanley
525 Avery St.
Decatur, Ga.
Asked if she could interest the Active Voters League in DeKalb County in putting the pamphlet to use.

Mr. Maurice B. Fagan
Fellowship Commission Bldg.
260-15th St.
Philadelphia 2, Pa.
Sent 180 copies for distribution to NAIRO.

Mr. Elmer W. Henderson, Director
American Council on Human Rights
1130 Sixth St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Asked help in getting it distributed and used.

Mr. Hal Lewis
College of Education
University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.
Asked help in getting it used.

Mr. Herman Long
Institute of Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.
Asked help in getting it used.

Mr. C. C. Spaulding
N. C. Mutual Life Insurance Co.
Durham, N. C.
Asked help in getting it distributed

Dr. D. V. Jemison, President
National Baptist Convention, U. S. A.
1605 Lapsley St.
Selma, Ala.
Asked help in getting it distributed and used.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U. S. Dept. of Justice
Washington, D. C.
For his information.

Mr. Allen Easley Acting Dean School of Religion Wake Forest College Wake Forest, N. C.	Asked help in getting N. C. Baptists to distribute and use pamphlet.
Mrs. Ellen O'Gorman Duffy NCCJ 381 Fourth Ave. New York 16, N. Y.	Agreed to write memo to all offices stating that RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT is available at 15¢ a copy.
Mr. Caxton Doggett Rader Memorial Methodist Church 170 Northeast 80th Terrace Miami 38, Fla.	Asked his help in getting it used in & near his community.
Mr. Don Shoemaker Citizen-Times Asheville, N. C.	Asked that he give editorial notice to the pamphlet.
Mr. Jonathan Daniels News and Observer Raleigh, N. C.	Editorial notice
Mr. Herbert M. Davidson News-Journal Daytona Beach, Fla.	Editorial notice
Bishop Robert N. Brooks 651 Baronne St. New Orleans 12, La.	Asked help in getting it distributed & used by his church.
Bishop W. J. Walls 4736 S. Parkway Chicago, Ill.	Asked him about AME Zion Church.
Mr. William Shands Meacham 1132 Graydon Ave. Norfolk, Va.	Editorial notice.
Mr. Hodding Carter Delta Democrat-Times Greenville, Miss.	Editorial notice
Mr. Virginius Dabney Times Dispatch Richmond, Va.	Editorial notice
Mr. Harry Ashmore Arkansas Gazette Little Rock, Ark.	Editorial notice
Bishop W. Y. Bell 2105 N. Main Ave. South Boston, Va.	Asked him to help with CME Church

Miss Mary Frances Lacey Executive Director YWCA 314 N. Davie St. Greensboro, N. C.	
Mr. Ed Ray The Orlando Sentinel Orlando, Fla.	Editorial notice
Mr. Ralph McGill The Atlanta Constitution Atlanta, Ga.	Editorial notice
Mr. Almon R. Pepper Dept. of Christian Social Relations The National Council Protestant Episcopal Church 281 Fourth Ave. New York 10, N. Y.	Asked help in getting Episcopalians to act locally.
Rev. D. Swan Haworth First Baptist Church Lumberton, N. C.	Asked help in getting it used locally.
Senator Estes Kefauver of Tenn.	For his information
Mr. Walter P. Reuther, President UAW-CIO 8000 E. Jefferson Ave. Detroit 14, Mich.	For his information
Mr. David J. McDonald, Treasurer United Steelworkers of America 1500 Commonwealth Bldg. Pittsburgh 22, Pa.	For his information
Mr. David Dubinsky ILGWU 1710 Broadway New York 19, N. Y.	For his information
Mr. Lindsley F. Kimball Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc. 49 W. 49th St. New York, N. Y.	For his information
Dr. Hugh A. Brimm Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention Box 38, St. Matthews Station Louisville, Ky.	Bought 25 for distribution

Prof. T. Stanton Dietrich
Dept. of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.
Asked for ideas in getting it distributed in Fla.

Mrs. Virginia Efferson Warner
Florida State A&M College
Tallahassee, Fla.
Asked for help in getting is used in Fla.

Miss Margaret Garrity
1312 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, D. C.
Asked her to talk to editor of POLICE CHIEFS NEWS

Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science
357 E. Chicago Ave.
Chicago 11, Ill.
Asked them to give the pamphlet notice in their magazine.

Mr. David A. McCandless
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Ky.
Sent 50 copies to be used in classes

Mr. Joseph D. Lohman
4901 Ellis Ave.
Chicago 15, Ill.
For his information

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Ave.
New York 17, N. Y.
For his info

Prof. Louis Wirth
Dept. of Sociology
U. of Chicago
Chicago 37, Ill.
For his info.

Mr. & Mrs. David B. Silberman, Jr.
2920 Commonwealth Ave.
Chicago 14, Ill.
For their info.

Rev. V. J. O'Connell, S. M.
2901 S. Carrollton Ave.
New Orleans, La.
Asked help in getting CCS to have pamphlet used.

Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C. O.
434 Charlotte Ave.
Rock Hill, S. C.
CCS

Mr. Thomas F. Byrd
Burnsville, N. C.
His info.

Mr. Philip S. Ogilvie
Catholic Committee of the South
7927-A St. Charles Ave.
New Orleans, 18, La.
CCS

Governors of 13 Southern States--for their information

Mr. Art Levin
Anti-Defamation League — Bought $100 worth
11 Pryor St., S. W.
Atlanta

Miss Marjorie Minkler
WSCS of the Board of Missions & Church Extension
of the Methodist Church
150 Fifth Ave.
New York 11, N. Y.

Miss Thelma Stevens, Sec'y — Asked their help in getting local Methodist churches to take it up.
Dept. of Christian Social Relations & Local Activities
of the Methodist Church
150 Fifth Ave.
New York 11, N. Y.

Rev. I. Harding Hughes
St. Mary's School — Asked advice in getting local Episcopalians to take action.
Raleigh, N. C.

Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson St. — Asked about Lutherans
Jackson 26, Miss.

Mrs. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Ave. — Asked her help in getting it used in her area
Takoma Park, Md.

The Rt. Rev. William R. Moody
Bishop of Lexington — Asked help in getting Episcopalians in Ky. to use it
436 W. 6th St.
Lexington, Ky.

Rev. Horace A. White
Plymouth Congregational Church — Asked his church to take it up as a project.
Garfield & Beaubien Sts.
Detroit 1, Mich.

Rev. U. J. Robinson, Secretary
National Baptist Convention — Asked him to get National Baptists to take local action.
405 St. Michael St.
Mobile, Ala.

Mr. James E. Hilley
120 N. Ann St. — Asked him to prod Mr. Robinson and get some action out of him.
Mobile, Ala.

SRC Pubs — R&LE - '51

Sept. 28, 1951

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

You were so good about careful comment on the police manuscript that I want you to know the present state of the proposal.

You can see pretty well from this correspondence where it stands.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.
cc. letter of Sep. 26 to
Maxwell Hahn.

October 4, 1951

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Dept. of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Guy:

Very many thanks for your careful comments on the police manuscript.

We have had some setbacks on it. The Marshall Field people wanted it reviewed by Gordon Allport and Louis Wirth. Allport praised it, and Louis Wirth, after checking with Joe Lohman, had many doubts. We finally decided that we would be wrong in aiming it at the policemen instead of at the Council's regular constituency. We are trying to put a new aim on it. Meanwhile, the Marshall Field people have written us again that they still like the idea of getting it in print, but there is some hint that they would prefer it to be issued from McCandless's Southern Police Institute at Louisville. Fleming is moving ahead with the re-write, and we will see what happens.

Still no news from Ford, but what we get subterraneously is encouraging. I hear that they are definitely setting up machinery to review projects in the field of race relations. And they had told us earlier that if they did that, we would be seriously considered. Dr. Will has been working with Howard Tolley on it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

GSM:ec

Race + Law Enforcement list.

December 14, 1951

Rev. C. Emerson Smith
109 W. Grace St., Rm. 202
Richmond, Va.

Dear Emerson:

I send you separately a couple more copies of the draft of the police manual. Do see if your department would commit itself to buying $25 worth or more, ahead of time. I don't know exactly how many that would be, but I should think it would come out at around 25¢ apiece.

Very nice of you to come the other day. I wish there had been time for more conversation with you.

I expect to be coming to and through Richmond between now and January 15, and we will do some talking.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Race & Law Enforcement

December 14, 1951

Mr. David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Ky.

Dear Mr. McCandless:

We have done over our manuscript on Race and Law Enforcement. We like this one better.

I do hope you can still send us a foreword for it. We will get the booklet out into the nooks and crannies of the South, and we think it would be greatly strengthened if it had something introductory from you.

I have sent a copy on to Joe Lohman, and I hope he will like it too.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

December 17, 1951

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Ave.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I am sending you separately a new and much altered draft toward our police pamphlet. On our present plans, we will get it in print next month as an issue of New South, and with additional copies to distribute to friends and supporters. We will try to get them to use it in working directly with local police departments.

Your last letter was pretty definitive as to help on it from the Marshall Field Foundation. We have found two or three quite small contributors toward getting it out, but we would still be most grateful if the Marshall Field Foundation were to like this draft well enough to help on it.

I have sent copies on to Joe Lohman and Louis Wirth and Gordon Allport, with thanks for their earlier careful attention. My warm thanks to you also for time and interest given to this proposal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

December 17, 1951

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Would the Georgia Interracial Committee consider buying two or three hundred copies of the forthcoming police pamphlet?

The Virginia group is talking about buying $25 worth. I am writing some of the State Divisions similarly.

Our notion was that the Divisions or State Committees would plan special campaigns to get the pamphlet used personally and locally with police officials.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Sent to heads of all State Divisions

December 17, 1951

Rev. W. W. Wilke
2100 Wolfe St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Wilke:

I send you separately a copy of a manuscript on "Race and Law Enforcement" which the Council intends to print as the January issue of New South. That will get it to all our members. We will also print several thousand extra ones bound differently as a simple pamphlet.

Then comes the problem of getting it actually pushed into use in local communities. The local committees of church women or others ought to take it for conferences with local police officers. Out in the country it should be taken to the sheriff.

Would your Division be interested in buying a couple of hundred or so and helping on that? We expect them to be priced at fifteen cents apiece.

We would earnestly want the Division's help in this way in getting it out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

December 17, 1951

Mr. Joseph D. Lohman
4901 Ellis Ave.
Chicago 15, Ill.

Dear Joe:

I send you separately an almost entire redo of our police pamphlet. It no longer essays to be a boil-down of your manual.

But we think it is useful in this form, and we hope you can like it.

Our present plan is to print it in January.

We are all grateful for the time and attention you have given to the whole project.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

December 17, 1951

Professor Louis Wirth
Dept. of Sociology
University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Ill.

Dear Louis:

We have done over our police manuscript. I send you a copy separately in an almost completely new guise.

I will send a copy to Maxwell Hahn, more or less pro forma, though we would still be mighty pleased if the Marshall Field Foundation would chip in something toward our cost of doing it and getting it out.

Our present plan is to print it in January.

I am grateful to you for the mighty prompt and careful review you gave the earlier manuscript.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

December 17, 1951

Professor Gordon W. Allport
Dept. of Social Relations
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Dear Professor Allport:

You were mighty nice in reviewing with care an earlier manuscript we sent you of a police pamphlet for use in the South.

We have done it all over again quite differently and propose now to get it into print next month.

I am not now asking you to burden your time by ploughing through this from cover to cover, but in appreciation of your earlier interest, we send on this draft, separately,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

December 17, 1951

President A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Ala.

Dear Mr. Beittel:

I wondered whether the Alabama Division could buy a couple of hundred copies of the new police pamphlet which we intend to print in January?

We expect it will come out at fifteen cents apiece. As it will be the January issue of New South, it will reach all your members, I admit. But we thought maybe the Division would want to plan a campaign to get the pamphlet into the hands of local people who would use it effectively with their own police systems.

What say?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. I send you still another copy, separately.

GSM:ec

December 17, 1951

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Ave.
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

We missed you at the meetings. I have grown accustomed to a helpful supporting smile from you in your corner.

We adopted a good statement, as perhaps you will have seen. Here is a copy.

Still no news from the Ford people, but we will keep hoping. And what little we hear is good.

I send you separately a copy of a pamphlet on police and the community, that we expect to print as the January issue of New South. We will get several thousand more separately bound just as pamphlets. They will be about fifteen cents apiece. Do you think the Texas Commission would be willing to buy two or three hundred of them? It would be a pretty good thing for the Commission to do—working out a campaign with church women and others to get the pamphlet actually and personally discussed with police officers in conferences in local communities.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

December 21, 1951

President A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Ala.

Dear Mr. Beittel:

Many thanks for your letter of December 19. That's the first real response on the police pamphlet, and it encourages us to push it ahead.

I am talking with the local man in the National Council of Churches about ways to get it out quite vigorously through church related groups.

Let us know the outcome of the January 3 meeting.

In continuing appreciation of you and of the Division.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Police Manual — Orders

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ALABAMA DIVISION

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

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RECEIVED
DEC 20 1951
Southern Regional Council

Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama
December 19, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are having a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Alabama Division in Montgomery on Thursday, January 3.

I shall recommend to the Executive Committee that the Alabama Division purchase enough copies of the new police pamphlet to supply every Chief of Police and sheriff in the State of Alabama with a copy.

I shall hope that some of them can be delivered in person and that others can be sent with a covering letter from the Alabama Division.

With best wishes for the Christmas season, I am

Cordially yours,

A D Beittel

A. D. Beittel, Chairman
Alabama Division
Southern Regional Council

-b

79 le

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
DEC 31 1951
Southern Regional Council

December 28, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

On my return to the office today I find your letter of December 14 and copy of revised manuscript on RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. I will read this with much interest and write you within the next week.

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless, Director

DAMcC:c

RECEIVED
DEC 31 1951
Southern Regional Council

THE LINCOLN FOUNDATION

1275 STARKS BLDG.
LOUISVILLE, KY.

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C. L. THOMAS
COLEMAN WRIGHT

December 28, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The enclosed letter is by way of reply to your letter of December 17 and to indicate to you that we are at least moving in the direction of plans to distribute the New South issue on "Race and Law Enforcement".

We will keep you informed as to what further steps the Kentucky Division takes.

Sincerely,

J. M. Tydings

J. M. Tydings

JMT:vg

December 28, 1951

Dr. C. H. Parrish
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Parrish:

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, has sent me the enclosed manuscript on "Race and Law Enforcement" which the Council intends to print in the January issue of New South and which will be available for wide distribution, if desired, at the small cost of about fifteen cents per copy.

I am sending this to you because it seems to have some possibility of being helpful to the University of Louisville Police School and you will know how to find out whether it has or not.

Would it be right for the Kentucky Division to buy some extra copies to place in the hands of those attending the University of Louisville Police School, as well as the sheriffs of the various counties?

The important question is, will you take this project on?

Sincerely,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:wg
cc: Dr. George S. Mitchell

P. S. Our telephone number is WAbash 4733.

Police Manual

December 26, 1951

Rev. Horace A. White
Plymouth Congregational Church
Garfield & Beaubien Sts.
Detroit 1, Mich.

Dear Mr. White:

As you know, our Council has for a good while been interested in police matters in the South. We have done a good deal of work in getting towns and cities to take on Negro policemen. But there is a much bigger job than that: Somebody's got to get existing police forces to respect the law and behave with equal consideration for everybody.

One way toward doing that is to get effective local citizens to interest themselves in the way the police systems are conducted. Simply writing out to such citizens and urging them to lecture their police chiefs won't do the job. But we thought it would do a good deal of good if we could get into the hands of local committees a manual that would instruct both the citizens and the police.

We have now done a second revision of a manual that we think will do this job. I am sending you three copies separately. Our present plan is to print it and send it out to the 3,000-odd Council members and subscribers to New South. Additionally, we would get Mrs. Tilly's Fellowship of the Concerned to mail it out to women in a number of Southern States, with an urgent request that they take up the content of the pamphlet personally with their police chiefs or sheriffs.

In general, we are looking for results something like those that came from "Race in the News." But we realize this will be a slower thing than that one. Still, it is a beginning. As far as I know, nobody has ever tried a direct educational job of this kind on Southern police forces.

Our printer gives us an estimate of $450 for 8,000 copies. We have been assured of block purchases of it amounting to $125. We will make it a January or February issue of our magazine, and that will absorb perhaps a further $200 of the cost.

Do you think that one of the groups in your church, or perhaps some individuals, would be willing to put up $75 or $100 toward the cost of getting it out? We would send you a hundred or so copies.

I am sure that there are many members of the Plymouth Congregational Church who could themselves mail it directly to friends in the South who could contrive to get the lesson of the pamphlet across to their local police forces.

If you have suggestions as to the content of the pamphlet, or as to other ways in which we could get the message brought home, we would be very grateful.

This is a time when I know there are a thousand demands on you and your people. No reason why this proposal should not lie over until early in the year. But I would be most grateful for the church's kind consideration of the request.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. Here is a good statement our Council adopted officially the other day.

GSM:ec
Encl.

Police Manual

December 27, 1951

Rev. George E. Clary
626 Maupas Ave.
Savannah, Ga.

Dear Mr. Clary:

I am sending you separately a manuscript draft of a publication we hope to get out in late January. It's for local citizens to use in working with their police department or with the sheriff.

We started with the idea of a teaching or training manual for policemen. We did one. But when the experts reviewed it, some of them said we did not have enough incident and detail to make it really useful with the policemen directly. So we moved on to something we have a good long history with: getting local Southern people to work improvingly with local officials. And this present draft is the result.

There is a nice possibility. Police forces, eager for more civilian support, will be attentive to what is recommended.

Our Council people in Alabama are buying enough copies of the pamphlet to get it out to all their police forces and to many local citizens. The Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches is talking about a goodish order. Mrs. Tilly's Fellowship of the Concerned will be sending it out to a lot of people and places. I have written the Texas Interracial Commission and the State Divisions of the Council to see if they will take on part of the task of getting the pamphlet out.

I wonder if the Georgia Committee would be willing to purchase a stack of the pamphlets and to undertake distribution of the stack? It ought to go to known action people in local communities, and probably there should be a letter with it suggesting the action to take. We are printing 8,000 copies and can sell it at 15¢ apiece. A couple of hundred copies would be $30. Do you think the Georgia Committee would be willing to undertake a job of that kind?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

RECEIVED
DEC 31 1951
Southern Regional Council

December 28, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I want you to have this acknowledgment that I have received your letter of December 17. The newly revised draft of the police pamphlet has not been received. I assume that you sent it and that it has been delayed in the Christmas mail. After the text arrives, I shall write you again.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

GSM sent duplicate
Dec 31. 51

December 28, 1951

Mr. C. Emerson Smith
Virginia Council of Churches, Inc.
Department of Interracial Cooperation
109 West Grace St., Rm. 202
Richmond 20, Va.

Dear Emerson:

We are delighted by the Virginia Council's paid-ahead-of-time order for the police pamphlet. Very many thanks. We expect to have it in print by late January.

I'll be through your way about January 16 or 17 and will come to see you.

No news as yet, but we are still hopeful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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Vice-President

U. G. WILSON
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W. A. MANN
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VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, INC.

OFFICES AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, AND BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA

RT. REV. FREDERICK D. GOODWIN
President
ROLAND P. RIDDICK
Chairman, Commission on Finance

Department of Interracial Cooperation

C. EMERSON SMITH, Director
109 West Grace Street, Room 202
Richmond 20, Virginia

JOHN M. ELLISON, Chairman
Department of Interracial Cooperation
MINOR C. MILLER
Executive Secretary

December 19, 1951

RECEIVED
DEC 26 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave NE
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your note and the additional copies of the manual on Police Practice.

It was good to be at the meeting last week. I surely hope that you will be able to keep up the good work.

I am enclosing a check for $50.00 as an advance on the pamphlet "Race and Law Enforcement". We feel that we can make good use of it here in Virginia.

I will be looking forward to seeing you in your next trip up this way.

Best wishes for a happy holliday.

Sincerely yours,
Emerson
C. Emerson Smith

Police Manual

January 4, 1952

Dr. Hugh Brinn
Box 38
St. Matthew's Branch
Louisville 7, Ky.

Dear Hugh:

We have been trying for a long time to find some way to speed up and broaden the improvement of local police forces. We have settled on a manuscript I'm sending you separately, and expect to print it this month.

You are pretty busy, and it's not going to be easy to read the whole thing through, particularly in mimeograph. But how about looking through it with some care?

You will see that it is aimed at getting interested local citizens to work with the chief or sheriff for improvement.

Now what could be done to interest Baptist church people over the South in playing a local citizens' part in this movement? What we most want is for local people with a social-action conscience to read the pamphlet and send a committee to see the chief and talk with him about it. We think that most chiefs of police will be pleased to see such committees, because it will give the chief a chance to explain to responsible and tax-paying citizens the needs of his force. I can see out of such interviews a kind of informal undertaking on the chief's part that his force will behave itself in matters of race relations if some decent people in the town will stand behind the police department when its budget comes up. And after all, that's a fair and American way for things to get improved.

I want to sell some of the pamphlets. But that isn't primary. I am printing only 8,000 at first. Fifteen cents apiece. What I want from you is collaboration on some plan that will get action in a whole lot of little towns.

What do you see that could be done?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. We hope McCandless is going to write a foreword for the pamphlet.

GSM:ec

Re police phlt

MEMO TO GSM Jan. 4, 1952

Visited Mrs. Parks, Board of Women's Work, Southern Presbyterian Church, Henry Grady Bldg.

She said she would discuss the police manual with her Executive Committee next week and talk with them and others about making some good mention of it in the June or July issue of her maggie, which issue will be devoted to civil rights of the individual. GSM should send her several printed copies when available.

January 7, 1952

The Rt. Rev. William R. Moody
Bishop of Lexington
436 W. 6th St.
Lexington, Ky.

Dear Bishop Moody:

I send you separately a manuscript of a pamphlet the Council proposes to get out this month. It is the result of a long period of inquiry and negotiation and writing and rewriting.

After we print it, the next thing is to get it used. You will see that it isn't aimed directly at teaching the police. It is aimed at getting local citizens to work with their police force to get improvement.

It seems to me that's a mighty good project for Christian Social Relations people all over the South.

What we want to get is visits by conscientious local people to the police chief or the sheriff. The visitors should have read the little pamphlet, and ordinarily they should bring a copy or two to the chief. Such a visit, nine times out of ten, will end in a bargain. The chief will try hard to bring his force around to better behavior in matters of race if responsible local citizens will stand behind the police department when its budget is up in city council. And that's perfectly reasonable. For it will take not only education, but better salaries and better equipment (and perhaps more soap powder) to do the job.

Is there some way in which the Church could bring this possibility to the attention of its ~~Louisville~~ Kentucky Christian Social Relations people?

I have already written to Tydings, who tells me that the Kentucky Division of the Council will buy a good stack of the pamphlet and will try to get it usefully distributed in Kentucky. But I want to reach the Christian conscience on as wide a scale as possible.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

P. S. I hear from George Wieland that SRC is in the tentative budget for a grant of a thousand dollars this year from the National Council. I do hope that the needed, over-all sums can be raised and that the inclusive budget can be approved.

January 8, 1952

Dr. Roswell Barnes
Division of Christian Life & Work
National Council of the Churches of Christ
In the United States of America
297 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Barnes:

I have been talking with Ernest Arnold here about ways to get ~~a proposed~~ this pamphlet ~~on race and law enforcement~~ into use. ~~I send you a copy of the manuscript separately.~~

Arnold says one thing to do is to go to see you. I happen to be coming to New York January 15, 16, and 17. If you can save me half an hour on your calendar on either of those three days, preferably one of the first two, I would like to come by. Or if you will be gone, Oscar Lee or Tom Allen would, I know, want to be helpful.

We have been working for months to get together a good popular publication on police practices in the South. We tried for a while to make it a manual to teach the policemen. We concluded that the best thing to do was to make it a manual to teach the citizens how to work with the police department. That's what this ~~pamphlet manuscript~~ is.

What we want to result is a whole lot of visits by conscientious local people to the police chief or to the sheriff. They should have read this little publication. They should leave some copies with the chief. And if the chief is smart, he will outline, in his mind if not in words, some kind of a bargain. He will get the police force to behave itself if this committee of good, respected citizens will help the police department with its budget when the budget comes up before the city council. That's a good American device. Not necessarily one to talk about, but one to recognize.

Anyway, do please try to read parts of the manuscript, and when I come to see you, you can tell me any sparks struck on how to get ~~churches~~ over the South to take up this business of practical, detailed work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

January 8, 1952

Mrs. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Ave.
Takoma Park, Md.

Dear Mrs. Wolfe:

How very nice that was of you to pay up all your back dues and make yourself a sustaining member for this year! We are truly grateful.

The business about labor I am proud of you for bringing up. I am a labor guy myself—though always an academic one. It has been the case in the past that the stripe of white people in the South who would work on interracial things was skittish about labor things. Or, at any rate, they would go further on matters of race than they would on matters of organized labor. That's breaking down, but it is still there.

We have always had somebody directly from labor on our Executive Committee. Right now it is Paul Christopher, who heads the CIO in Tennessee, and I think is the ablest labor man in the South. We elected to the Board last month Ed Weyler of Kentucky, who is a good AF of L man. I don't know as yet whether he is accepting, but I hope so.

And also, be it said, organized labor begins to give us money. The Steelworkers and the Automobile Workers and the Textile Workers and the ILGWU and the Sidney Hillman Fund have all helped us with quite substantial amounts—$500 and $1,000. Occasional Industrial Union Councils have sent smaller contributions.

I am myself one of the band of believers in workers' education. I never see it get anywhere, but I still believe in it. Arthur Raper has a farm out near Vienna. He is employed in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in the USDA. If you will call him there, he would tell you where his farm is, and I am sure would be grateful for a visit.

Whether he's got a job for you or not, I give you one. I send you separately a pamphlet that we will have in print at the end of this month or early in next. Fifteen cents apiece. But the point is not to sell it; it's to get it used.

We started with the idea of something to train the policemen on how to behave. We warped it around to this, which teaches citizens how to work with local police forces.

Make up for yourself in your mind's eye a visit of a committee of four or five local people--mostly women--to the police chief. The committee will have read the pamphlet. They'll have a couple for the chief. The chief will at once express general agreement with what they are after. But he will complain that he can't do these things until the force is better paid, and until he can send three of his men to the Louisville Police Training Institute, and until he can buy some more soap powder to clean up the jail house. And out of the whole interview would come an informal deal. If the ladies will stand behind his budget in the city council, he will get behind the policemen on the streets.

I have written around to dignitaries in most lines of faith popular in the South, and I am sure they are going to help us get it moving. Couldn't you see what might be done with it in Washington, in Southern Maryland, and in northern Virginia?

If you have any sparks about what to do, let me know.

I lived in Takoma Park for six months myself on something called Philadelphia Avenue, so I know a little about your surroundings.

And my office is right next door to Mr. Jacobs's.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
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MRS. M. E. TILLY,
IN CHARGE WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 22, 1951

RECEIVED
JAN 4 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. George Wolfe
7901 ~~1011~~ Carroll Ave.
Takoma Park, Md.

Dear Mrs. Wolfe:

You have been a faithful Council member since back in 1945 when, I believe, Mr. Sinclair Jacobs first brought us to your attention. But if our records are right, the last time dues got paid was sometime in 1949.

Could you bring it current for '50 and '51? We would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Dear Mr. Mitchell - Sorry I somehow missed previous mention of my dues delinquency. Enclosed is dues for '50 & '51 & a sustaining membership ($10) for '52. I have been much impressed with the work you are doing. My only question would be whether you

$16.00
K.S.

could strengthen both your Board, and the vitality of the work itself by including in your board and utilizing in your activities representatives of organized labor and adult education leaders from the labor field.

Would that scare off any membership?

Sincerely,

Bee Wolfe

(By the way, I note Mr Roper is located in Arlington now. Is there any way in which he could find me of some service in activities of the SRC in the area?

BRW)

January 8, 1952

Miss Marjorie Minkler, Executive Secretary
Bureau of Town and Country Work
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the
Board of Missions and Church Extension
of the Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, N. Y.

Dear Miss Minkler:

We intend to get out during January a pamphlet on police practices in the South. I send you a manuscript of it separately.

We worked over it a long time and revised it from its original form. It started as something to teach the policemen. It ends now as something to teach local citizens how to work helpfully with their police force.

I am anxious to use every resource for getting the pamphlet actually used by local people. Mrs. Tilly will help tremendously with the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Do read it and see what sparks it may strike with you as to ways of getting local church people to take the lesson and visit the chief or the sheriff.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

January 8, 1952

Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson St.
Jackson 26, Miss.

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

I send you separately a pamphlet we want to do this month or next on police and race.

We started with the idea of training the policemen. Then we warped it into this, which trains local citizens in how to work with the police force.

Picked up and used by conscientious local people it can do a whole lot of good.

Let your mind play with an interview between five earnest, Lutheran church women and the police chief in Zinkspot, Alabama. The chief will profess himself sympathetic with their aims. But he will say he can't do those things because it will cost money. He will have to pay more money for better men. And some will have to be sent off to the police training institute at Louisville, Kentucky, to get trained. And he needs more soap powder to clean up the jail house, and so on. And the ladies would see that if they were going to achieve the object of their visit, they would have also to go to the meeting of the budget committee of Zinkspot City Council the day the police department's budget is up.

We will print eight thousand of the pamphlets. We will sell them at fifteen cents apiece.

Query to you: What steps do I take to get the Lutheran Church in the South to apprise its people of the possibility of working in this useful way?

With admiration and respect,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

January 8, 1952

Rev. V. J. O'Connell, S. M.
2901 S. Carrollton Ave.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Father Vince:

We have been working on and off for months to turn out a good publication on police training. We started with the idea of telling the policemen how they ought to behave. We ended with the manuscript that I'm sending you separately: telling local citizens how to work with the police department to get improvement.

The pamphlet should be in print by the end of this month or the first of next. We will do eight thousand copies and will sell it at fifteen cents apiece.

Now the problem is to get local community action. It seems to me that this kind of job in a town or city is perfectly appropriate to church groups or auxiliary groups.

Let your imagination play a little with an interview between a delegation of church ladies and a local police chief. He will at once profess interest in achieving the aims they are after. But he will say, "I can't do it, because the force is underpaid, ill-educated, untrained. And as to the jail, they need two more boxes of soap powder right now. So, obviously, the next thing is a quiet understanding. The chief will get the department doing right if the ladies will get the city council to do right when the department's budget is up.

How do we go about getting the idea taken up? I am sure the Catholic Committee of the South could get a lot done. Are there particular bishops whom I or someone else should write to? Advice, Sir, if you will.

I am trying to be in touch with leading Protestant people also.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

CHAIRMAN
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TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA
VICE-CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM
ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE
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1630 - 4TH AVENUE, N.
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MR. D. R. PRICE
BIRMINGHAM
MR. J. K. WILLIAMS
BIRMINGHAM
* FELLOWS

Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama
January 9, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I want to place an order for the Alabama Division for five hundred copies of the police pamphlet as soon as they are off the press. Please send the shipment and the bill to Dean C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

We had scheduled Howard Kester, Director of the John C. Campbell Folk School at Brasstown, to speak at our Sunday morning worship service on Sunday, January 27. Kester is leaving the Folk School and is caught in a jam in trying to have all his affairs straightened out by the end of January. He has asked for a later date and we are now looking for a good speaker for Sunday, January 27.

Will it be possible for you to speak at Talladega on that Sunday even though this invitation is coming very late? We are doing our best to make a preacher out of you and we are succeeding I hope, at least in part. I hope you will find it possible to be at Talladega on Sunday, January 27.

The Executive Committee of the Alabama Division would like very much to have you, Mrs. Tilly and Harold Fleming attend our annual meeting in Montgomery on Tuesday, February 12. Both Harold Fleming and Mrs. Tilly are being asked to have a part on the program and we should like very much to have you present at the meeting also.

With kind regards and good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

A. D. Beittel

A. D. Beittel, Chairman
Alabama Division

-b

signed in absence

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

JAN 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 9, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I recently completed foreword for Race and Law Enforcement. I had spent some time in preparation of it and felt fairly well satisfied with it. Before sending it on to you I thought it best to take the matter up with my Advisory Committee. The reaction in the Committee was so divergent and indecisive that I have concluded that I should ask you to release me from my agreement to write this foreword. I am sure that I owe you a more detailed explanation and it is my hope to do this on a trip to Atlanta this spring. All in our Committee recognize the value of your pamphlet. The main objection is to the effect that the Institute should not at the present time complicate its work by an identification with the pamphlet.

The good work the Southern Regional Council is doing is valued highly by me. I know you will believe me sincere when I say that I value and need your assistance. We expect to ask you for this assistance from time to time.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless, Director

DAMcC:c

Police Manual

January 10, 1952

Mr. David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Ky.

Dear Mr. McCandless:

We have sent the manuscript of our pamphlet, Race and Law Enforcement, in to the printer. We still earnestly want a foreword to it from you, and there are still seven or eight days in which to get it in.

Do, please, send us a foreword if you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SRC Pubs-Res le

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

January 11, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have examined the pamphlets and am in agreement with you that they should be distributed in places where they would count most. In thinking about this, I would like to make the following suggestions.

First, that you and I either separately or together should talk to Mr. Harper, who is an important functionary in the Georgia State Teacher's Association, and also The Georgia State Association of Negro Principals, about these materials. It seems to me that it would be a good thing if the Association would buy up a batch of these pamphlets and distribute them throughout the High Schools of the State. I believe Mr. Harper will buy this idea.

I would also suggest that we talk with Mrs. Dempsey, the Jeanes Teachers Supervisor, about them in the same vein. She would, I am sure, be willing to call them to the attention of the Jeanes Teachers throughout the area. She also has contact with Jeanes Supervisors in adjoining states.

Third, I am sure that NAACP executives throughout the South are itching to get their hands on materials of this sort. Dr. William Boyd, would have some excellent suggestions with reference to getting them distributed among NAACP organizations in the South. In fact, I believe that the State Chapter might be able to buy up a batch for its private distribution.

Finally, our mutual good friend, Lewis Johnson, at Tuskegee, could be of great assistance in getting these materials distributed through his Rural Life Council. By directing research, he is in contact with the small colleges and centers throughout the Southeast; you should get in touch with him.

I would be willing to do anything you suggest in this connection. I do not believe, however, that my accumulating a list of names and places would pay off as fruitfully as would working this thing through organizations. You may think of others. In any event, let us get together and work out a program for a good distribution.

Sincerely,

Mozell C. Hill

January 11, 1952

Mr. David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Ky.

Dear Mr. McCandless:

Our letters crossed.

We are sorry not to have the foreword from you, but we want whatever we do to be fitted in with the longrange plans of the Southern Police Institute.

We will send you some copies of the pamphlet when it comes out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Police manual

January 14, 1952

President A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Ala.

Dear Mr. Beittel:

Many thanks for your letter of January 9 with the most welcome order for five hundred copies of the pamphlet.

It has gone to the printer and should be back at about the end of the month. We will ship them right over to Comillion.

I will be most happy to come to Talladega for Sunday, the 27th. You can expect me to arrive before 10:30. If I can arrange it, I will bring Mrs. Mitchell along.

I am afraid I can't get to Montgomery for the 12th, but I am glad that Mrs. Tilly and Harold will be there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

green copy

January 14, 1952

MEMO TO KS

Please notice that we have received an order from Beittel, on behalf of the Alabama Division, for 500 copies of the police pamphlet as soon as it is printed. Beittel says send the item and the bill to Dean C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. Beittel's letter was January 9, 1952.

GSM

FREEDMEN'S PUBLISHING COMPANY

PUBLISHERS OF

The Informer Group of Papers

RECEIVED
JAN 16 1952
Southern Regional Council

2418 LEELAND AVE. P. O. BOX 3086 HOUSTON 1, TEXAS

FAIRFAX 8347

The Market:

- 2,800,000 People
- Plenty Money
- Willing to Buy
- Awaiting Invitation

The Means:

- THE INFORMER
- THE DALLAS EXPRESS
- THE HOUSTON INFORMER

January 14, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

When I left Houston, I fully expected to have at least an hour or so to spend with you in Atlanta. I had never met Mr. Alexander at the Insurance Company, and figured that he would give me probably enough time to go over the program there, and then he'd turn me loose and I'd have ample time to visit with you and others I knew. But Mr. Alexander turned out to be very much interested in our company, and enthusiastically anxious to give us everything that he had, thus we found ourselves with all of our time used up by Mr. Alexander or his associates. Of course, since we went for that purpose, we could not in truth say that we were sorry to have a chance to pick up that much more than we had really expected.

This explains why I did not get a chance to contact you or to come to see you. Incidentally, I had a letter from C. A. Scott a day or so ago, complaining that I did not get a chance to see him or call him before I left, although he had talked to me as I came down past his office about mid-day Saturday, and I had told him that I would definitely get in touch with him. It was the same story that kept me from getting in touch with C. A.

I notice that Mrs. Marion Wright is the new president, I expect her to do a fine job. I for one will be anxious to attend a meeting with her presiding as the president. Dr. Williams, no doubt, had earned a right to rest, although I am sure the staff hated to see him go.

The address made by Harry A. Ashmore before the Southern Governors, I think is very deserving of commendation. I ignore the portions of it that I don't agree with, because I think the courage to say these things

to those Southern Governors earns for Mr. Ashmore the gratitude of all of us who are trying to make the Southern Regional Council effective by getting the Southern Governors and other leaders to understand our point of view.

I am taking a rain check on that invitation to visit with you, and I have a suspicion that I will be getting back to Atlanta pretty soon, and I'll be all over your neck and in your hair.

Good luck.

Sincerely yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

January 14, 1952

MEMO TO KS

Please notice that we have received an order from Beittel, on behalf of the Alabama Division, for 500 copies of the police pamphlet as soon as it is printed. Beittel says send the item and the bill to Dean C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. Beittel's letter was January 9, 1952.

GSM

January 16, 1952

Mr. Art Levin
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor St., S. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Art:

I am returning herewith the memoranda on the police manual from Leo Srole and Sol Rabkin.

They both contained extremely good suggestions, and I sincerely regret that we did not have them when the manual was in the formative stage. As it is, they arrived after the copy had been set and typed, the length and layout of the pamphlet had been determined, and it was too late to do more than change a word or two in the text.

I thought Leo Srole's suggestions that the pamphlet be more "you-oriented" and that it build up to a climax in the final section were particularly valuable. When and if we put out another edition of the manual, we will certainly want to take these and the other suggestions into account.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:ec
Encls.

January 22, 1952

Rev. John Long
Southern Christian Institute
Edwards, Miss.

Dear Mr. Long:

What will Mississippi do about the police manual?

Alabama and Georgia and Virginia have already bought good blocks of it.

It is at the printer's and should be back in ten days' time in a handsome, police-blue cover. Fifteen cents apiece.

It's far better if such a thing is distributed from within each State.

What say in good Mississippi?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

January 22, 1952

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Ave.
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

What do you think about the police manual? It will be back from the printer in a week or so in a handsome police-blue cover. Fifteen cents apiece.

The Race Relations Department of the Virginia Council of Churches has bought 300-odd copies. The Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation bought 175, and the Alabama Division of the Council bought over 500. They will mail them out to local friends and to police officials over their States.

I do hope that the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation will like it and will take it up and do something with it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

January 22, 1952

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Dept. of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Guy:

I wrote some weeks ago, as enclosed, to Mr. Leon Russell about the police pamphlet. As yet, no reply. And I doubt that it would do the trick simply to write him again.

Could you undertake to get decision out of the North Carolina Division as to whether it would buy a block of the pamphlet, at fifteen cents apiece, and undertake distribution in your State?

The Virginia Council of Churches bought $50 worth, and the Alabama Division bought $75 worth, and the Georgia people bought some, and so on. Each State will send it out to friends and police officials.

It has been at the printer for a while and should be back within ten days, in a nice, police-blue cover.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

January 22, 1952

Mr. Crawford Solomon
Convention Press
218 W. Church St.
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Mr. Solomon:

What do you think it is wise to do in Florida about the police pamphlet? I wrote you a while ago with a copy of it, and asked whether the Florida Division would be interested in buying a block of them and sending them out to local friends, and perhaps to police officials.

It has gone to the printer and should be back in a week's time in a handsome, police-blue cover. Fifteen cents apiece.

Alabama and Georgia and Virginia have already bought good blocks of it and have undertaken to get it out.

We are most anxious to have it judiciously used within each State.

I send you another copy of the mimeod edition, in case the other one is mislaid.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

January 22, 1952

Mr. J. M. Tydings
1275 Starks Bldg.
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Please dig up the letter I wrote a while back about the police pamphlet. It will be out in a handsome, police-blue cover in a week or ten days and will sell at fifteen cents apiece.

We want to be sure that it does get widely used, State by State.

Virginia and Georgia and Alabama have already bought good, big blocks. How about Kentucky? It is a good thing to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

January 23, 1952

Rev. W. W. Wilke
2100 Wolfe St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Wilke:

I haven't heard from you further about the police pamphlet.

Georgia and Virginia and Alabama have already bought good, big blocks of it, though it is not yet back from the printer (should be in a week or so).

It will do much more good if it is distributed from within each State.

What we want is for local people, largely church people, and probably largely women, to take it to their chief or their sheriff and sit down with him and talk about it.

I am working with various denominational bodies to get it pushed through those channels, and I expect some help also on circulating it from the National Council of Churches. And we will use the YWCA and various Jewish organizations, and so on. But the best distribution would be what your office might undertake right there from Little Rock.

Do you think the Arkansas Division could order two, three, four, or five hundred copies? Fifteen cents apiece, postpaid. We would expect you to get them mailed out with a covering letter as you chose.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

January 22, 1952

RECEIVED
JAN 28 1952
Southern Regional Council

Rev. John Long
Southern Christian Institute
Edwards, Miss.

Dear Mr. Long:

What will Mississippi do about the police manual?

Alabama and Georgia and Virginia have already bought good blocks of it.

It is at the printer's and should be back in ten days' time in a handsome, police-blue cover. Fifteen cents apiece.

It's far better if such a thing is distributed from within each State.

What say in good Mississippi?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
G.S.

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

With no chance for a meeting, I'll order 100 on my own. We may get more later

John Long

$15.00

K.S.

Police

January 23, 1952

TO MRS. TILLY

I saw Mr. Clary on the street briefly this morning. He said send him 25 or 30 copies of the police pamphlet when printed, as he had the program early in February for the Ministerial Association in Savannah, and would like to give one to each clergyman.

I reminded him that the Georgia Interracial Committee was ordering $25 worth (I was trying to see whether he wanted his copies taken out of that), but he just said send him some.

I am willing to send him some for free if you think that is best. What do you think?

GSM

January 23, 1952

Mr. Galen R. Weaver
Race Relations Dept.
American Missionary Association Division
Board of Home Missions
Congregational Christian Churches
287 Fourth Ave.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Weaver:

We are about to bring out a good pamphlet on how police forces ought to behave. Copy sent separately.

It is now at the printer's and will be back in a handsome, police-blue cover in a week's time. Fifteen cents apiece.

Query: Can you get your social action people to take it up and do something with it--more particularly, in the South?

We started months ago with the notion of a manual for policemen themselves, rather after the fashion of our Race in the News, which was a manual for newspaper people. We found out after a while that we don't know enough about what goes on in a police station to write an incident-full and convincing manual for the policemen. But we do know something about persuading nice Southern people to take on a public cause. So we did it all differently, addressing it to local citizens and showing them how they could work with their police forces for improvement.

I can see coming up for the future a bargain. The ladies will go and call on the chief, booklet in hand. The chief will say he is fully sympathetic, but that it is a practical matter, and the force must have more pay and more money for training and more money for keeping the jail clean, and so on. And that if the ladies really want to help, the thing they should do is go to the city council Tuesday a week when the police department's budget is up.

That's fair enough, and if done will give the committee a real hook into the police chief the next time a policeman uses his gun or is bitter and prejudiced.

I have written to Episcopalians and Methodists and Northern Presbyterians and Southern Presbyterians and Southern Baptists and the National Council of Churches and asked them all to help us push the pamphlet around. But mind you, I am not so much interested in selling the booklet as in touching off local people that would do something about it.

What do the Congregationalists say?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

January 23, 1952

Dr. Hugh A. Brimm
Social Service Commission
of the Southern Baptist Convention
Box 38, St. Matthews Station
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Hugh:

Many thanks for your letter and for being willing to write out to various pastors. I agree that that will do more good than anything else. I should think a note in Light, though, would help a lot too.

I expect them back from the printer in a week's time. They are priced at fifteen cents apiece. Shall I send you ten, or twenty, or fifty, or what?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

J. B. WEATHERSPOON
CHAIRMAN

HUGH A. BRIMM
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER

The Social Service Commission

of the

Southern Baptist Convention

108 BRECKENRIDGE LANE
BOX 38, ST. MATTHEWS STATION
BELMONT 1172

Louisville 7, Kentucky

RECEIVED
JAN 23 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 21, 1952

ROLLIN S. BURHANS
KENTUCKY

OLIN T. BINKLEY
KENTUCKY

WILLIAM A. CARLETON
OKLAHOMA

CLARENCE W. CRANFORD
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

E. H. DEARMAN
LOUISIANA

E. E. DEUSNER
TENNESSEE

W. ROSS EDWARDS
MISSOURI

A. B. HAWKES
SOUTH CAROLINA

BROOKS HAYS
ARKANSAS

GARLAND A. HENDRICKS
NORTH CAROLINA

G. C. HODGE
MISSISSIPPI

L. D. JOHNSON
VIRGINIA

T. B. MASTON
TEXAS

PHIL MAXWELL
FLORIDA

L. A. MEYERS
NEW MEXICO

ROBERT C. NORMAN
GEORGIA

W. D. OGLETREE
ALABAMA

WILLIAM C. ROYAL
MARYLAND

SELWYN SMITH
ARIZONA

J. B. WEATHERSPOON
KENTUCKY

OTHO WILLIAMS
ILLINOIS

BEN WOFFORD
CALIFORNIA

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I have read with deep interest the manuscript which you sent on Race and Law Enforcement. I think you have done an excellent job and I certainly want to do anything I can to put it to use.

About the only way I know to get it out to where it will be used will be to write a letter to the pastors who could be relied upon to do something about it.

Our finances are limited as are yours so that anything we might do would have to be on a moderate scale, but I should be happy to cooperate with you.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially,

Hugh

Hugh A. Brimm

HAB:wb

January 23, 1952

Miss Mary Frances Lacey
Y.W.C.A.
Davie St.
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Miss Lacey:

You were mighty kind to work out the little meeting for me the other night. I enjoyed the people and the conversation. I think you've got a good base there and can make it into something.

I send you separately a copy of the proposed police manual. It will be back from the printer in a week's time, bound in police blue.

We are working on the suggestion about the Public Affairs Committees of the YWCA's everywhere. But meanwhile, I ask you to consider what your Greensboro Committee and other North Carolina friends could do with it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

January 24, 1952

Mr. Walter A. Sikes
Board of Temperance & Social Welfare
of Disciples of Christ
222 Downey Ave.
Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Mr. Sikes:

Here is a draft of a pamphlet we will have in print (in a handsome, police-blue cover) in a week or ten days' time.

Query: Would your Board, after due consideration, take an interest in helping to get action in local Southern communities along the lines of the pamphlet?

It is written as a device to stimulate local citizens--quite largely church women--to call on the chief or the sheriff, booklet in hand, and urge him to follow these better rules. Respected local leadership is seldom in the chief's office, and there is a good deal he could learn and that the local people could learn by conferring. I think quite often the chief would say that the root of the problem was money, and that the interested citizens ought best to address themselves to the budget committee of the city council Tuesday a week at its meeting. But even that is an implied bargain that if they helped with his budget, he would rule the force more in the spirit of the interview. I am not deluded into thinking that one such interview will do the trick, but several in a given town would mean a great deal.

I have written about to social action people in most of the denominations strong in the South and have asked them to see what they could do to help get this idea out.

There are a good many links between the Southern Regional Council and the Disciples.

Do let me know what seems feasible with you. The pamphlet will sell at fifteen cents apiece. But I am less interested in selling it than in getting action with it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Encl.

January 24, 1952

Mr. I. Harding Hughes
St. Mary's School
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mr. Hughes:

Many thanks for your kind letter of January 17. I appreciate all the thought you gave to the pamphlet.

That mimeod copy is yours to do with as you chose. We will send you a couple of copies of the printed version as soon as it is out.

We do hope that you can interest various civic groups in Raleigh in taking action.

I have written to Dr. Pepper in the National Council and asked if he would think about ways to get it known throughout the whole Department of Christian Social Relations of the Church.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SAINT MARY'S SCHOOL AND JUNIOR COLLEGE
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

REV. I. HARDING HUGHES
CHAPLAIN

Jan.17th,1952.

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr.George S.Mitchell,Exec.Director,
Southern Regional Council,Inc.,
Atlanta,Ga.

My dear Mr. Mitchell:-

Your SRC mimeographed pamphlet was late in arriving. I have read it with keen interest,and with very sympathetic re-action. As I read along,my first thought was,"Somebody writing this has sense,judgment and real wisdom.Now what I'd like to do with this copy would be to take it to our Police Chief(whom I do not know well,but that makes no difference),and have him read it first himself,and then require each man on his force to do the same." So that gives you an idea as to how I feel after reading it.

It looks to me that you have something that could be placed in the hands of some of our Civic Groups,who would form nuclei in communities,to take the matter in hand and have as a project this whole business of,1;st,getting every Police Department to read the whole treatise and then begin a regular campaign for the 2nd feature,to cultivate the whole spirit contained in the document;and 3rd to see to it that it would become a general thing to have Negro Policemen.

The more I think of it the more I begin to feel that my own Civic Club,the Civitans,might possibly adopt such a project,as the agency,non-political,yet general in its membership,to see this thing through.I might be mistaken. Possibly two or three clubs,or the Civic Club Inter-Club group might be the agency through which such a movement might become popularized and put into play.

"Them's my sentiments" at this time,as I have just finished reading the document tonight. Do you want this document sent back to you ? Otherwise,I would like for my Chief to read it; also my Civic Club President,and the incoming one.But will not do this until I get your permission.

My warm regards to Ernest Arnold,and my blessings upon you in this magnificent and much needed movement.

Very sincerely yours,
I. Harding Hughes
Chaplain.

January 8, 1952

Rev. I. Harding Hughes
St. Mary's School
Hillsboro St.
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mr. Hughes:

I have been working with Ernest Arnold here on ways to get a forthcoming SRC publication on police practices in the South put to use. I send you a copy separately.

We started with the idealof a document that would train the policemen. We have warped it around now to something that will teach local citizens how to work with the police force for betterment.

Construct in your mind's eye a visit by four or five responsible local citizens to a police chief. The chief will want to do many of the things they urge. But he will way, "I can't, because the force hasn't got the money." Now you can go on from there.

I have written Bishop Moody, as head of the Department of Christian Social Relations for the Province of Sewanee, and sent him a copy and asked for his kind interest and advice. I have written to appropriate people among the Baptists and the Methodists and the Presbyterians. And I will go and see people in the National Council in New York. But Arnold tells me your thought on it will be good.

Any sparks?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

January 24, 1952

Mr. Almon R. Pepper
Dept. of Christian Social Relations
The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church
281 Fourth Ave.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Pepper:

Sorry to miss you when I was last in New York. My fault for not trying for an appointment.

I will hope to be in touch with Mr. Schenck's work.

Meanwhile, I would like to get your thinking about uses to be made of a publication our Council will get out in a few days' time. Here is a copy of a preliminary edition. The pamphlet itself will be bound in a handsome, police-blue cover. Delivery about February 1. Price fifteen cents apiece.

We started months ago with the idea of a pamphlet which would do in this field something of what Race in the News did earlier with the papers. When we tried our hand at writing such a police manual, we found we didn't know enough about what goes on inside a police station to make an incident-full, convincing document. So we switched it all around and turned it into a pamphlet aimed not directly at policemen, but at community leaders and civic-minded people--very largely at church women--who would be urged to put attention on to improving the practices of their local police forces. A good many who have read it think it would do that job well.

What we really want is for a committee of three or four people to go in each town to see the chief or the sheriff and talk with him earnestly about getting the force to follow the principles laid down in the little book. In a great many cases that will result in the chief's saying that he would like to follow these rules, but that it will be expensive. He will need more money to pay his policemen, and he will need money to get them better trained, and he will need more soap powder for cleaning up the jail. And that if the ladies really want to help, they should speak to the city council at the meeting Tuesday a week when the police budget will be up. That's good, fair, American work. I am not deluded that

the chief will at once do better, but I think that a couple of subsequent visits will produce real improvement.

I have written along this vein to the Methodists and the Southern Baptists and the Northern Presbyterians and the Southern Presbyterians and the Congregationalists and the Lutherans. I have also taken it up with Barnes and Oscar Lee in the National Council of Churches. Query: Would the Department of Christian Social Relations, after due consideration, be interested in making this channel of action known to local churches or women's auxiliaries?

It seems to us an extra-useful action program. One of the main things the South is going to have to do in the next few years is to provide physical safety for every citizen. And that is importantly a police job. I am satisfied that local church people could greatly influence police practices all over the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Protestant Episcopal Church

CHURCH MISSIONS HOUSE, 281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

RECEIVED
JAN 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 16, 1952

Mr. George F. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I was sorry to miss your visit yesterday when you called at the office. This is just a note to say that we appreciate your interest and your continuing work with our Church in your area.

If you wish to see the material we are sending to all of our diocesan chairmen on the study of Christian social relations in the Church, I am sure the Rev. L.F. Schenck, 538 Walnut Street, Macon, will be glad to share it with you. We seek through the questionnaires in his possession detailed information on the work carried on by the several Church institutions and agencies in the Diocese of Atlanta as well as by the parishes in that area.

Best wishes to you - and thank you for your call -

Sincerely yours

Alvin R Pepper

Director, Department of Christian Social Relations

arp r

January 24, 1952

Mr. David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Ky.

Dear Mr. McCandless:

Our pamphlet should be back from the printer in a week's time.

I have written about to quite a lot of key people and churches (of all denominations), trying to get them to urge local citizens to carry the pamphlet to the chief or the sheriff and discuss it with him. Our Council's own State Divisions will distribute it widely in each State also, mainly to people who will be urged to take it up with their police officials.

We were extraordinarily successful with an earlier pamphlet called Race in the News, because the newspaper people themselves took an interest in getting it spread about. For instance, the Association of Southern Newspaper Publishers mailed out a copy to every paper in the South.

I do not suppose that the police profession in the South would take it up in that same way, but there must be a journal widely read by police officials which might mention or review the pamphlet. Possibly, also, we ought to send copies of it to leading officials in associations of sheriffs, peace officers, police chiefs, patrolmen, and so on.

Could you advise me unofficially as to appropriate individuals within the profession for me to send the pamphlet to?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

January 24, 1952

Rev. L. J. Twomey, S. J.
Institute of Indistrial Relations
Loyola University
New Orleans 18, La.

Dear Father Twomey:

Thank you for your letter of January 14. I am sure you will give the equal penalties matter a whirl when you can. Meanwhile, could you decide for or with the Louisiana Division about some copies of the forthcoming police pamphlet? It should be out in a week's time in a handsome, police-blue cover. Fifteen cents apiece. Alabama and Georgia and Virginia have already bought good, big blocks of it and will undertake getting it out to police departments and active local citizens.

What do you think Louisiana can and ought to do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. We have your expense account reposing snugly in a folder, along, sadly, with others. But we ought to get to them all pretty soon.

GSM:ec

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR

UNIVERSITY 5471

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

January 14, 1952

RECEIVED
JAN 16 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I've been out of the office except for a few days since the day after Christmas. This will explain, at least partially, why this letter is so late in reaching you.

In the first place please thank Miss Stoney for having sent the 600 copies of Vance's pamphlet. My thanks also for the shipment of the 600 copies of "The South Of the Future." I am proud of this statement and happy to be associated with men and women who espouse the principles therein enuntiated.

The statement on the disgraceful happenings in Florida is expertly drawn. I go along with every word even though it constitutes a justly deserved indictment of my home state.

I plead with you to let me defer an answer to your letter of December 26 relative to the setting up of the Southern Commission on Equal Penalties in Courts of Law. Most assuredly I want to be associated with this Commission and I want to bring in the Loyola School of Law for whatever contribution it can make to this most worthwhile project. But honestly, George, I simply have not had the time to do this matter justice. I do hope to get to it within the next two weeks. Tomorrow at a Law School faculty meeting I intend to discuss the Commission.

I am enclosing a statement of my expenses for the trip to the December meeting. I regret that I could not forget all about these expenses.

God bless you always.

Sincerely,

L. J. Twomey, S.J.

L. J. Twomey, S. J.
Director

LJT/grc

SRC - "P" ~~Wesley~~

January 25, 1952

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

I greatly appreciate your kind, long letter of January 14. I did hope for more conversation with you on your visit, but quite understand how tied up you were.

I am just back from several days in New York, where I hope I have found the fringes of four or five thousand dollars, and maybe of enough more to fill the gap in our budget for the first six months of this year. I now despair of the Ford Foundation's giving an answer one way or the other before June, but I do think they ought to make up their mind by then.

Marion Wright graduated from the University of South Carolina in one of the years when my father was there. He set up a law practice in Conway--a poorish, sandy county north of Georgetown--and did well enough so that now, at 58 or so, he has pulled out of active practice, built himself a pleasant home on top of a mountain across the line in North Carolina, and bosses some geese and some beef cows. He also reads the New York Times all through every day. So he has leisure to work at our things. He is deeply interested and has always been a brave, forthright citizen. He years ago spoke out against segregation. He ran the South Carolina Division for a time. He is a crisp, business-like fellow, and I am sure is going to do us a lot of good.

I am sending you separately a pamphlet we will have out in a week's time on how to get Southern police forces to behave. My proper agent for getting it distributed and used in Texas is the Texas Interracial Commission. So I wrote Mrs. Crate some weeks ago and asked her whether the Texas IRC would buy a block of them and get them out. She has not yet answered, and I have written her again. But she is not the person to evade reply. I take it that she is consulting her Executive Committee. If you like the pamphlet and think it would do good in Texas, could you find some way to encourage either the Texas IRC or someone else to take it up and push it throughout the State?

I am not so much concerned to sell the pamphlet, at 15¢ apiece, as to get local people to go, pamphlet in hand, to see the chief or the sheriff.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE LINCOLN FOUNDATION

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January 25, 1952

RECEIVED
JAN 28 1952
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

On February 2 we are to meet with the Southern Police Institute at the University of Louisville to discuss plans for cooperation with them, including distribution of your booklet. Mr. McCandless is fully acquainted with the project, and you will hear from us soon.

I hope you may have heard favorably from Ed. Weyler by this time. When I called to see him the response was agreement to serve if it cleared with their southern A.F.of L. representative in Atlanta.

The minutes of the annual meeting show real progress. The high level of loyal interest of everyone, in spite of "rough financial weather" should certainly justify and attract the substantial support you need, and will assuredly get.

It would be impossible to measure the value of the grand work laid by Paul Williams. He is a great fighter. Now we should give Marion Wright the cooperation he will need to carry on the good fight. He, too, is an able man, and the kind of support which will enable you to win out in the year ahead.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:vg

R-4 E

RECEIVED
JAN 31 1952
Southern Regional Council

FREEDMEN'S PUBLISHING COMPANY

PUBLISHERS OF

The Informer Group of Papers

2418 LEELAND AVE. P. O. BOX 3086 HOUSTON 1, TEXAS

FAIRFAX 8347

The Market:

- 2,800,000 People
- Plenty Money
- Willing to Buy
- Awaiting Invitation

The Means:

- THE INFORMER
- THE DALLAS EXPRESS
- THE HOUSTON INFORMER

January 29, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thanks for yours of January 25. Thanks also for the breakdown on Marion Wright.

I'll thank you now for the pamphlet that is coming under separate cover, as I expect it here today or tomorrow, surely. If Mrs. Crate and her organization don't take over, I'll do what I can to try to sell them by publicity in my paper. I understand that you are still waiting to hear from her, so I will wait until further notice in this regard.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

January 30, 1952

Rev. Horace A. White
Plymouth Congregational Church
Garfield & Beaubien Sts.
Detroit 1, Mich.

Dear Mr. White:

I haven't heard from you yet about the police pamphlet. It is supposed to come off the press in a few days.

Do see whether your men would like to help with it, either in paying the printer or in getting it distributed, or both.

Goodness knows, recent events show plenty of need for better police administration hereabouts.

My very warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 4, 1952

Mr. Galen R. Weaver
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association Division
Board of Home Missions
Congregational Christian Churches
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Weaver:

Here is the police pamphlet. Officially out February 13.

What can the Congregationalists do to help us get it used by local people? We want them to take it along on a visit to the sheriff or the chief.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 4, 1952

Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science
357 E. Chicago Ave.
Chicago 11, Ill.

Dear Sirs:

Here are a couple of copies of a pamphlet being released by our Southern Regional Council February 13.

I am advised by Mr. David A. McCandless, director of the Southern Police Institute in Louisville, that yours would be an appropriate journal for notice, or possibly for review, of the pamphlet.

In order that you may see what sort of organization our Council is, I send for your information a copy of a leaflet,"What Kind of South Do You Want?"

We are a long-established body, with a reputation, we hope, for a thoughtful and reasonable approach to the problems of the Southern States.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 4, 1952

Dr. Alexander E. Sharp
Board of National Missions of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Sharp:

Here is the police pamphlet we discussed.

I do hope means will occur to you for getting people in your various Southern churches to concern themselves about taking the pamphlet along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff and discussing it with him. It seems to us a perfect action program.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 4, 1952

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Here's our police pamphlet. Official publication date, February 13.

We are most anxious to get committees of local people to take the pamphlet on a visit to the sheriff or the chief.

Any way you can see to help get that done?

It looks to us like a possible action program for some of your local chapters.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 4, 1952

Mr. M. A. F. Ritchie
Department of Human Relations
University of Miami
Coral Gables 36, Fla.

Dear Ritchie:

Here's our police pamphlet. Publication date, February 13.

Objective: To get committees of local citizens to take the pamphlet on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff and discuss it with him. Help us anyway you can with it. Five for free; more at fifteen cents each.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 4, 1952

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Here is the police pamphlet. Official publication date February 13. We are trying hard to hold publicity until then.

Do give it whatever help you can.

I still haven't heard from Mrs. Crate, but I am sending her a printed copy today.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 4, 1952

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Ave.
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

Here is the printed pamphlet. Officially not out until February 13.

I do tremendously hope that the Texas Interracial Commission will get some and will undertake to circulate them in Texas. I can't imagine a better local action program than for church people to take it to see the sheriff or the chief.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 4, 1952

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

Here's the police pamphlet. Official publication date, February 13.

We are pulling all the strings we have to get committees of local people set to go and see the chief or the sheriff.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

P. S. I wonder if you would care to send a copy of the pamphlet and maybe of the South Carolina release on to your friend Dixon with a note? Well to keep him interested.

February 4, 1952

Mr. and Mrs. Harry L. Wright
2171 Madison Ave.
Apt. 5-E
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dolores and Harry:

Here's our police pamphlet.

We hope it will do some good. Official publication date February 13.

Warm regards,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 4, 1952

Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Jeffrey
Fox Run Lane
Greenwich, Conn.

Dear Marianne and Friedel:

Here's a new one we have just done on how the police ought to behave. We are working hard to get church and other local groups to take the blue book on a visit with them to the chief or the sheriff.

Note also t'other enclosure. The Negro editor who wrote it is a fighter from 'way back. The sweeter, therefore, his praise of the fruits of reasonableness.

Love to you all,

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 4, 1952

Dr. Roswell Barnes
Division of Christian Life & Work
National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America
297 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Barnes:

Here are three copies of the new pamphlet. Publication date, February 13.

If you will share two of your copies with Mr. Lee and Tom Allen, I will be grateful.

I do hope that you all can do something directly toward getting local people to press their chief or their sheriff in the sense of this pamphlet.

I am working with Arnold and will write to various church bodies.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 4, 1952

Mr. Philip S. Ogilvie
Catholic Committee of the South
7927-A St. Charles Ave.
New Orleans 18, La.

Dear Phil:

Here is the pamphlet.

I sent a couple to Father Vince and asked him what CCS could do to help us to get it taken by local people to the sheriff in towns and courthouse places across the South.

Could you and Father Vince give some ruling about it from CCS?

We have invited the people to come to the meeting February 22. I hope I don't need to write you a letter.

Very nice to see you the other day.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 4, 1952

Mr. Thomas F. Byrd
Burnsville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Byrd:

Here are two nice things. One is the police pamphlet. Comes out officially February 13. We hope to shoo a lot of folks on visits to the chief or the sheriff with it.

T'other one is from the scrappiest Negro editor in South Carolina. Because he is a fighter, this his praise of the fruits of reasonableness, is the sweeter.

How are things getting along?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 4, 1952

Rev. Maurice V. Shean, C. O.
434 Charlotte Ave.
Rock Hill, S. C.

Dear Father Shean:

Here is the police pamphlet. Official publication date, February 13.

I have written to Father Vince and to Phil as for word as to what CCS could do to help us get local people to take the little blue book on visits to the chief or the sheriff.

I have written out to the people to come to the February 22 meeting. Don't know as yet how many people will show up, but expect it will be most of them. I hope that gives us the pleasure of another visit from you that day.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 4, 1952

Rev. V. J. O'Connell, S. M.
2901 S. Carrollton Ave.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Father Vince:

Here are a couple of copies of the recent police pamphlet. Official publication date, February 13.

What can CCS do to help us get it moving? You remember the effort is to get local committees of people, largely church people, to go with the little blue book to see the chief or the sheriff and discuss it with him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 4, 1952

Mr. & Mrs. David B. Silberman, Jr.
2920 Commonwealth Ave.
Chicago 14, Ill.

Dear The Silbermans:

Two nice items.

The blue one is newly done. Official publication date, February 13. We are working hard to get committees of local citizens throughout the South to take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff for discussion of what is in it.

The other is an editorial from a man who runs the most vigorous Negro newspaper in South Carolina. He's a fighter. The sweeter, therefore, this praise of the fruits of reasonableness.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 4, 1952

Professor Louis Wirth
Department of Sociology
University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Ill.

Dear Louis:

Here are some copies, hot from the press. Publication date, February 13.

I do hope it will achieve some part of what we want it to do in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
3 Encls.

February 4, 1952

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Ave.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I send you with much appreciation ten copies of the police pamphlet. Official publication date, February 13.

We have made great efforts to get church bodies and others in the South to take it up and act locally with it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 4, 1952

Mr. Joseph D. Lohman
4901 Ellis Ave.
Chicago 15, Ill.

Dear Joe:

Here are ten copies of Race and Law Enforcement.

The official publication date is February 13.

In so far as you find it a helpful effort, do please help us to get it widely attended to in the South.

At McCandless's request, I have sent him quite a stack to be distributed to his classes. He has advised me also on police journals in which to get it noticed. One of those is the Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 357 East Chicago Avenue.

We appreciate the time and thought you gave to the earlier form of the pamphlet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 4, 1952

Mr. David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Ky.

Dear Mr. McCandless:

Very many thanks for your kind letter of January 29.

I send a copy of the pamphlet with this, and we are mailing you fifty more. We have got it out on a most slender budget and would hope that if you can use further copies, the Institute can purchase others at the standard fifteen cents apiece.

I have sent off copies to the Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, with a letter expressing the hope that they would give it notice or review.

And by phone I have arranged for a trustworthy friend in Washington to interview the editor of the Police Chiefs News and see whether that journal would care to give the pamphlet some notice.

We are most grateful for your help and for your willingness to cause the pamphlet to be discussed with your classes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
JAN 31 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 29, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

My absence from the city has occasioned my failure to answer your letter of 24 January earlier. I am of course pleased to learn that your pamphlet should be back from the printer soon. In this regard I would like to offer the following suggestion. If it meets with your approval, we would be delighted to have you place with us sufficient copies to present to each member of the next several classes of the Institute. I think this would be a good way of getting the pamphlet into police departments in many cities of the south where it would be of real value.

I suggest further that copies of the pamphlet be sent to the editor of the Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 357 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago 11, Illinois, for review. This magazine is widely read in scientific and policing circles. It may be also that through your contacts you can get it reviewed in the Police Chiefs News, the official publication of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. This address is 1424 K Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

With every best wish, I am

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless, Director

DAMcC:c

February 4, 1952

Miss Margaret Garrity
1312 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

Very nice to talk with you by phone Friday morning.

Here are four copies of the pamphlet.

Our friend Mr. McCandlesstold us that the Police Chiefs News (official publication of the International Association of Chiefs of Police) is published at 1424 K Street, N. W., Washington.

After you have read the pamphlet, I would be most grateful if you could hold conversation with the man that runs the Police Chiefs News and urge him to notice, and perhaps review, the pamphlet in his magazine.

I wrote some time ago to Father Vincent O'Connell and asked him to alert the Catholic Committee of the Southiin helping to get the pamphlet actually carried to Southern police chiefs and sheriffs. I will send Father Vince some copies now that it is printed, and will work also with Father Shean and Phil Ogilvie on it.

Hope to see you in New York.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 4, 1952

Rev. Almon R. Pepper
Department of Christian Social Relations
The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church
281 Fourth Ave.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Pepper:

Here is the police pamphlet.

Many thanks for Mrs. Ridge's letter.

We will look forward for word as to what may seem suitable in the way of help from the Church toward getting the pamphlet actually used by local people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Protestant Episcopal Church

CHURCH MISSIONS HOUSE, 281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 30, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As Dr. Pepper left the office for an all-day meeting, he directed me to thank you for your letter of January 24 outlining your plan for a pamphlet.

Dr. Pepper is asking our staff to look into possibilities of cooperating with you in this project, with the thought that we shall do what we can about it.

Sincerely yours

(Mrs.) Margaret F. Ridge

Secretary to the Rev. Almon R. Pepper, D.D.

r

February 4, 1952

Mr. Lindsley F. Kimball
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc.
49 W. 49th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Kimball:

Here is our police pamphlet, newly done. Official publication date, February 13.

We are working hard to get church and other local groups throughout the South to take the pamphlet to the chief or to the sheriff and talk it over with him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 5, 1952

Mrs. Ellen O'Gorman Duffy, Director
Commission on Community Organizations
National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Duffy:

We have done a new pamphlet about police. It is really not addressed to the police themselves but to local community people. It tries to show them how to work with the police department to get it to do better.

We are trying hard to get things arranged so that in a whole lot of towns and county seat places church people or other local groups will take the pamphlet along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff.

Is there some way your local people could fit into that as an action program?

We printed 8,000 of them and can sell them at fifteen cents apiece. It goes out also as the February issue of New South, so that the good number of your people who are our members will be seeing copies of it.

* * *

Our survey girl has just come back from a trip, using your money, to Shreveport, Texarkana, and three or four Louisiana towns. Shreveport survey going great guns. Some prospects in Lafayette.

Here is also enclosed a most remarkable editorial from the most vigorous Negro newspaper in South Carolina. The man who runs it is a real fighter; the sweeter, therefore, praise from him of the fruits of reasonableness.

Believe it or not, we had a letter the other day telling us of faint stirrings of a survey yet in Rock Hill!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 5, 1952

President Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Clement:

Here is the new police pamphlet. Official publication date, February 13.

We are doing all we can with church and other groups to make arrangements for local committees to go and see the chief or the sheriff, pamphlet in hand, and discuss it with him.

I wondered whether you could persuade Mr. Finley Wilson to buy a good stack of them for the Elks and, more important, to write to the local lodges and urge them to find means of getting the pamphlet into the hands either of the chief or the sheriff or of people who would press its purpose upon the officials. The price is fifteen cents apiece. I should think it quite possible that the Elks would want to help everybody in this way. Three or five hundred copies would seem to me a suitable order from them.

I tried to get Mr. Wilson and Judge Hueston to do the same thing with RACE IN THE NEWS three years ago. They considered it off and on, but never did.

Perhaps if you write Mr. Wilson the machinery may move.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
4 Encls.

Rewrite Apr. 9

February 5, 1952

Mrs. Virginia Efferson Warner
Florida State A&M College
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Warner:

Nice to see you the other day and nice to talk with the classes.

We have put out a pamphlet on how the police ought to do. It really isn't aimed so much at the police as it is at local citizens. We want to stimulate them to go and talk with the chief or the sheriff about the ideas in the pamphlet.

I thought maybe you would know some ways of getting local people in Florida to get interviews like that carried through.

We have got stacks of the pamphlet at fifteen cents apiece. And I hear tell it might be needed in Florida. The official publication date is February 13.

With warm regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 5, 1952

Ralph A. Rose
A. F. S. C.
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Ralph:

Many thanks for your letter of January 31. Naturally, I wish you all luck.

Here are some copies of the police manual. It isn't officially released until February 13.

But meanwhile, I hope you and your friends will be thinking about ways to get it used in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
4 Encls.

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
FEB 4 1952
Southern Regional Council

January 31, 1952

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Subject: Your letter of 1/25/52.

Thanks for bringing us up to date on the Council's finances.

I go to New York tomorrow. I will make every effort to place this information before the proper people, and let you know any immediate results.

We send you best wishes and our hopes that all will go well with you.

Sincerely,

Ralph A. Rose

RAR:s

February 5, 1952

Dr. Hugh Brimm
Social Service Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
Box 38
St. Matthews Station
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Hugh:

Many thanks for taking the twenty-five copies. I have sent them off today. Official publication date, February 13.

I assume it is all right for us to bill you, as I do herewith, for $3.75.

We greatly want you to come this way for the Washington's birthday small foregathering.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

J. B. WEATHERSPOON
CHAIRMAN

HUGH A. BRIMM
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER

The Social Service Commission

of the

Southern Baptist Convention

108 BRECKENRIDGE LANE
BOX 38, ST. MATTHEWS STATION
BELMONT 1172

Louisville 7, Kentucky

RECEIVED
FEB 4 1952

February 1, 1952

ROLLIN S. BURHANS
KENTUCKY

OLIN T. BINKLEY
KENTUCKY

WILLIAM A. CARLETON
OKLAHOMA

CLARENCE W. CRANFORD
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

E. H. DEARMAN
LOUISIANA

E. E. DEUSNER
TENNESSEE

W. ROSS EDWARDS
MISSOURI

A. B. HAWKES
SOUTH CAROLINA

BROOKS HAYS
ARKANSAS

GARLAND A. HENDRICKS
NORTH CAROLINA

G. C. HODGE
MISSISSIPPI

L. D. JOHNSON
VIRGINIA

T. B. MASTON
TEXAS

PHIL MAXWELL
FLORIDA

L. A. MEYERS
NEW MEXICO

ROBERT C. NORMAN
GEORGIA

W. D. OGLETREE
ALABAMA

WILLIAM C. ROYAL
MARYLAND

SELWYN SMITH
ARIZONA

J. B. WEATHERSPOON
KENTUCKY

OTHO WILLIAMS
ILLINOIS

BEN WOFFORD
CALIFORNIA

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Please send 25 copies of your new booklet. I am sure that I can distribute these immediately.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Hugh A. Brimm

Hugh A. Brimm

HAB:wb

Shipped 25 Feb. 4. 52

26

Green COPY

February 5, 1952

Professor T. Stanton Dietrich
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dear Mr. Dietrich:

I greatly appreciate your kind letter of the 28th with the newspaper clippings. We are so glad to add Tallahassee to the list of places that behave.

Here is the police pamphlet I talked with you about.

Anything you can do to get committees of local people in Florida towns to take it along on visits to the chief or the sheriff will be all to the good.

Sells for fifteen cents apiece.

You were all ss kind to me as could be, and I am still grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 5, 1952

Mr. Crawford Solomon
Convention Press
218 W. Church St.
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Mr. Solomon:

Here's the pamphlet on police matters.

We aimed it not so much at police officials as at getting local community people--largely church people--to discuss what's in the pamphlet with the chief or the sheriff. We really want them to offer to work with the police department in coming around to the best practices.

Will the Florida Division concern itself to send it out?

Mississippi and Georgia and Alabama and Virginia have already undertaken to mail it out in good volume.

~~Izlmmxlmmzizzingxtazgatz~~ Hugh Brimm is also taking it up as a project of the Social Service Commission.

I do hope that the Florida Division will want to get a good stack and mail them out. I should think it ought to have a letter from you also with it.

It will go in any case to your members in the State, because it will be the February issue of NEW SOUTH. But there must be a much wider mailing to churches and other local groups that would make it much more effective.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Copy for Dr. Mitchell

To Police phil file
EW

February 5, 1952

Rev. J. Oscar Lee
National Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Oscar:

George Mitchell tells me that he has sent to Roswell Barnes three copies of the pamphlet "Race and Law Enforcement" which is just off the press. To me this is a document worthy of wide distribution. We will make use of it through this office as we deal with various groups in this region. Mitchell tells me that he has discussed the matter with you and Barnes and I am assuming that any use I make of it will be in keeping with the general policies of the National Council.

I am sorry that time was so short that we were unable to get together for a good conversation last week.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest J. Arnold

EJA:em

Dear George:

I will be with you for at least part of the session on February 22nd.

Ernest J. Arnold

February 6, 1952

Mr. David Dubinsky
I. L. G. W. U.
1710 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Dubinsky:

We have been working for years to get improvement in the way local police forces in the South handle colored people.

We hope we will really move things with this pamphlet (official publication date February 13). It isn't aimed so much at the police departments as it is at getting local citizens to work with the force in bringing about the recommended improvements. We are pulling every cord we can to get local action of this kind. I will be working with your Southern people toward getting the pamphlet really used in the South.

If you have time, also, here is a most interesting editorial from a vigorous Negro newspaper in South Carolina. John McCray, who wrote it, is a fighter; the sweeter, therefore, is the praise from him of the fruits of reasonableness.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 6, 1952

Hon. Brooks Hays
Congress of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

Can you run the busy eyes down the pages of this blue book?

We wrote it not to try to teach policemen themselves, but to try to tell local citizens, going as a committee to see the chief or the sheriff, what to talk about in order to work with the force to bring it around.

I am pulling very hard to get church people all over to take it up as a local project. Hugh Brinn has agreed to get a few for the Social Service Commission.

It is a temperately written pamphlet and will do good wherever local people can be stimulated to carry it in person to the police department.

Official publication date, February 13.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 6, 1952

Hon. Estes Kefauver
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Estes:

I don't flatter myself that you've got time to stop and read pamphlets.

But this is a right good one, and I do want you to know about it.

We've wanted for a long time to find some way of hastening the betterment of local police departments in the way they handle colored people. We finally have turned this out. It is aimed really at getting local citizens to go and discuss its content with the chief or the sheriff.

I hope to find a way to get some hundreds of copies of it distributed in Tennessee.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

February 6, 1952

Rev. D. Swan Haworth
First Baptist Church
Lumberton, N. C.

Dear Mr. Haworth:

Here is our police pamphlet.

It is aimed not so much at trying to teach policemen how to do as at trying to get local citizens--largely church people--to go and see the chief and the sheriff, and begin working with him for betterment of the police service.

I do wish you would consider whether from what you hear a visit of this kind to the chief in Lumberton and to the sheriff would be useful.

More copies of it at fifteen cents apiece. Official publication date, February 13.

Hugh Brimm has agreed to take it up as a project of the Social Service Commission.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 6, 1952

Hon. Lister Hill
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Lister:

Our Southern Regional Council has puzzled for years as to the best thing to do to hasten improvement of local police departments in their treatment of colored people.

We have finally produced this pamphlet. It is aimed not so much at the police themselves as it is aimed at local citizens, to get them to take the pamphlet with them on a visit to the chief or the sheriff and talk about it.

Our Alabama Division of the Council will be mailing out several hundred of them to church people and police people in Alabama in mid-February.

Official release date is February 13.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 6, 1952

Hon. John Sparkman
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

We did a pamphlet on how to get local citizens to work with the police department and bring it around to kinder practices toward the colored.

A copy to you with my compliments.

It comes out officially February 13.

Our Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council will be mailing out several hundred copies of it to church people and police people all over the State.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
FEB 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 6, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the new police pamphlet. I shall see what I can do to persuade Mr. Finley Wilson to purchase a goodly number of these pamphlets for his organization.

Mr. Wilson is a very sick man and it may be some time before a matter of this type can be brought to his attention. I will do my best.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:t

February 7, 1952

Mr. R. W. Hudgens, Director
American International Ass'n. for
Economic & Social Development
45 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Pete:

Various items:

(1) The Sidney Hillman Foundation gave us $1,500, and the Field Foundation is helping to carry our magazine again this year. $2,500 worth. We are still much in need of major help. I think perhaps the American Friends Service Committee has a plan for doing us some good.

(2) Proud of the news story and the editorial in the New York Times the other day about what you are doing.

(3) Interesting article on Venezuela.

(4) Our new pamphlet on how to get policemen to behave. Officially out February 13.

(4) Smart, common sense from a scrappy Negro newspaper editor in Columbia on results of Greenville survey. It rejoiced my heart.

Best to you and Jane and Arthur and Sue, undsoweiter.

GSM:ed
Encls.

Rewrite Apr. 9

February 8, 1952

Bishop W. Y. Bell
2105 N. Main Ave.
South Boston, Va.

Dear Bishop Bell:

I don't know whether or not I told you about our forthcoming pamphlet on how police people ought to behave. Here it is in print. It comes out officially February 13.

How would I move the CME Church to consider whether it will make the use of this pamphlet a semi-official part of its community action program?

What we want is for committees of local citizens, having read the pamphlet, to take it along on a visit they will make to the chief or to the sheriff, and discuss it with him. They will have to go back several times, of course, in order to drive home the lesson. But if they will show the chief that they want to work with him, I am satisfied that the trick can be turned in town after town. For an evidence of that spirit, I give you Mr. John H. McCray's editorial from the Lighthouse and Informer about the survey conducted at Greenville.

The situation will differ in this place or that, of course. In town X it may be well for an all-white committee to go, in town Y a mixed committee, in town Z an all-Negro committee. But your local members can decide that and can influence their friends to go.

I have been working to get this job made part of the local action program of all of the leading white denominations in the South. I am begging Mr. U. J. Robinson at Mobile, as secretary of the National Baptist Convention, to try to move their machinery. And I will reach AME and AME Zion, as well as Bishop Bowen here for the central jurisdiction.

If you will tell me what to do with the CME Church, I will do the best I can to get it done.

The pamphlet sells for fifteen cents apiece. In Virginia Emerson Smith, of the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, has already bought fifty dollars worth for them to send out. The Georgia Interracial Committee bought a stack. The Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council bought five hundred. The Mississippi Division bought a lot. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith bought one hundred dollars worth. I am satisfied there will be excellent publicity about the pamphlet all over the South in mid-February.

Surely this is an accepted thing for a Christian group in every Southern town to do. It's everyone's civic duty, it will produce improvement, and it works by persuasion. Furthermore, it is a part of the roll of the times.

With warm regards to you and Mrs. Bell,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 8, 1952

Mr. Ed Ray
THE ORLANDO SENTINEL
Orlando, Fla.

Dear Ed:

Here's a new pamphlet we have just got into print. Official release date February 18. We want to get it widely used over the South. It is aimed mainly at private citizens with a civic conscience who will put it to work in their communities.

Our news release, herewith, for February 13 describes more fully what we're after. I am not primarily asking you for news treatment, though I hope THE SENTINEL will carry a story, one way or another. We are told that the AP has put out a series of three articles on it for February 13, 14, and 15, and we hope that the other wire services will carry it too.

What we would most appreciate is editorial comment on the pamphlet and the effort it represents. Southern police practices are improving, and with civic help could improve further fast.

Sincerely and with regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.
Dictated but not read.

February 8, 1952

Mr. Ralph McGill
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Ralph:

We've been working off and on for months to get out this pamphlet on better police practices. It really is not aimed at the police themselves, but at getting local citizens to work with their police department to bring it around to modern practices on matters of race.

The release date is February 13. To show you how we want the pamphlet used by local committees, I send a news release. But primarily from you I hope for some editorial mention.

We've all seen a lot of improvement in Southern police practice, and we know the movement could grow rapidly if the public became interested in it.

We are trying very hard to get churches all over the South to take it up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.
Dictated but not read.

February 8, 1952

Miss Mary Frances Lacey
Executive Director
Y. W. C. A.
314 N. Davie St.
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Miss Lacey:

Here are two printed copies of the police manual which Dr. Mitchell wrote you about earlier. It will be released officially February 13.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

MEMBER OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

314 NORTH DAVIE STREET

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED FEB 1 1952 Southern Regional Council

January 29, 1952

RECEIVED FEB 1 1952 Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It was indeed good to have you with us and I truly hope that we may get some results from the conference. We ~~truly~~ appreciate the police manual.

I do not know whether any further steps have been taken about the contributions to the Southern Regional Council but I assure you that I will follow it up.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Frances Lacey

Mary Frances Lacey
Executive Director

MFL:bmr

February 8, 1952

Mr. William Shands Meacham
1132 Graydon Ave.
Norfolk, Va.

Dear Bill:

We've scraped around this way and that for months to turn out this little pamphlet. It will be released February 13. I think it will get its due amount of news notice. AP has put out three articles on it for February 13, 14, and 15, and we hope the other wire services will pick it up too. Here's our release, which explains the way we hope local citizens will work with the pamphlet.

Dr. Alexander told me not long ago that old Dr. James H. Dillard used to tell Alexander that the way to move these things is to catch them "on the tide of the spirit." (If I am not mistaken, Dr. Dillard was Norfolk or Princess Anne or thereabouts to begin with.) We think there is a tide moving now on this business of more concerned handling of race matters by Southern police forces. And what we want the pamphlet to do is to increase the flow. The church will do a lot, we think, and we have been diligently trying to reach their action people, denomination by denomination.

There is a lot that the papers can do, particularly editorially.

I remember that you write editorials here and there.

Sincerely and with regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.
Dictated but not read.

February 8, 1952

Mr. Hodding Carter
Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Miss.

Dear Hodding Carter:

Here we come again. We've done a pamphlet on race and "the law." Here are a couple of copies. Official release date February 13. I send also the news release, but I write you in hopes that you can read it and will perhaps think it worth editorial notice.

You will see from the release that what we are really after is for committees of local citizens, having studied the pamphlet, to work with their police force officers in the spirit of the pamphlet. It will take a long time, town by town, to bring things around. But we are satisfied that conscientious local people who make their interest known to the chief and keep at it can greatly speed the rate of improvement.

We are told that AP has written some stories on it to be carried February 13, 14, and 15, and we suppose that the other wire services will use it too.

But mainly what we want is to catch "the tide of the spirit" and get hundreds of Southern local communities aware of this as a thing that they can do.

The Mississippi Division of the Southern Regional Council has bought a hundred copies, which it will mail out to special people in the State. And the pamphlet will be the February issue of NEW SOUTH, and will therefore reach our own members in this State.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls
Dictated but not read.

February 8, 1952

Mr. Virginius Dabney
Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Va.

Dear Virginius:

You will remember "Race in the News," which we did 2½ years ago. Here's an effort to do something like that in the field of police practice. Official release date February 13.

It is not aimed directly at police people. It is really aimed to get interested civic-minded local citizens to work with their police officers in this better spirit. If we can get committees of that kind to carry the pamphlet to the sheriff or the chief in place after place, we are satisfied that the better trend already in evidence would move a lot faster.

My main request isn't for news treatment but for it to be considered as the basis of editorial comment. AP will carry stories on it February 13, 14, and 15 we are told, and presumably the other wire services will use it. Our own release, herewith, explains more in detail the way we want the pamphlet to be used locally. But the main thing is to get across to people the idea that there is this thing they can do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.
Dictated but not read.

February 8, 1952

Mr. Harry Ashmore
ARKANSAS GAZETTE
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Ashmore:

Here's a new pamphlet we have just got into print. Official release date February 13. We want to get it widely used over the South. It is aimed mainly at private citizens with a civic conscience who will put it to work in their communities.

Our news release, herewith, for February 13 describes more fully what we're after. I am not primarily asking you for news treatment, though I hope the GAZETTE will carry a story, one way or another. We are told that the AP has put out a series of three articles on it for February 13, 14, and 15, and we hope that the other wire services will carry it too.

What we would most appreciate is editorial comment on the pamphlet and the effort it represents. Southern police practices are improving, and with civic help could improve further fast.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. We hope to hear from you about coming on to our Board.

GSM:ec
Encls.
Dictated but not read.

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA., CHAIRMAN
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LAURANCE G. HENDERSON, STAFF DIRECTOR
WALTER B. STULTS, ASS'T STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS
(CREATED PURSUANT TO S. RES. 58, 81ST CONGRESS)

February 8, 1952

RECEIVED
FEB 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter of February 6th, and for sending me a copy of the pamphlet prepared by the Southern Regional Council entitled "Race and Law Enforcement".

I think it was a very fine idea to broach this subject, and I know that it is going to prove very helpful.

Your thoughtfulness in making a copy available to me is appreciated.

Sincerely,

John

John Sparkman

6

February 8, 1952

Mr. J. Pius Barbour
Editor, THE VOICE
National Baptist Publishing House
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Barbour:

Here is a letter I just got off to Mr. Robinson at Mobile and a couple of copies of the pamphlet. Mr. Maynard Jackson here told me you would be interested in the pamphlet and might well carry notice of it in THE VOICE. We would be grateful of whatever you could do to get the matter across in the National Baptist Convention.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.
Encls.

KENNETH MCKELLAR, TENN., CHAIRMAN
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EVERARD H. SMITH, CLERK
CECIL H. TOLBERT, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

Washington, D. C.
February 9, 1952

RECEIVED
FEB 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

In Senator Hill's absence from the office today, I beg to acknowledge your letter of February 6th with enclosed copy of your pamphlet, "Race and Law Enforcement".

You may be sure Senator Hill will appreciate your thoughtfulness in writing him as you have and in sending the pamphlet to him, and I know he will read it with a great deal of interest.

I shall of course bring your letter and the pamphlet to his attention promptly upon his return.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely,

Leslie Wright
Secretary to Senator Hill

LH:mrw

February 11, 1952

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Dr.
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

Many thanks for your cheering letter of February 6.

Sorry the news about the Ford Foundation is as yet mistaken. We did get a grant of $1,500 from the Sidney Hillman Foundation, and they gave out a release on it to the papers. So I suppose the rumor is traceable to that.

What little I can learn about the Ford Foundation is to the effect that they have not yet completed their own machinery for screening projects in our field, and I don't expect them to give us an answer until the middle of this year.

Mighty good news, though, about the pamphlet. I am sure your people will like it and will help us with it.

Every best wish for your meeting on the fifteenth.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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Dr. J. L. Clark, Huntsville

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Prof. I. Q. Hurdle, Austin
TREASURER
~~Mrs. J. L. Brock, Bryan~~
Miss Laura Edwards, Waco
HISTORIAN
J. D. McLeod, Huntsville

TEXAS COMMISSION ON INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION

AFFILIATED WITH

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MRS. JAS. S. CRATE, *President*
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

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Dr. Charles Sherer, Fort Worth
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Mrs. B. J. Covington, Houston
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Mrs. W. H. Hogue, Houston
Dr. W. C. Davis, Dallas
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Dr. Blake Smith, Austin
Mrs. P. D. Johnson, Marshall

Feb. 6, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
FEB 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for the minutes of the Board and Annual Meeting. Sincerely regret I was unable to attend but the date conflicted with the Texas Commission Annual Meeting in Austin. By the way at this meeting we voted to change our name to Tex. Commission on Race Relations.

I heard wonderful news yesterday, that S.R.C. has succeeded in securing a grant from the Ford Foundation. Do hope this information is correct and that I can extend warmest congratulations to you. Please let me know as we will have our Board meeting in Dallas on Feb. 15-16th [illegible] possible

MUTILATED PAGE (s)

I would like to be able to tell the wonderful news to our Board members.

In regard to the Police Manual, we will be happy to co-operate in distributing them and will let you know the number we will need right after the 16th. as I want the Board pass on it.

We are to have the privilege of having Dr. Rufus Clement for our speaker on Race Relations Sunday at the First Methodist Church. Mrs. Hogue is sending a copy of the 1500 letters sent out and the program to you.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely

(Mrs. Jas S.) Margaret B Grate.

February 11, 1952

Miss Thelma Stevens, Secretary
Dept. of Christian Social Relations and Local Activities
of the Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, N. Y.

Dear Miss Stevens:

Here is a pamphlet I would dearly like some help on.

It's just printed. Will be released February 13. I am satisfied there will be good newspaper publicity and some magazine mention.

It's no good just as a pamphlet. But as a pamphlet to be taken by small committees of local people visiting the chief or the sheriff, it will work wonders.

How can we get that done?

I have written to appropriate people, I hope, among them the Lutherans and the Southern Baptists and the National Baptists, and AME and AME Zion and CME and the Disciples of Christ and the Northern Presbyterians and the Southern Presbyterians and the Congregationalists and the National Council of Churches of Christ and the Catholic Committee of the South and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee and the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The pamphlet sells for fifteen cents apiece.

Mrs. Tilly is making the distribution an official project of the Fellowship of the Concerned. We have donated her fifteen hundred copies for that purpose.

The Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches has bought fifty dollars worth. The Southeastern Office of the National Council of Churches has bought a hundred. The Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council has bought five hundred. Our Mississippi people

have bought some. The Southern Police Institute at Louisville has asked for fifty copies to give to policemen in human relations courses. The Southern Presbyterians have promised to make action part of their July, 1952, program, with editorial urging in their women's magazine. The Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention has bought some.

Again, what we are after is for local people of conscience to work with the chief or the sheriff in the spirit of the pamphlet. It will take several visits and months or years to bring the local force around. But the tide is running on this, and it will reach thousands of new communities if the churches will take it up.

I know it will seem a useful thing to you. Do ponder what is best and let us know.

Our Council is so much helped by the Methodist Church that we will do anything we can to fit in with what may seem useful to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:sec
Encl.

February 11, 1952

Mr. Herbert Davidson
News-Journal
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear Mr. Davidson:

Here is, finally, our police pamphlet. Official release date February 13.

I send also the news story we have put out. But I hope primarily that it might win some editorial mention from the paper.

We are trying hard to get local citizens to take the thing up and work with their chief or sheriff on it. It will take months and years, town by town, but there is a tide moving on it, and this little pamphlet can speed the flow by a good deal.

We are told that AP will have three stories coming out on it February 13, 14, and 15, and we hope the other wire servides will use something too.

With warm regards to all three generations,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

PS. Since I dictated this your most generous and cheering response to our dues notice has come! Many thanks.

February 11, 1952

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
News and Observer
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Jonathan:

I catch faint echoes here of your battles.

Here's a brand-new pamphlet we've done, and a release about it. Officially out February 13.

I am not worrying you on the news end, though we of course hope the News and Observer will carry a story. AP, we understand, has done three stories on it for February 13, 14, and 15, and we hope the other wire services will use it too.

But we hope that it can go into the ponder basket for possible editorial mention.

There's a lot of evidence that Southern police chiefs and sheriffs are doing better on these matters. We want the pamphlet to urge on the movement. The main idea is for local civic-minded people to take it up with their chief or sheriff, and over many months work with the police for improvement. In that spirit I think a lot can be done.

We are trying hard to get church groups interested in it.

We think there is a lot of popular interest that could be brought out.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 11, 1952

Mr. Don Shoemaker
Citizen-Times
Asheville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Shoemaker:

We've done a lot of work on this new pamphlet. Official release date February 13.

I send it to you hoping mainly for editorial notice. Our release is along with it to explain more fully the way we want local citizens to take up the movement. And we understand that AP and the other wire services will carry good stories on it.

We think we see a good deal of evidence of a desire on the part of Southern police forces to overcome the old, slack, prejudiced way of handling matters of race. We want this pamphlet to stimulate church people and civic-minded people in general to work with their police departments or with their sheriffs for further steady improvement. The interest is there if it can only be tapped, and we will be grateful for your help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 12, 1952

Mrs. Ellen O'Gorman Duffy
National Conference of Christians & Jews
381 Fourth Ave.
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Duffy:

Many thanks for your letter of February 7.

I am delighted to know that you are pushing police training in human relations.

Do mention our police pamphlet to the other offices; we hope it will get out widely.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

FOUNDED 1928

"—to promote justice, amity, understanding and co-operation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews, and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices which disfigure and distort religious, business, social and political relations, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships." (NCCJ By-laws)

381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

NATIONAL CO-CHAIRMEN
BENSON FORD
THOMAS E. BRANIFF
ROGER WILLIAMS STRAUS
PRESIDENT
EVERETT R. CLINCHY
GENERAL DIRECTOR
STERLING W. BROWN
TREASURER
HERBERT J. OSBORNE

RECEIVED FEB 11 1952 Southern Regional Council

February 7, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for sending me your pamphlet about the police which, in a rather hasty leafing over, I think is excellent and should be of value to communities who want to do something about that particular problem. In view of the fact that the same material is carried in the February issue of NEW SOUTH, I do not see that at the moment we could use additional printed copies. However, when the NEW SOUTH comes to me, I shall send a memo to all our offices on the matter and tell them that they can get additional copies from you at the 15¢ each.

A police course in human relations has been organized for the coming summer for a two-week period at the University of Chicago, under the direction of Joseph Lohman and our offices have been asked to include scholarships for that workshop, as well as the scholarships we offer for teacher and community workshops. This Commission has offered a scholarship which will be decided after we receive nominations from our various offices. The cost is about $130 for the two-weeks' tuition, board and living.

At the present time, two of our offices have succeeded in getting two sessions in the regular training course for police rookies. Our local director sets these up, provides the speakers, film materials, discussion leaders, etc. and, while not too much can be done in two sessions, yet it is a good beginning. We have recommended this idea to our other offices.

The editorial from the Columbia paper is highly encouraging and I congratulate you on the advances that have made it ~~profitable~~ possible.

Sincerely yours,

Ellen O'Gorman Duffy

Ellen O'Gorman Duffy

EO'GD:mll

February 12, 1952

Mr. Caxton Doggett
Rader Memorial Methodist Church
170 Northeast 80th Terrace
Miami 38, Fla.

Dear Mr. Doggett:

We greatly appreciate your letter of February 4, with its cheering news.

It is upon just such people, who are willing to go out and act, that all good causes in these States depend.

We are hoping to get the enclosed pamphlet widely circulated in Florida. Sells for fifteen cents apiece.

If you have any ideas on how to get it out, let us know. The object is to get a small committee of civic-minded people in each town or county seat to take it along on a visit to the sheriff or the chief.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

PHONES { OFFICE 78-2535
RESIDENCE 7-4898

ARCHITECT'S SKETCH OF PROPOSED BUILDING

PARSONAGE
376 NORTHEAST 90TH STREET

RECEIVED
FEB 6 1952

Rader Memorial Methodist Church

170 NORTHEAST EIGHTIETH TERRACE
Miami 38, Florida

CAXTON DOGGETT
MINISTER

Feb. 4

Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Friends:

I thought it might interest you to know of some recent "leg-work" I've been doing for the "Committee of 100" and the N.A.A.C.P. I joined with Dr. Ralph Harlow of Smith College, Dr. Harnell Hart of Duke, and the Rev. Paul Moore of Newark, N. J., in a three day survey of public opinion in Lake County last fall. The trial of Walter Irwin and Samuel Sheppard was coming up and we undertook to ascertain if public opinion in Lake County was such that the second trial ordered by the Supreme Court would be fair. What we found led us to believe the trial should be held somewhere else. We were prepared to testify for the defense in support of the motion for a change of venue, when the shooting of the prisoners by the sheriff occurred and the trial was postponed. I went back to Tavares for the hearing on this motion when Judge Futch finally set the date, but he granted the change of venue to Ocala without hearing any arguments, so my trip was for nothing.

Recently I went back to Groveland and then to Melbourne to interview the parents of Lawrence Burtoft, a key witness in the case, trying to persuade them to ask him to return from his Army camp in S. C. for the Feb. 11 trial, and they consented to do so. I did this at the request of the lawyers for the NAACP, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Greenberg and Mr. Akerman. They were somewhat afraid of reprisals from some of the extremists around Groveland if their son testified but as it stands now they are willing for him to return. Since his testimony will be to the effect that the woman in question told him she had not been raped, it is possible that his story may convince the jury that "a reasonable doubt" exists that a crime was committed. He was the first white person she saw early on the morning of the day in question. He took her to Groveland and he says she was not dishevelled, upset, or harmed in any way that he could see.

If I were on a jury and heard Burtoft's story, I would certainly think there was a reasonable doubt that the woman was raped.

Sincerely,

Caxton Doggett

Caxton Doggett

THE NEWS AND OBSERVER
JONATHAN DANIELS, EDITOR
RALEIGH, N. C.

February 13, 1952

RECEIVED
FEB 14 1952
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of the pamphlet on Race and Law Enforcement. I think this is a very valuable pamphlet and I hope it will get wide circulation--particularly in Florida. I am passing it along to our managing editor with the suggestion that he watch out for the stories on it.

Sincerely,

Jonathan

February 13, 1952

Mr. J. M. Tydings
1275 Starks Bldg.
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Here are a couple of copies of the new pamphlet all in print.

You wrote us that you had something pleasant about distributing the pamphlet a'cooking.

Is it about time now for it to come off the stove?

The pamphlet will be the February issue of NEW SOUTH, I must admit. So your Kentucky SRC members will get it. Still, a lot of other people ought to have it, I am sure.

McCandless asked for fifty copies to give to the students at his school, and we sent them gratis. But I am hoping for an order from the Kentucky Division for some more.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 13, 1952

Mr. Allen Easley
Acting Dean
School of Religion
Wake Forest College
Wake Forest, N. C.

Dear Allen:

Many thanks for your letter and for the check. The secretary-treasurer will write you on how far that pays you up.

You will receive in a few days our new police pamphlet. I am trying very hard to get lay people in churches to take it up and go, blue book in hand, to see the chief or the sheriff, and offer to work with him toward bringing the force around to these modern standards. Hugh Brimm very kindly bought twenty-five to send out to various people. We've got plenty more copies (plain-back without the NEW SOUTH masthead) at fifteen cents apiece. Any chance you or friends of yours could persuade the North Carolina Baptist Association to take an interest in getting local churches to use the pamphlet as the basis of civic action?

I have written to the head people among the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians (in both kinds) and the white Methodists and three kinds of colored Methodists and Brimm, of course, and the National Baptist Convention and the Congregationalists and the Disciples of Christ and the Lutherans. Besides that, I will write to all the Negro teachers' associations.

My love to your far-flung family.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 14, 1952

Dr. D. V. Jemison, President
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.
1605 Lapsley St.
Selma, Ala.

Dear Mr. Jemison:

Here is an interesting and valuable new pamphlet we have put out. We hope it will do with the police some of what RACE IN THE NEWS did a couple of years ago with the newspapers.

I have written to Mr. Robinson in Mobile and asked him to consult and see whether the National Baptist Convention could buy some of them and distribute them to local church people.

The object is to get committees of local citizens to go with the pamphlet and begin to work with the chief or the sheriff toward the modern standards laid down in the pamphlet.

I do hope you will interest yourself in this opportunity for a practical, helpful, local action program.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.
Dictated but not read.

February 14, 1952

Mr. Maurice D. Fagan
Fellowship Commission Bldg.
260-15th St.
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Dear Maury:

I promised you 100 copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT for distribution to members of NAIRO.

They are coming along separately.

In any publicity on them, please note that we have further copies for sale at fifteen cents apiece.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

February 14, 1952

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Here is a pamphlet just published by our Council. We hope to get it quite widely distributed in the South. Its purpose is to stimulate civic-minded people to work with their police departments to bring them around to these modern standards.

You will observe that the pamphlet at the top of page 4 makes good use of a quotation from you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
2 Encls.
Dictated but not read.

February 14, 1952

Mr. C. C. Spaulding
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.
Durham, N. C.

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

We continue to be grateful for the good turn that the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company did two and a half years ago in distributing a thousand copies of RACE IN THE NEWS. I am sure that your local people were peculiarly able to get them into channels where they would do the most good.

Here is another one, this time on police. It will do its best work if influential local citizens take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff.

It has already been sent out in good big blocks to various church groups which have ordered it. The Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches bought fifty dollars worth. The Alabama Division of the Council took five hundred booklets. Mississippi got some. The National Council of the Churches of Christ bought a supply. So also did the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. Various groups in the Methodist Church have already bought it in good numbers, and so on.

I will be very grateful if the Company would consider getting a supply and sending them out to agents and to various friends. Again with this one, I think your business channels would be peculiarly successful in getting the attention of police officials.

The pamphlet sells at fifteen cents apiece.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 14, 1952

Mr. Hal Lewis
College of Education
University of Florida
Gainesville, Fla.

Dear Hal:

Here is a good new pamphlet we did.

Any good ideas on how to get it circulated usefully? Fifteen cents apiece.

The idea is to get local committees of civic-minded people to take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 14, 1952

Mr. Herman Long
Institute of Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Long:

Do put some thinking on the best way for me to get the police pamphlet distributed and let me know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.
Dictated but not read.

February 14, 1952

Mr. Elmer W. Henderson, Director
American Council on Human Rights
1130 Sixth St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Henderson:

You remember RACE IN THE NEWS two and a half years ago.

We are trying to do a similar job with the police. Here is the booklet. Fifteen cents apiece.

We think security of the person is one of the first civil rights and that it's mainly up to the police to provide it.

Object in this one, as with the other, is to get small committees of civic-minded people to take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff.

Your machinery could be invaluable in getting it out to towns and cities and in getting conscientious action.

Will you let me know what you think you can do? We would be very grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.
Feb. 14, 1952

Mrs. John W. Stanley
525 Avery St.
Decatur, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Stanley:

I'm sending you separately three copies of the police pamphlet we talked about last night.

If you'll take time to wade through this copy of a letter Dr. Mitchell wrote, I think you'll see what we want done with the pamphlet.

We will appreciate anything you can do to interest the Active Voters in taking it up as a project.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun

Encl.

Sent to Houston Area Council, Alabama Council, New Orleans Area Council, Chattanooga Council.

February 14, 1952

Secretary
Tennessee Industrial Union Council
c/o Mr. Paul R. Christopher
216 Flatiron Bldg.
Knoxville, Tenn.

Dear sir and brother:

You will remember that your Council recently very kindly made an appropriation to the Southern Regional Council.

I want to send you two items bearing on our work.

The first is an editorial by John H. McCray, who runs a vigorous Negro newspaper in South Carolina. It describes the results of a self-survey conducted in Greenville.

The second is a new pamphlet on police matters. It is designed to encourage local citizens to work with their police force to bring it around to modern standards in matters of race.

With sincere appreciation,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.
Dictated but not read.

February 15, 1952

Rev. L. J. Twomey, S. J.
Loyola University
New Orleans, La.

Dear Father Twomey:

Here is the new police pamphlet, all in print.

What do I have to do to get you good people in the Louisiana Division to make up your minds?

I think you ought to order several hundred and mail them out. Your SRC members in the State have received it as the February issue of NEW SOUTH. But it ought to go to sheriffs and chiefs and to active local citizens who would talk it over with the chief or the sheriff.

Virginia and Alabama and Mississippi and Georgia have already bought some.

Do tell me also what you can learn about chances on funds for and work with the Equal Penalties thing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
2 Encls.
Dictated but not read.

February 15, 1952

Mr. O. D. Duncan
Oklahoma A&M College
Stillwater, Okla.

Dear Mr. Duncan:

Can you give us some thinking as to how this pamphlet could get distributed within Oklahoma?

We started months ago with the idea of a manual for policemen themselves. We found out after a while that we don't really know enough about what goes on in a police station to fill such a pamphlet with convincing and instructive incidents. So we switched to the thing we do know something about: inducing local Southern people to take up a public cause and do something about it.

This is the result. Its real purpose is to get civic-minded people in towns and cities across the South to go in tiny committees to their chiefs or their sheriffs and ask that the booklet be studied and that its principles be acted upon. I think a lot of chiefs will say that they are sympathetic with the good ladies on the committee, but that if the ladies really want to help, they should stand behind the police department in its budget hearings before the city council Tuesday a week. And some of the ladies will.

And thereafter, a bargain will have been struck. And a good one.

It ought to go out to churches and to YWCA Public Affairs Committees and to teachers and all sorts of helpful people.

In States where the Council has organized Divisions, the Divisions are dipping into their own treasuries and buying 300 or 500 copies, and will get them out within their States.

I don't know how to proceed about it in Oklahoma, though I am sure the pamphlet would have its uses there.

What do you say?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls (3)

February 15, 1952

Rev. W. W. Wilke
2100 Wolfe St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Wilke:

Here are a couple of copies of the police pamphlet, all in print.

What about Arkansas?

We have had substantial orders from the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, the Georgia Interracial Committee, the Alabama Division of SRC, the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, Bishop Bowen of the Methodist Church Central Jurisdiction, Bishop Greene of AME Church, the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, and others.

We are most anxious to get it out to useful people in your State.

Your SRC members in Arkansas have received the pamphlet as the February issue of NEW SOUTH, but surely there are two, three, or four hundred other people to whom it ought to be mailed.

Do let us hear from you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
2 Encls.
Dictated but not read.

February 15, 1952

Rt. Rev. William R. Moody
Bishop of Lexington
136 W. 6th St.
Lexington, Ky.

Dear Bishop Moody:

Here is our police pamphlet, all in print.

I do hope there are ways for church people in Kentucky to use it directly with local police forces.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.
Dictated but not read.

February 15, 1942

Miss Marjorie Minkler
Woman's Division of Christian Service of the
Board of Missions and Church Extension
of the Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, N. Y.

Dear Miss Minkler:

Here is a copy of the police pamphlet now in print.
I wrote you about it January 8.

I am hoping that Thelma Stevens will do various
things to get local church people to take it up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.
Dictated but not read.

February 18, 1952

Mr. Robert W. Hudgens
American International Association
for Economic & Social Development
45 Rockefeller Plaza, Rm 968
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Pete:

Very many thanks indded for your letter.
All cheering news.

A dozen copies are coming along and the bill for $1,80, for which many thanks. We will be most grateful for your spreading them out.

All my best,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

American International Association

for economic and social development

45 ~~30~~ ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20 · NEW YORK · ROOM ~~5101~~ 968

February 14, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Many thanks for your letter of the 7th and the various items. By way of reporting:

1. I am delighted to hear about the Hillman contribution and a continuation of the Field donation for the magazine. Last Monday I talked with Arthur Jones of Rockefeller Brothers and he tells me that the prospects of a little help from that source are not entirely foreclosed.

2. Thanks for your comment on the Times story and editorial.

3. The article on Venezuela is excellent and I have ordered a dozen copies from the University of Alabama.

4. I have read the pamphlet on how to get policemen to behave. Found several useful suggestions for my own behavior. Would be glad to have you send me a dozen copies of this as I can make a good distribution of them. Send along a bill also.

5. Thanks for the copy of the editorial from the Lighthouse and Informer. I may have had some influence in the formation of the policies of the Greenville Council that led to its interest in this type of work.

Hasta la vista!

Pete

Robert W. Hudgens

February 18, 1952

Miss Anne Queen
A. F. S. C.
225 E. Lee St.
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Anne:

Here are three copies of the police pamphlet. You may have taken one with you when you were in the office the other day. Anyway, I remember that you saw it and know what it's all about. Dr. Mitchell wanted to be sure that you got some.

Come back to Atlanta sometime when you can let us see more of you.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun

3 Encls.

February 18, 1952

Jane Reinheimer
Race Relations Program
A. F. S. C.
20 S. 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Friend Jane:

What nice news about the pamphlet! We are delighted.

Eighty are coming up to you today, and the secretary-treasurer will bill you as you say. It comes to twelve dollars, which is a lot.

We are proud that the Friends Service Committee will get them out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 15, 1952

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Ralph Rose has asked me to tell you how much he is impressed by your new police manual. If at all possible we would like to distribute the manual to our mailing list which includes about 80 people. When the manual is officially released, if you have sufficient copies, would you send us eighty? Please send the bill for these copies to Mary Townsend at this office.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely,

Jane Reinheimer

Jane Reinheimer
Race Relations Program

JR/ghc

February 18, 1952

Miss Roberta Morgan
309 N. 23rd St.
Birmingham, Ala.

Dear Miss Morgan:

At Dr. Mitchell's request, I'm sending along separately five copies of our new police manual to supplement the material we sent you last month about Negro police.

You may have already seen the pamphlet as the February issue of NEW SOUTH. It is written for local citizens, in the hope that they will use it in helping their chiefs and sheriffs work toward better practices in matters of race.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

February 18, 1952

Rev. I. Harding Hughes
St. Mary's School
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mr. Hughes:

At Dr. Mitchell's request, I'm sending you two copies of our new police manual which we wrote you about last month.

We will be most grateful for anything you can do to get the pamphlet used by local citizens in helping their police forces to improve. We will be glad to supply you with more copies (at fifteen cents apiece).

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

Here is a printed copy of the

February 19, 1952

Hon. Brooks Hays
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

I have asked the head of our Arkansas Division, Parson Wilke in Little Rock, to send copies of the pamphlet to McCuistion and the other members of the Little Rock Urban League Board.

Here are two more copies for you. One for anybody at all and one for you to send (as you kindly offered) to your new mayor.

The pamphlet has gone well so far, and we hope it can be pushed into the hands of people who will use it.

Brimm is coming here to a meeting this week, so we'll all see him.

With warm regards to all the Hayses,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
2 Encls.

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
514 FEDERAL BUILDING

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CLAUD D. CURLIN

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED
FEB 15 1952
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

February 13, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am glad you let me see this fine pamphlet, "Race and Law Enforcement." It should do a lot of good. I am reminded of the efforts that some of us in the Urban League put forth years ago to get the first Negro policemen in Little Rock. When the League finally succeeded it was obvious from the outset that everyone would be pleased with the results. I have not checked up on it lately but I believe that it has been entirely satisfactory.

I am glad Hugh Brimm is interested. He can reach some of our church people in cities that really need it. I assume you have put one of these in Ed McCuiston's hands at Little Rock. He and some of his fellow Board members in the Urban League would know how to use it. We have a new young Mayor in Little Rock, the first Republican in sixty years but he is a good personal friend of mine. Would you like for me to send the book to him?

Hope all goes well with you.

Sincerely,

Brooks

February 19, 1952

Rev. W. W. Wilke
2100 Wolfe St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Wilke:

I sent a copy of the police pamphlet to my friend Brooks Hays. He spoke most cordially of it and asked particularly that we send a copy of it to Ed McCuistion. Brooks thought it would be helpful also if copies could go to other members of the Little Rock Urban League Board. Brooks also offered to send a copy to your new mayor, who is a friend of Brooks, so I will send one on to him to send to the mayor.

But if you would send one to McCuistion and one to other members of the Urban League Board in Little Rock, I would be most grateful. I send you ten copies separately.

We are still wanting Arkansas to order several hundred.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 19, 1952

Rev. George J. Flanigen
Sts. Peter & Paul's Church
214 E. Eighth St.
Chattanooga 2, Tenn.

Dear Father Flanigen:

Very many thanks for your kind letter of the 15th. We have sent off to you 32 copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

I pondered a good deal about the best thing to do about your hospital problems, and ended by calling Alfred Mynders' office and asking his trustworthy secretary to put the matter to Mr. Mynders. She opined that Mynders would call you. Mynders, as you know, is head of our forces in Tennessee and also has links which he can use, when he cares to, to the Chattanooga Interracial Committee, which I believe has several doctors on it. If that turns out helpful, well and good. If no help there and you are still perplexed, I will try some other way.

I want to come see you when I can get to Chattanooga.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

STS. PETER AND PAUL'S CHURCH
214 EAST EIGHTH STREET
CHATTANOOGA 2, TENNESSEE

February 15, 1952

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

I have just finished reading John Popham's interesting story in this morning's Chattanooga Times about the SRC's new pamphlet, "Race and Law Enforcement."

I would greatly appreciate it if you would send me a few copies of the book. Enclosed is five dollars to help defray expenses. K.S.

In connection with the opening of a new general hospital here, operated by the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Ky., a problem in regard to race relations has arisen in which I think you will be interested. I will only briefly outline the situation here, then, in case more information is wanted, we can go into it in more detail.

When the hospital was being planned it was agreed between the Doctors and Sisters that rooms would be provided on the various floors (surgical, medical, obstetrical) for Negro patients. When the hospital was opened a few weeks ago and this plan was put into effect the Doctors objected and wanted all Negro patients segregated on one floor. The Sisters, following their practice in Kentcuky, called the Negro nurses "Miss" or 'Mrs.' Again there was objection and it seems the Sisters are going to have compromise and call these Negro nurses, "Nurse."

It is good to be in touch with you again. I have been out of circulation for several months due to a heart attack.

Praying God to bless you, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

George J. Flanigen

(Rev.) George J. Flanigen.

sent 3 cc "Race + Law Enforcement" 2/18/52 K.S.

February 19, 1952

Mr. S. L. Latimer
The Columbia "State"
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Sam:

Very nice to sit by you at the meetings and have your company.

Here's the issue of our magazine for November, 1950, setting out the thesis of representation.

There are some interesting ideas also in the issue for July, '51.

Additionally--a copy of John McCray's editorial of January 19, '52.

And also a recent pamphlet we did on police matters.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

February 19, 1952

Mr. Seth Babcock
Longwood, Fla.

Dear Mr. Babcock:

We promised to send you a couple of copies of the police pamphlet. Plenty more at fifteen cents apiece.

Do consider what can be done about it thereabouts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
2 Encls.

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.
Feb. 19, 1952

Mr. J. H. Dabbs
Mayesville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

You wrote me January 13 that the South Carolina Division was busy with getting out Marion Wright's leaflet, and you wouldn't know until later on what you had best do about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Here are a couple of copies of it.

Do you think you all could usefully distribute one, two, or three hundred? Fifteen cents apiece from here, and we find that the postage for mailing them out, one by one, third class, is three cents.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
2 Encls.

SOUTH CAROLINA DIVISION
OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

A COUNCIL TO ATTAIN THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION THE IDEALS AND PRACTICES OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH

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CHAIRMAN EMERITUS
CHARLESTON

J. M. BLANTON
HONORARY LIFE BOARD MEMBER
CORDOVA

MRS. MARION B. WILKINSON
HONORARY LIFE BOARD MEMBER
ORANGEBURG

J. M. DABBS
CHAIRMAN
MAYESVILLE

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2nd VICE-CHAIRMAN
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ANDERSON

DOROTHY PENLAND
COLUMBIA

MRS. A. W. SIMKINS
COLUMBIA

PAUL WEBBER
ORANGEBURG

January 13, 1952

RECEIVED
JAN 15 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I ought to have replied sooner to your letter of Dec. 17, relative to the distribution of the pamphlet "Race and Law Enforcement." But there was Christmas, and there is the farm--which is very much with me at present, with oats, tobacco-beds, and lettuce, and practically no help.

In regard to SRC work, we are now trying to get out to a large number of people M. A. Wright's pamphlet. Maybe when we get that done, we can tackle handling a hundred or two copies of "Race and Law Enforcement." I shall keep this in mind, and do what I can to help you as soon as I can.

Kindest regards.

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs.

Sent to governors of 13 Southern States.

February 20, 1952

The Honorable Hugh White
Governor of Mississippi
Jackson, Miss.

My dear Governor White:

Our Council has been concerned for years to find means of hastening the improvement of local police forces in their handling of questions dealing with race.

We have turned out this pamphlet with a view to getting local citizens to interest themselves in working with the police department to that end.

We will be asking our people in your State to get it out in the next few weeks to the various towns and cities.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

STS. PETER AND PAUL'S CHURCH
214 EAST EIGHTH STREET
CHATTANOOGA 2, TENNESSEE

RECEIVED
FEB 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

Feb. 21, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Thank you for your very kind letter and also for sending the booklets.

It is indeed heartening to me to see the interest you take in our problems. I have talked to Alfred Mynders about the situation at the new hospital and as things seem to be working out better we thought it best not to do anything further at this time.

I do hope you will make it to Chattanooga soon so we can have a chat.

Yours sincerely,

George J. Flanigen

George J. Flanigen

February 21, 1952

Rev. L. J. Twomey, S. J.
Loyola University
New Orleans, La.

Dear Father Twomey:

Very nice indeed to see you there at Shreveport and to have the chance to talk about various things.

I find the 15th and 16th are scot-free on my calendar. So I'll mark them for New Orleans for the Louisiana Conference for Labor Education, and will hold them until I hear further from the Conference people.

We are sending out the 200 copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT (in two packages). Many thanks to the Louisiana Division.

Our experience is that they take three cents postage going out third class, unsealed, with a mimeoed letter from the Division head.

My letter to you giving the details about the idea of stirring up local people by twos and threes to go and see the chief or the sheriff was dated January 24.

Do keep ahead with the scheme for the Louisiana meeting in April.

See you mid-March.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

STATE OF FLORIDA
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
TALLAHASSEE

FULLER WARREN
GOVERNOR

C. L. CLARK
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

RECEIVED
FEB 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 21, 1952

RECEIVED
FEB 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 20th, addressed to Governor Warren, enclosing pamphlet on Race and Law Enforcement.

You may be assured your correspondence will be brought to the personal attention of the Governor at the first available opportunity.

Very truly yours,

C. L. Clark

C. L. Clark
Executive Assistant

CLC/t

Concern

22 Feb. 1952
Vol. 7. No. 13

Postage stamps wanted

To raise money for an organ fund, which he has started, Mechteld Dirksen, Malayan missionary, is asking for cancelled U.S. postage stamps of all kinds.

These he plans to sell to the many budding philatelists (stamp collectors) in Malaya. U.S. stamps are in great demand there, especially commemoratives, air mails, and large denominations.

A youth or student group might save the stamps that come in for a month, add them all together, and mail to Mechteld Dirksen; Sitiawan, Perak, Federation of Malaya.

Missionary theme packets can be ordered now

Youth packets of materials on the current MYF missionary themes are available free (one to a group) from the youth department, Box 871, Nashville, Tenn.

One packet concerns *Churches for Our Country's Needs* and the other contains information on *Latin America.*

The two provide general material on church extension in the U.S. and Methodist work in Latin America including listings of resource suggestions, audio-visual material, plays, etc.

Church members observe special temperance emphasis

The Methodist Church has set aside a special Sunday for Methodists to dedicate themselves to the fight against the social evil of beverage alcohol.

Most Methodist churches will make use of the Board of Temperance commitment cards which call on the individual to abstain from the use of any alcoholic beverage, and to carry out an action program to support the Temperance movement locally and nationally.

Check with your pastor to see what he plans for your church on

Pamphlet outlines problems of Southern law enforcement

The Southern Regional Council last week announced a concerted effort to secure "fairer and more efficient" law enforcement in Southern communities.

The Council has its headquarters in Atlanta and is a Southwide interracial organization of education, business, church, labor and professional people in 13 states which is going about the work of building brotherhood in the South in a very efficient and carefully thought out way.

In connection with its new emphasis the Council has issued a "guide to modern police practices" titled *Race and Law Enforcement.* It sets forth simply and clearly the professional standards called for, the problems in the way, and an effective approach for private citizens in working for impartial enforcement of the law in which prejudice will play no part.

Groups studying race relations this month will find this manual interesting and helpful. It can be ordered free from the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

U. N. films now handled by McGraw-Hill

For several months the Methodist Peace Commission has been handling the distribution of United Nations films and film strips.

Recently a change in policy was announced. These materials are now being distributed through the Text-Film Department of McGraw-Hill Book Company, 330 West 42 Street, New York 18.

The films were formerly distributed without cost to groups guaranteeing to make good use of them. The policy change sets purchase price at $3.00 each.

These U.N. films make excellent educational pieces on world government, and are all expertly done. CONCERN recommends their use. For a complete listing, write McGraw-Hill.

Commitment Day, March 2, 1952

February 22, 1952

Mrs. Muriel S. Webb
Department of Christian Social Relations
The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Webb:

Many thanks for your kind letter of February 18.

We have sent off 200 copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT to you and, I believe, a bill.

It is extremely helpful of the Church to get these out in this way, and our Council is genuinely appreciative of the cooperation of the Department of Christian Social Relations.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Protestant Episcopal Church

CHURCH MISSIONS HOUSE, 281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

RECEIVED
FEB 20 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 18, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I know that Dr. Pepper has written you to tell you that an announcement of your new publication "Race and Law Enforcement" will appear in CHURCHWAYS, the general Church publication which goes to the leadership in every parish in the country.

In addition to that we should like to order 200 copies for mailing to our chairmen of diocesan departments of Christian social relations. Will you kindly send us these and bill us for them.

Sincerely yours,
DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

Muriel S. Webb

(Mrs.) Muriel S. Webb
Program Secretary

MSW:dll

sent + billed 7/30/52 K.S.

200
15
1000
2000
30.00
1.50 - postage
$ 31.50

February 22, 1952

Mr. Kimbrough Owen
Public Affairs Research Council
850 N. Fifth St.
Box 927
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Mr. Owen:

We are happy to send a copy of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

We are too poor to have a mailing list, but we would welcome a subscription from you for our small magazine NEW SOUTH. There is a blank in the brown leaflet enclosed.

Mrs. Harry B. Kelleher, 2007 Palmer Avenue, New Orleans, is the secretary of the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, which is part of the Southern Regional Council. I believe Mr. A. W. Dent at Dillard is the chairman.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

KIMBROUGH OWEN
Director of Research

ROBERT W. FRENCH
Executive Director

EDWARD J. STEIMEL
Director of Public Information

PUBLIC AFFAIRS RESEARCH COUNCIL OF LOUISIANA, INC.

850 N. FIFTH ST. ~ POST OFFICE BOX 927 ~ TELEPHONE 3-9204

BATON ROUGE, LA.

RECEIVED
FEB 22 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 20, 1952

RECEIVED
FEB 21 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We would appreciate your sending us the following publication:

Race and Law Enforcement, a Guide to Modern Police Practice.

We are interested in obtaining copies of any of your future studies or reports on state and local government and would like to be placed on your mailing list.

The Public Affairs Research Council is a nonprofit, research and educational organization set up and supported by citizens on a non-political basis to make studies of state and local problems of government in Louisiana.

Yours very truly,

Kimbrough Owen

Kimbrough Owen

/db

February 22, 1952

Mrs. Leonard Haas
888 Oakdale Rd., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Haas:

What advice could you give me as to the possibility of getting State or local Leagues of Women Voters in the Southern area to buy some copies of this, at fifteen cents apiece, and get it out by mail or by personal visit to chiefs or to sheriffs?

I know, of course, about "year in advance," but thought maybe that rule wouldn't apply everywhere.

The League of Women Voters people would be mighty good ones to take this up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

your meeting in Birmingham, and

February 22, 1952

Mr. Thomas A. Webster
Executive Director
Urban League of Kansas City
1805 Vine St.
Kansas City 8, Mo.

Dear Mr. Webster:

Many thanks for your letter of February 20. We are sending off a dozen copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. They are fifteen cents apiece. Bill enclosed.

Mr. Nelson Jackson here tells me that he is going to send one to each local Urban League, suggesting that they consider ordering more and getting them out into their communities. The purpose we have most in mind for them is that small local committees of civic-minded people carry them along on visits to the chief or the sheriff.

If you can help us move them around more, we would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

58 Dec

Urban League of Kansas City

1805 VINE STREET KANSAS CITY 8, MISSOURI GRAND 0550

Affiliated with NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE for Social Service Among Negroes

Interracial Planning for
Employment
Education
Health
Housing
Recreation
Social Welfare

THOMAS A. WEBSTER
Executive Director

February 20, 1952

RECEIVED FEB 22 1952 Southern Regional Council

Dr. George D. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I saw in the press that the Council has published a pamphlet entitled

Law and Law Enforcement: A Guide to Modern Police Practices.

We would like to have several copies of this pamphlet, as many as twelves which can be billed to us. We have been holding conferences almost monthly over the past year with our Board of Police Commissioners on some of the very problems set forth in the pamphlet published by the Council.

Thanking you for the pamphlets, I am

Sincerely yours,

Tom Webster

Thomas A. Webster
Executive Director

TAW;ms

• A Community Chest Red Feather Service •

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February 25, 1952

Mr. J. M. Tydings
1275 Starks Bldg.
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mr. Tydings:

We are sending you 150 copies of the pamphlet on the supposition that if Chief Crowe doesn't give you the list of sheriffs, somebody else will.

Needful and excellent to send it to the sheriffs. Needful also, if you can work it, to get local groups of civic-minded people to go and see the sheriff or the chief.

The pamphlet is going beautifully.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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1275 STARKS BLDG.
LOUISVILLE, KY.

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February 22, 1952

RECEIVED
FEB 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am very glad to have the sample copies of the new pamphlet, and would like for every sheriff in Kentucky to have one. Since there are 120 counties and a few cities with police, we should probably start off with an order of at least 150 copies.

Enclosed is a letter I have written to Guthrie Crowe, Chief of the State Police of Kentucky.

Cordially,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:vg

February 22, 1952

Mr. Guthrie Crowe, Chief
Police Department
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Crowe:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a pamphlet, Race and Law Enforcement as prepared by the Southern Regional Council.

I thought you might want to read it, and do as Mr. David McCandless did. He ordered 150 copies for the Police School at the University of Louisville.

If you could tell me how to get the names and addresses of county sheriffs and police chiefs in the cities, we would be glad to see that they each get a copy.

Any comments you may have to make about the pamphlet would be helpful.

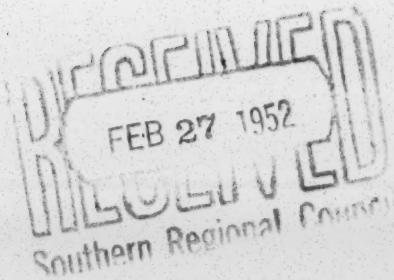
Cordially,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:vg

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.



February 25, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of February 14, 1952, together with enclosures, has been received.

I appreciate your interest in forwarding me this material.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

HERMAN E. TALMADGE
GOVERNOR

Office of the Governor
Atlanta

ALTA PETERSEN
SECRETARY

RECEIVED
FEB 26 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 25, 1952

Honorable George S. Mitchell
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N E
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear friend Mitchell:

Thank you for your correspondence of February 20, 1952 and the enclosed booklet.

I shall be looking forward to reading this information. You were very thoughtful to pass it on to me.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Herman Talmadge

HET/jdt

February 25, 1952

Mr. George W. Cathcart, President
Men's Club
Plymouth Congregational Church
Garfield & Beaubien Sts.
Detroit 1, Mich.

Dear Mr. Cathcart:

How very kind indeed that was of the Men's Club to send us a hundred dollars toward the cost of getting out the manual on race and law enforcement.

I take a lot of pleasure in sending twenty copies to you. Possibly some of your members would be willing to mail out copies to smaller communities where they would be especially useful.

I am still remembering with a lot of pleasure my appearance before your club.

It looks as though the pamphlet is going to be really useful. We have had orders for it in good quantities from the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, the Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi Divisions of the Southern Regional Council, the Georgia Interracial Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Church, various Urban Leagues, the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, the Catholic Committee of the South, and others also.

The New York Times gave it a good story January 17, and a good many Southern papers carried a series of three Associated Press releases on it.

Again, with warm appreciation to the Men's Club and with regards to you and to Mr. White,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

HORACE A. WHITE, D. D.
Minister

Plymouth Congregational Church

GARFIELD AND BEAUBIEN STREETS
DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN

TE. 2-8355
Church Phone
~~XXXXXXXX~~
Residence
~~XXXXXXX~~

TO. 8-3082

February 20, 1952

RECEIVED
FEB 22 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In our meeting last Saturday night, February 16th, we voted out $100.00 toward the cost of getting out your manual. The members thought this was a fine thing. We sincerely hope that it will have the desired results.

Enclosed please find a check from the Men's Club of Plymouth Congregational Church.

With kindest regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

George W. Cathcart

George W. Cathcart, Pres.
Men's Club of Plymouth Cong'l Church

R&LE

February 25, 1952

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Dr.
Houston 19, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

I appreciate a lot your letter of February 19. We mailed out the 260 copies of the pamphlet to you Saturday. Wonderful that you will get them to the chief officer in every county in the State. The bill will go, as you suggested, to Miss Laura Edwards. Total amount, with postage, is $41.06.

We note that the Texas Commission is now the Texas Commission on Race Relations, and your letter gives us both the treasurer's and the secretary's addresses.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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TEXAS COMMISSION ON INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION

AFFILIATED WITH

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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Houston 19, Texas

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RECEIVED
FEB 22 1952
Southern Regional Council

Feb. 19, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I was glad to have the pamphlet Race and Law Enforcement to present to our Board last Friday. It was voted to request 260 copies for distribution to chief officers in every county in Texas. Please let me have them by March 1st as I want to take 100 to the annual meeting of the Texas Council of Church Women to be held in Abilene. Please bill our treasurer, Miss. Laura Edwards, 3019 Homan Ave. Waco for pamphlets and postage.

Prof. I. Q. Hurdle, 1416 E. 12th St. Austin is secretary. By the way at the Annual Meeting it was voted to change our name to Texas

Commission on Race Relations.

We had a very good Board meeting last Friday and Saturday in Dallas, at which time we planned program of action for the year and set up the standing committees.

With kindest regards and best wishes for your work,

Sincerely

(Mrs. Jas. S.) Margaret B. Prate.

February 25, 1952

Miss Elizabeth Stein
602 E. Washington St.
Bloomington, Ill.

Dear Miss Stein:

I got back from a trip to find that you had sent us your kind check for a whole five hundred dollars.

We are very grateful indeed to you.

Our new pamphlet is having astonishing success. It has been bought already in great clumps of 200 and 500 and a thousand by the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, by most of our own State Divisions and affiliated interracial committees, by the Negro teachers organizations in several of the Southern States, by the Catholic Committee of the South, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and various others. I have real hopes that it is going to stir up a sure-nuff movement in the South to do something about traditional police misbehavior.

A Negro NAACP lady here the other day from Birmingham referred to her own city as "Bombingham."

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

(FOR YOUR INFORMATION)

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1952
Southern Regional Council

Southern Field Division
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

MEMORANDUM

February 26, 1952

To: Executive Secretaries
Urban League Affiliates

From: Nelson C. Jackson
Southern Field Director

Subject: RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

: : :

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Secretary, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, suggests that local Leagues may have interest in purchasing this informative booklet in quantity. They can be purchased at a flat rate of fifteen cents each.

Tom Webster, of Kansas City, has ordered a dozen copies to be used in his community. It is an excellent document and appears to me to have value in many of our far North communities which are still uninitiated in this business of race and law enforcement.

Will you let me know what you do about this publication?

NCJ:MW
enc.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
OKLAHOMA CITY

JOHNSTON MURRAY
GOVERNOR

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1952
Southern Regional

February 26, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell"

Thank you very much for the booklet which accompanied your letter of February 20th.

Incidents involving racial problems and questions offer no difficulties in this vicinity, however, it will be quite interesting to watch the results accomplished by your race and law enforcement booklet.

Again thanking you and with kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Johnston Murray
The Governor

February 26, 1952

Mr. Alfred Mynders
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mynders:

We've been wondering what to do about Tennessee and the distribution of the RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT pamphlet.

In a pinch, we could send it from here, with a letter from us. I suppose we would have to get it out merely to chiefs and to sheriffs. But a letter from Atlanta is far less useful than a letter from Tennessee. Still, I do not like to conspire in reviving a Tennessee Division letterhead for this purpose.

If you can think of a suitable way for it to be mailed out from within Tennessee, we could prepare the letters and put on the postage and charge the bill to the trust fund of the Tennessee Division. For a hundred copies, it would run $18 or $20. The Tennessee Board members are yourself, Mrs. Robinson, Paul Christopher, Charles Johnson, E. W. Palmer. Presumably, it could be sent over the signature of all of these.

Maybe you would ponder this and advise me March 7 when you come to the Executive Committee meeting what seems wise to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SRC - Race & Law Enf.

February 27, 1952

Miss Arenia Mallory
Saints Industrial & Literary School
Lexington, Miss.

Dear Miss Mallory:

I remember that I am to talk April 26 before the National Council of Negro Women at Birmingham.

I would greatly like for something to be worked out that would enable real attention to be paid by the meeting to this new pamphlet on RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

What I would most commend would be for the NCNW to purchase enough copies to supply each participant in the conference with one. At fifteen cents apiece, that wouldn't be a lot, and in that way there would be a really good chance of the women's reading them. Would such an arrangement be feasible?

Otherwise, I would want to bring a small stack myself and offer them for purchase by the women, but that's always ungracious.

I wish our Council could afford to supply the meeting with a couple of hundred copies for free, but we are too broke.

The real purpose of the pamphlet is to get groups of civic-minded local citizens to study it and then take it along on visits to the chief or to the sheriff. Members of your Council could do more good than almost anybody in working this out.

The booklet is popular already, and if we can get it into the hands of many more active citizens, I think a real difference will be seen in a year or two's time in Southern police behavior.

I can think of at least the following who have already bought it in good-sized blocks: The Department of Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Church, The Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, The Georgia Teachers and Education Association, The National Council of the Churches of Christ, The Methodist

Church, Central Jurisdiction, Bishop Greene for the AME Church, the Texas and Georgia Interracial Commissions, the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, and the North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Kentucky, and Louisiana Divisions of the Southern Regional Council. You will know that the Mississippi Division, after ordering a first 150 or so, wired the other day for 200 more.

Still, it needs to be got out much more widely.

What do you think may be workable at your meeting?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 28, 1952

Mr. C. C. Spaulding, President
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.
Box 201
Durham, N. C.

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

We do appreciate your order for the Company. A hundred is enough to do a lot of good in the hands of your local representatives.

The order is going out today. Here is the bill.

It is a warming thing to work together in this way with a Company that has a conscience.

With sincere regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL

FOUNDED BY JOHN MERRICK

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1952
Southern Regional Council

C. C. SPAULDING
PRESIDENT

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

February 27, 1952

Mr George S Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr Mitchell

Acknowledgment is made of your letter of the fourteenth.

You may send us 100 copies of the pamphlet - RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT - and bill us for same. We wish we could take a larger supply but regret we are unable to do so.

With all good wishes,

Very truly yours,

C C Spaulding
PRESIDENT

ccs eb

ADL SOUTHERN OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W., ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

2-29

Harold Fleming

this refers to ADL's
Christian Friends Bulletin
goes to 10,000 ministers

Regards

Alex Miller

109

Police file

MEMORANDUM

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE, 2nd Floor, 327 So. La Salle St., Chicago 4, Ill.

To Alex Miller

From Irving J. Rosenbaum

Date: February 27, 1952

Subject:

Thanks for the copy of Race and Law Enforcement. Any future publications of the Bulletin in which we list new materials shall certainly contain a description of this pamphlet.

Best regards.

IJR:ms

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LIGHT

A Bulletin of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention
108 Breckinridge Lane — Louisville 7, Kentucky

Volume V — **FEBRUARY, 1952** — **Number 2**

CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS OF CAPITAL AND LABOR

By Hugh Brimm

There is nothing of news in the statement that we are living in times of tremendous stress and strain. Internationally we are divided into the opposing camps of **communism** and **democracy.** Within our own country there are other marks of division. Economically we are divided into the ranks of capital and labor. Lines of race, religion, political affiliation, and national origin further divide, segregate, and intensify the already complex problems of human relations.

As Christians we should be both alert to and concerned about these vital problems. A major part of our responsibility as "peacemakers" is to promote understanding in human relations by demonstrating the better way of Christian love.

In this discussion we are concerning ourselves, not with the whole area of human relations, but with only one aspect—human relations in modern business. Here, we are face to face with the problems of economic group relationships as represented by management or capital on the one hand and labor on the other. It shall be our objective to find an answer to the following question, **"How can management and labor work together in ways to attain industrial peace?"**

First, let us face the staggering realization that American industrial output is measured today in terms of hundreds of billions of dollars. Industrial expansion is going on all about us at breath-taking speed. This expansion is resulting in greater employment, higher per-capita income, and more leisure time for the American worker.

In 1850, an average of twenty-seven cents worth of goods and services were turned out in an hour's work. The average working time that year was twelve hours a day for six days a week. Today the average hourly output per man is more than five times as great and the work week has been reduced by almost one-half! We are also using nearly 100 times as much mechanical energy per man-hour of work.

We who live in the southern regions of our great nation are witnessing one of the greatest industrial developments of modern times. Agriculture, the long-

(Continued on Page 2)

WHY CHURCHMEN OPPOSE UMT

By Donald B. Cloward

If Universal Military Training is good for American youth, why one might ask, is the strongest opposition to it coming from churchmen, who from the beginning in America have pioneered in character building through the family, the school, and the church? Yet the best informed churchmen can generally be found vigorously opposing any program of UMT for our eighteen-year-olds.

Were I a member of the Congress, I would want to weigh carefully this fact before voting for UMT. Surely this sentiment is not to be dismissed as either Communist-inspired nor yet the overflow of romantic pacifism. For these same churchmen have been forthright in exposing Communism as antithetical to Christian faith and practice. Moreover, only a small minority among them can readily be classified as pacifists. They largely supported action in Korea and have bowed to the necessity of selective service as a crisis measure.

What Is Good for Youth?

But it should cause a congressman to ponder when the church leadership stands almost solidly against a bill which the Defense Department says is wise and good and useful. Religious leaders make no claim to being military experts. They respect the peculiar gifts of men trained in military combat and in times of crisis have put the lives of themselves and their children wholly in the hands of the generals and the admirals. But if the military is now claiming competence in what is good Americanism for our youth, then it is time to challenge them.

Isaiah, out of the distant past, had a word of profound wisdom for our confused day when he said: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter."

The military record is bad—very bad. Ask anyone who has tried to live a normal civilian life in the proximity of a military establishment what happens to community life as a result of a large concentration of troops nearby? Every vice already present in the community is increased a hundredfold. It seems to be an inevitable consequence

(Continued on Page 3)

POSITIVE STEPS TOWARD PEACE IN OUR TIME

Christians have their own divine commission to proclaim the kingdom of God and His righteousness at home and abroad. God is a God of judgment as well as of mercy. In His sight all nations, including our own, and all men, including ourselves, have left undone those things which they ought to have done and done those things which they ought not to have done. We are called to recognize the just condemnation of His judgment but if we turn to Him in repentance and faith we shall avail ourselves of His mercy. We are called to be steadfast in prayer for all the peoples of the world that they may learn the things that belong to their peace; for our nation and our government, that they may become willing to serve the purposes of God.

Powerful forces have pushed mankind to the brink of an awful abyss. The first and urgent task is to check these forces. Therefore, these are not suggestions for a long range program for building peace—these are immediate steps for the present. It is imperative that we take them lest we lose the basic democratic principles upon which our way of life rests.

Here, then, are ways in which each of us can work, ways that will unite us in a world of good-will.

1. Redouble our efforts to reconcile men with God.

To this basic task we must re-dedicate ourselves with renewed devotion. The peace of God is the only peace which will endure. It can come only when men know Him as a child lovingly knows its own father. Our resources in the realm of the spiritual, unlike the military and material resources of war, are limitless. It was not an atom bomb that made Saul of Tarsus into Paul, the flaming evangel for Christ; it was not bacteriological warfare that lifted the Roman Empire off its hinges, but it was the power of God working through the lives of those who prayed for spiritual resources to be channeled through their lives.

This is a time for prayer. Also it is a time for action. Men of good will must promptly lay hold of the means at hand to increase the margin of safety against war. This is a task in which every one can play a constructive part.

(Continued on Page 3)

MUTILATED PAGE (s)

CAPITAL-LABOR (Continued)

time keystone of Southern economy, has been made to share its place in the sun with new and rapidly growing industries. In 1946, for example, four of the five states which led the nation in industrial construction contracts were Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Factories, large and small, are becoming the core of industrial communities all over the South where once open country and rolling fields were all that met the human eye.

This is the "new South," an industrial South, rich in raw materials, rich in hydro-electric power, and rich in human resources from which can be drawn an abundant labor supply.

Human Factors

These are some of the economic factors that measure our story of national success. But there are other factors, equally important, if not more so. They are the human factors, the men with the wealth to provide the factories and the men with the skill to operate them. Full production, as we know it today, is by no means an accidental development of economic and technological forces. It is largely the result of the improvement of human relations.

Production was first expanded when men came together to pool their capital resources and to unite into manufacturing associations. Such was the "organization" of capital. The next step forward came when laboring men and women united into voluntary associations for the purpose of dealing with management.

Organized labor in America is more than one hundred and fifty years old. Behind are long years of bitter struggle for economic justice as opposed to sweatshops, the lockout, blacklists, and the exploitation of women and child labor. Labor's only alternative to organization was serfdom. It has struggled for organization, for its rights and for human benefits because it did not want that serfdom. In this process of organization, labor has developed with management a new technique, collective bargaining, an indispensable technique to modern business and our industrial strength.

Collective Bargaining

Through the processes of collective bargaining, contracts and agreements are reached. Labor unions are demonstrating more and more that they are responsible organizations in carrying out their contracts. However, on the other hand, many in the general public have the feeling that labor is not at all reliable, that labor is always on strike in violation of its contracts. This is not true. It is a fact that when management and labor are in periods of strife and of differences resulting in strikes and work stoppages, the press and radio give much space and time to the crisis struggle. On the other hand, when negotiations are conducted without strife, notice is not given at all.

For example, in 1946, when there were more strikes and work stoppages than in any recent year, there were more than 200,000 contracts negotiated between management and labor. Less than five per cent of these resulted in strikes. In other words more than ninety-five per cent of the contracts were settled to the mutual satisfaction of both groups.

In a number of recent studies and reports from large corporations, independent research groups are pointing to the co-operative achievements of industrial peace between management and labor. The National Planning Association, composed of leaders from the ranks of both management and labor, is currently making a series of studies on the "Causes of Industrial Peace." When completed it will be a detailed report on the labor relations of fifteen large corporations in America.

The results of these studies are making clear the following propositions:

(1) Company profit and good industrial relations are reconcilable and in fact essential to each other;

(2) Industrial organizations are social as well as economic and technological structures. The welfares of a company and its employees are inseparable;

(3) A worker is an individual as well as a union-member and employee. His dignity, recognition, and job-satisfaction are vital to high productivity.

(4) These values of employer and employee must be mutually communicated, understood, and observed.

Industrial relations programs incorporating these principles are working. They have provided a basis for co-operation, in concerns which have established them, that has increased production, profit per unit produced, and the material and spiritual well-being of their employees.

In their relationships both management and labor have come to realize that there are certain fundamentals of human nature which cannot be ignored. These cannot be ignored if human rela[illegible] crisis peaceable. [illegible]en lax [illegible] police

First is the [illegible]nity of [illegible]. Every man has certain basic human rights which must be respected. Such dignity demands self-expression, an opportunity to advance, and a sense that one has attained a point of usefulness in life. Second, man must have the esteem and respect of others. More than anything else he wants to be recognized as a person and to possess the confidence that he will be treated like a human being in all relationships.

Third, man yearns for survival. Food, clothing, housing, and other essentials are rightly his. He wants to know that he has access to them.

Finally, man reaches out for security. It is not sufficient that he have bread for today, but that there also be bread for tomorrow. He needs to have the confidence that he will be able to face illness, possible disability, and, ultimately, old age with financial security.

Challenge to Christians

As we face this vast field of human relations, we are made to realize that, as Christians, we have a tremendous challenge. Our churches and denominational schools must continue to produce men and women of character and integrity who will take with them the ideals of the Christian life into their economic professions, whether they become leaders in the ranks of labor or whether they take their places behind the desks of management.

All of us, through a serious and unprejudiced study of the problem, need to bring ourselves to a thorough understanding of all that is involved in the human relations of industry. The implications are of tremendous significance for both Christianity and our democratic way of life.

—Reprinted from the Baptist Student, February, 1952.

In the struggle between communism and democracy, what we do to our colored neighbors at home is equally important as what we do for our white friends abroad.—Liston Pope.

LIGHT

A Bulletin of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention,
108 Breckinridge Lane, Louisville 7, Kentucky.
Published monthly except July and August.

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of large concentrations of military personnel. Great masses of men living in close proximity to each other, and away from the normal relationships of home and family, living under the restraints so necessary to military life, certainly do not live at their best or even at their near best. "Operation Killer," which is the ultimate goal of military education, can never hope to overcome the very evils inherent in its ultimate aims.

It, therefore, becomes sheer hypocrisy for the Defense Department to talk piously about military training being good for American youth. If they have any arguments in support of UMT, let them confine them solely to military necessity. Parents, educators, and the clergy are best equipped to talk about morals and character education needed for good citizenship. They, rather than the military, have demonstrated that they can, given a reasonable chance at young life, produce these qualities.

[Rev. Donald B. Cloward is executive secretary of the Council on Christian Social Progress of the American Baptist Convention, 152 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York.]

ALCOHOLISM—SELF-INDUCED

Dr. Haven Emerson, Professor Emeritus of Public Health Practice at Columbia University, former Commissioner of Health of New York City, and one of the outstanding authorities on alcoholism, stated in an article in the Christian Science Monitor of October 26, 1951:

"In speaking of alcoholism as a sickness, we have been led into a slovenly cutting of corners in language and are deceiving ourselves as to the truth.

"The currently popular theory that alcoholism is simply a sickness and hence that no one is responsible for excessive drinking is misleading and mischievous.

"A great deal of muddled thinking and writing and lack of clear definition has resulted, with frequently unhappy effects.

"This attitude is welcomed by the liquor industries because with it to build on they appear before the public as blameless, claiming merely to 'serve the universal needs of the people,' a few of whom are found to be unfortunate in respect to personality and emotional development and become medical and social problems as chronic alcoholics.

"Misjudgment as to the facts about alcoholism based on the sickness idea has done much harm to the educational campaign to teach people self-restraint, choice, and intelligent abstinence.

"THE CAUSE OF ALCOHOLISM IS, OF COURSE, THE EXCESSIVE AND PERSISTENT DRINKING OF BEVERAGE ALCOHOL. Probably more than half of all alcoholics began their use of alcohol without any physical, mental, or personality deviation from normal.

"This group became abnormal chiefly because of their excessive and in the first place 'moderate' and socially acceptable use of alcohol, which created for them many problems similar in character to those seen in psychoneurotics who make up somewhat less than half of the chronic alcoholics.

"True, an alcoholic, acute or chronic, occasional, continuous, compulsive, habitual, or as a victim of his addiction is a sick person. Alcoholism is a form of intoxication due to the presence of ethyl alcohol in the body.

"The state of alcoholism, a sickness, is self-induced and so different from the common conception of a sickness as not to be properly described as such, but as a SELF-INDUCED POISONING BY A NARCOTIC DRUG."

RISING TIDE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The Children's Bureau of the Federal Security Agency reported recently that juvenile court cases in 1949 in 413 courts in twenty-two states totaled 70,616. This represents a ratio of about 12 for every 1,000 children in the country between seven and seventeen years of age.

Reports from 218 courts that have been reporting for many years showed that juvenile court cases dropped from a peak of 71,117 in 1945 to 51,994 in 1948 and then rose to 54,028 in 1949. The Children's Bureau said that the preliminary figures for 1950 indicated a continued upward trend.

The claim of the Christian church to transcend the differences between races has always been challenged by Mohammedanism; today the new challenge of our times comes from Communism.—Ernest J. Bingle, London, England.

A MEDIEVAL PRAYER

A librarian in Dagenham, England, is said to have found a copy of a prayer written by a medieval purchaser of land in that district, it reads:

"O Lord, Thou knowest I have mine estates in the City of London and that I likewise lately purchased an estate in fee-simple in the County of Essex. I beseech Thee to preserve the two Counties of Middlesex and Essex from fire and earthquake, and as I have a mortgage in Herefordshire I beg Thee to have an eye of compassion upon that county. For the rest of the counties, Thou mayest deal with them as Thou art pleased."

PEACE (Continued)

2. Do not tolerate complacency about war.

Some of us may ourselves be complacent about war. If not, each of us knows some who are. So each one can do something to reduce the sum total of that complacency. We are witnessing today the shameful spectacle of men in national leadership who are pushing legislation which they know can only be obtained by frightening the American people. Others may feel that they are peculiarly qualified to exercise political leadership and that they can best ride into power on a wave of emotion. Those who influence public opinion may feel that sensationalism is needed to arouse and alert the American people. Those who do such things are following the doctrine that it is possible to get good by doing evil. The fact is that panic started for one purpose seldom stops until it has overshot the chosen mark.

3. Combat a mood of hysteria or blind hatred.

Each of us is aware of focal points of war hysteria and blind hatred. We know perhaps some of the individuals, groups and publications who are spreading that mood. Each, by writing to political leaders or editors, can do something to stop the development of unreasoning mob emotion. Hitlerism was built both upon the myth of racial supremacy and the rabid hatred of a minority people. We must avert the Hitlerian spirit in America.

4. Reject fatalism about war.

Each of us knows some who think that war is inevitable and that it is better to get it over quickly so as to relieve the strain of waiting and to anticipate the Soviet development of atomic power. Each can do something to change that mood of fatalism and impatience.

5. Oppose primary reliance on military strategy to meet Communist aggression.

Each of us has, or can have, influence with leaders in Congress or in the Administration or in political parties and can urge that they do not concentrate on military measures as though these alone would assure peace, but concern themselves also with economic, social, political and moral counter-measures against the threat of war.

In present conditions of international anarchy, where international law and international police power are lacking, national military strength is necessary, while we continually strive for the multilateral reduction and control of armaments through the United Nations. But the main defenses of what we treasure are to be found in non-military measures which will change the conditions favoring the spread of

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despotism. To provide those defenses is not the task for military advisers. Therefore, the American people, in conformity with the principle of democratic government, should not permit policy making to pass predominantly into the hands of those who think primarily in military terms, as is too much the case today.

6. Press for positive programs which have immediate possibilities for peace and justice.

Each of us can use our voice and our vote in behalf of constructive measures by our government to increase the margin of safety, from war, such as programs for recovery, for increased social welfare, for a covenant on human rights and for a greater support of the United Nations and its many approaches to a better world.

We belong to a free society, and we cherish for ourselves and for others freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of petition, and freedom to vote. It is such freedoms which are threatened and which we want more fully to achieve and to preserve. Most of us would fight rather than surrender them, even though they might well be lost by fighting. These freedoms can, we are confident, be preserved if they are now used in ways to avert the immediate danger of war. In a free society every citizen has a duty of action.

POLICE AND THE PUBLIC

The key role of the police in Southern race relations has long been recognized. Learned studies by experts have pointed to it again and again. The press, in the South and elsewhere, has documented it in news and editorial columns. The plain people of the region have acknowledged it by turning appraising eyes on the police whenever race is a public issue.

This critical attention, however galling or unjustified it might seem at times to the policemen concerned, is quite understandable. For policemen are symbols. They represent the official conscience of society; they are the custodians of justice at the everyday level, where it is closest to the ordinary person.

So when a society is deeply occupied with a moral problem—in this case, Negro-white relations—policemen assume a bigger-than-life importance. If they perform badly, they do so not just as men wearing uniforms, but as the embodiment of law in their communities. If they perform well, the same thing holds true, except that unfortunately the news value may be less.

In the past, Southern police systems have drawn more blame than praise for their role in race relations. But recently another more hopeful trend has appeared. In town after town over the South a new quality of law enforcement is emerging. Police officers are winning merited acclaim for averting mob violence, safeguarding unpopular prisoners, protecting the innocent, curbing illegal activities of hate groups, and in general enforcing the law impartially and humanely. There are still far too many instances of police violence, forced confessions, and application of a double standard based on race. But such instances are occurring less frequently and are finding less public sanction than ever before.

How quickly this trend will become the normal and accepted pattern of Southern law enforcement depends in large part on public opinion. Police systems do not exist in a vacuum. In fact, they probably reflect more accurately than most of our institutions the temper of the public. When law enforcement is found wanting in fairness or efficiency, thoughtful citizens will ask themselves such questions as these:

Have we created in our community the atmosphere of tolerance and respect for the individual which breeds good law enforcement?

Have we made known to police authorities our interest in sound police practices?

Have we bothered to find out under what conditions our policemen are selected and do their work—qualifications, pay, training, recognition for service?

Have we given as much attention to the problems, shortcomings, and achievements of our police force as we have to those of our schools, churches, civic and welfare agencies?

In a typical community, the answer to each of these questions is likely to be "No." The day-to-day activities of the police—be they good, bad, or indifferent—commonly go unnoticed, uncriticized, unprais[illegible] crisis comes, or when lax or violent police practices erupt into headlines, are local citizens roused from their apathy. The police may well complain that their difficult job is made no easier by this unconstructive public attitude.

In order to help those who are concerned with these problems in their community, the Southern Regional Council has prepared a study booklet entitled, **RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.** It is a carefully documented survey of the changing trends of modern police practices in the southern regions.

There is a valuable check list by which you, the concerned citizen, can measure the practices of your own community.

The price of the booklet is 15c. Send stamps or coin to this office for your copy.

Social Service Commission
of the Southern Baptist Convention
Box 38—St. Matthews Branch
Louisville 7, Kentucky

THE PREVALENCE OF ALCOHOLISM

Speaking at the University of Washington, Seattle, on June 12, 1951, Dr. E. M. Jellinek, formerly Director of the Yale School of Alcohol Studies, and now Chairman of the International Committee on Alcohol Problems of the Mental Health Section of the World Health Organization, stated that there were **now** in the United States: 3,800,000 alcoholics and, in addition, 3,000,000 problem drinkers. "I would not argue with you if you said there were 7,000,000 alcoholics and problem drinkers in all," said Dr. Jellinek.

OUR HEALTH

" . . . Less than 10,000,000 of our 146,000,000,000 people have professional, , full-time health departments to guard their water, milk, and meat supplies from contamination, to supervise disposal of sewage and garbage, and control communicable diseases."

"Forty million Americans lack the basic protection of full-time health departments. Another 85,000,000 have only the dubious protection of understaffed health departments."

—Senator Hill (Ala.)

Social Service Commission
of the Southern Baptist Convention
Box 38 - St. Matthews Branch
Louisville 7, Kentucky

Southern Regional Council
63 Auborne Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

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PROMOTION SECRETARY
GALLATIN, MO.

March 3, 1952

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I took your letter of February 8 to our Jurisdiction meeting. The Standing Committee on Christian Social Relations made a recommendation that the Conference secretaries of the states covered by the Southern Regional Council go forward with plans for visitation of the sheriffs in their counties.

Following is a list of those secretaries as they stand now. Some will change at Conference meetings this spring.

Central Texas	*	Mrs. Charles E. Culbertson, Rt 2, Waxahachie, Tex
East Oklahoma	*	Mrs. George Henley, 24 D St. N.W., Miami, Okla
Little Rock		Mrs. Earl D. Cotton, 2023 Schiller, Little Rock
Missouri		Mrs. G. Fred Bargman, Westboro, Missouri
North Arkansas		Mrs. W. Jimerson, Augusta, Arkansas
North Texas		Mrs. Grover C. Johnson, 1671 Dayton, Wichita Falls
Northwest Texas	*	Mrs. George Robertson, 705 Ave D, N.W. Childress, Te
St. Louis		Mrs. J. E. Wohlstadter, 3867 Shaw, Ave., St. Louis
Southwest Missouri		Mrs. R. F. Wood, 121 West North, Warrensburg, Mo.
Southwest Texas		Mrs. A. N. Dahl, Pettus, Texas
Texas		Mrs, J. E. Humphries, Box 126, Edgewood, Texas
West Oklahoma		Mrs. H. C. Zentz, Goodwell, Oklahoma
Louisiana		Mrs. C. F. Goldwait, 6101 Louisville St, New Orleans

Not many of them are very strong or do too well at carrying through on a project. But I suggest you send them the information. I will write them too.

Sincerely,

Ernestine Henderson

(FILL IN AND RETURN TO - SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL,
63 Auburn Ave. N. E., Atlanta, Ga.)

~~A REPORT OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE~~

Date _____

We of the Woman's Society of Christian Service of _____ Church

have visited Mr. _____ (Sheriff) (Chief of Police)

of _____.
(City) (County) (State)

We have given him a copy of Race and Law Enforcement and discussed with him our concern for able and impartial enforcement of the law.

Signed _____

Address _____

____ COMMENTS
(Use other side of sheet if more space is needed.)

Race Law Enf

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

RECEIVED
MAR 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

PROCESSING DEPARTMENT
EXCHANGE AND GIFT DIVISION

Refer to: AG

March 4, 1952

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Librarian of Congress has requested me to acknowledge, with many thanks, the gift mentioned below which you have so generously made to the Library.

Very truly yours,

Frances D. Page

for Alton H. Keller
Chief, Exchange and Gift Division

The gift received:

NEW SOUTH
Volume 5, January 1950-Volume 5, December 1951

MEMO TO MRS. TILLY March 5, 1952

Mrs. Leonard Haas suggested to me the other day that we might help the sale of RACE & LAW ENFORCEMENT by getting in touch with Mrs. Ida Britton Milner of the Council of Church Women. Do you concur?

~~Mrxx&xxxxxxx~~ GSM

March 5, 1952

Mrs. Robert L. MacDougall
4141 Club Dr., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. MacDougall:

Here is a brand-new booklet we have done.

Object: to get small groups of civic-minded people, after studying it, to take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff, and urge him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

We've had pretty good luck in getting it bought in good blocks by church groups, white and Negro, and some teachers' groups have bought it.

Any suggestions as to how we could get it out still more widely?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 5, 1952

Mr. Jacob S. Potofsky
General President
Amalgamated Clothing Workers
15 Union Square
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Potofsky:

When I showed this, our latest booklet, to Paul Williams, he said that by all means you ought to have a copy.

The booklet ties in very neatly with the whole bombing situation in Florida and elsewhere in the South. I put in a recent statement on that.

We have had great luck so far in getting this booklet bought in good, big blocks by church and lay groups in the South. Object: To get small groups of civic-minded people, after studying it, to take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff, and urge him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

Our Council continues to be extremely grateful to the Sidney Hillman Foundation for the help given us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

March 5, 1952

Mr. G. Howland Shaw
2723 N. St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Shaw:

When I showed Paul Williams this, our new booklet, a few days ago, he said that you ought, by all means, to have a copy of it.

We have had remarkable success in getting it sold in good, big blocks to church and lay groups in the South. Object: To get small groups of civic-minded people, after studying it, to take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff and urge him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 5, 1952

Mr. Harry Read
C. I. O.
718 Jackson Pl., N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Read:

When lately I showed a copy of this new booklet of the Council's to Paul Williams, he said that, by all means, you ought to have a copy.

We have had extra good luck in getting it sold in big blocks to church and lay groups for distribution to their members. Object: To get small groups of civic-minded people, after studying it, to take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff and urge him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.
Dictated but not read.

Race & Law Enf.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU

RECEIVED
MAR 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

March 5, 1952

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for the copy of "Race and Law Enforcement; a guide to modern police practices."

Sincerely yours,

Sarah L. Doran

Sarah L. Doran
Editor of The Child

ADL SOUTHERN OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W., ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

3-6-52

Harold Fleming

Please see Page 4

Another Day
Another Plug!

Alex Miller

LIGHT

A Bulletin of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention

108 Breckinridge Lane Louisville 7, Kentucky

Volume V **FEBRUARY, 1952** **Number 2**

CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS OF CAPITAL AND LABOR

By Hugh Brimm

There is nothing of news in the statement that we are living in times of tremendous stress and strain. Internationally we are divided into the opposing camps of **communism** and **democracy.** Within our own country there are other marks of division. Economically we are divided into the ranks of capital and labor. Lines of race, religion, political affiliation, and national origin further divide, segregate, and intensify the already complex problems of human relations.

As Christians we should be both alert to and concerned about these vital problems. A major part of our responsibility as "peacemakers" is to promote understanding in human relations by demonstrating the better way of Christian love.

In this discussion we are concerning ourselves, not with the whole area of human relations, but with only one aspect—human relations in modern business. Here, we are face to face with the problems of economic group relationships as represented by management or capital on the one hand and labor on the other. It shall be our objective to find an answer to the following question, **"How can management and labor work together in ways to attain industrial peace?"**

First, let us face the staggering realization that American industrial output is measured today in terms of hundreds of billions of dollars. Industrial expansion is going on all about us at breath-taking speed. This expansion is resulting in greater employment, higher per-capita income, and more leisure time for the American worker.

In 1850, an average of twenty-seven cents worth of goods and services were turned out in an hour's work. The average working time that year was twelve hours a day for six days a week. Today the average hourly output per man is more than five times as great and the work week has been reduced by almost one-half! We are also using nearly 100 times as much mechanical energy per man-hour of work.

We who live in the southern regions of our great nation are witnessing one of the greatest industrial developments of modern times. Agriculture, the long-

(Continued on Page 2)

WHY CHURCHMEN OPPOSE UMT

By Donald B. Cloward

If Universal Military Training is good for American youth, why one might ask, is the strongest opposition to it coming from churchmen, who from the beginning in America have pioneered in character building through the family, the school, and the church? Yet the best informed churchmen can generally be found vigorously opposing any program of UMT for our eighteen-year-olds.

Were I a member of the Congress, I would want to weigh carefully this fact before voting for UMT. Surely this sentiment is not to be dismissed as either Communist-inspired nor yet the overflow of romantic pacifism. For these same churchmen have been forthright in exposing Communism as antithetical to Christian faith and practice. Moreover, only a small minority among them can readily be classified as pacifists. They largely supported action in Korea and have bowed to the necessity of selective service as a crisis measure.

What Is Good for Youth?

But it should cause a congressman to ponder when the church leadership stands almost solidly against a bill which the Defense Department says is wise and good and useful. Religious leaders make no claim to being military experts. They respect the peculiar gifts of men trained in military combat and in times of crisis have put the lives of themselves and their children wholly in the hands of the generals and the admirals. But if the military is now claiming competence in what is good Americanism for our youth, then it is time to challenge them.

Isaiah, out of the distant past, had a word of profound wisdom for our confused day when he said: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter."

The military record is bad—very bad. Ask anyone who has tried to live a normal civilian life in the proximity of a military establishment what happens to community life as a result of a large concentration of troops nearby? Every vice already present in the community is increased a hundredfold. It seems to be an inevitable consequence

(Continued on Page 3)

POSITIVE STEPS TOWARD PEACE IN OUR TIME

Christians have their own divine commission to proclaim the kingdom of God and His righteousness at home and abroad. God is a God of judgment as well as of mercy. In His sight all nations, including our own, and all men, including ourselves, have left undone those things which they ought to have done and done those things which they ought not to have done. We are called to recognize the just condemnation of His judgment but if we turn to Him in repentance and faith we shall avail ourselves of His mercy. We are called to be steadfast in prayer for all the peoples of the world that they may learn the things that belong to their peace; for our nation and our government, that they may become willing to serve the purposes of God.

Powerful forces have pushed mankind to the brink of an awful abyss. The first and urgent task is to check these forces. Therefore, these are not suggestions for a long range program for building peace—these are immediate steps for the present. It is imperative that we take them lest we lose the basic democratic principles upon which our way of life rests.

Here, then, are ways in which each of us can work, ways that will unite us in a world of good-will.

1. Redouble our efforts to reconcile men with God.

To this basic task we must re-dedicate ourselves with renewed devotion. The peace of God is the only peace which will endure. It can come only when men know Him as a child lovingly knows its own father. Our resources in the realm of the spiritual, unlike the military and material resources of war, are limitless. It was not an atom bomb that made Saul of Tarsus into Paul, the flaming evangel for Christ; it was not bacteriological warfare that lifted the Roman Empire off its hinges, but it was the power of God working through the lives of those who prayed for spiritual resources to be channeled through their lives.

This is a time for prayer. Also it is a time for action. Men of good will must promptly lay hold of the means at hand to increase the margin of safety against war. This is a task in which every one can play a constructive part.

(Continued on Page 3)

CAPITAL-LABOR (Continued)

time keystone of Southern economy, has been made to share its place in the sun with new and rapidly growing industries. In 1946, for example, four of the five states which led the nation in industrial construction contracts were Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Factories, large and small, are becoming the core of industrial communities all over the South where once open country and rolling fields were all that met the human eye.

This is the "new South," an industrial South, rich in raw materials, rich in hydro-electric power, and rich in human resources from which can be drawn an abundant labor supply.

Human Factors

These are some of the economic factors that measure our story of national success. But there are other factors, equally important, if not more so. They are the human factors, the men with the wealth to provide the factories and the men with the skill to operate them. Full production, as we know it today, is by no means an accidental development of economic and technological forces. It is largely the result of the improvement of human relations.

Production was first expanded when men came together to pool their capital resources and to unite into manufacturing associations. Such was the "organization" of capital. The next step forward came when laboring men and women united into voluntary associations for the purpose of dealing with management.

Organized labor in America is more than one hundred and fifty years old. Behind are long years of bitter struggle for economic justice as opposed to sweatshops, the lockout, blacklists, and the exploitation of women and child labor. Labor's only alternative to organization was serfdom. It has struggled for organization, for its rights and for human benefits because it did not want that serfdom. In this process of organization, labor has developed with management a new technique, collective bargaining, an indispensable technique to modern business and our industrial strength.

Collective Bargaining

Through the processes of collective bargaining, contracts and agreements are reached. Labor unions are demonstrating more and more that they are responsible organizations in carrying out their contracts. However, on the other hand, many in the general public have the feeling that labor is not at all reliable, that labor is always on strike in violation of its contracts. This is not true. It is a fact that when management and labor are in periods of strife and of differences resulting in strikes and work stoppages, the press and radio give much space and time to the crisis struggle. On the other hand, when negotiations are conducted without strife, notice is not given at all.

For example, in 1946, when there were more strikes and work stoppages than in any recent year, there were more than 200,000 contracts negotiated between management and labor. Less than five per cent of these resulted in strikes. In other words more than ninety-five per cent of the contracts were settled to the mutual satisfaction of both groups.

In a number of recent studies and reports from large corporations, independent research groups are pointing to the co-operative achievements of industrial peace between management and labor. The National Planning Association, composed of leaders from the ranks of both management and labor, is currently making a series of studies on the "Causes of Industrial Peace." When completed it will be a detailed report on the labor relations of fifteen large corporations in America.

The results of these studies are making clear the following propositions:

(1) Company profit and good industrial relations are reconcilable and in fact essential to each other;

(2) Industrial organizations are social as well as economic and technological structures. The welfares of a company and its employees are inseparable;

(3) A worker is an individual as well as a union-member and employee. His dignity, recognition, and job-satisfaction are vital to high productivity.

(4) These values of employer and employee must be mutually communicated, understood, and observed.

Industrial relations programs incorporating these principles are working. They have provided a basis for co-operation, in concerns which have established them, that has increased production, profit per unit produced, and the material and spiritual well-being of their employees.

In their relationships both management and labor have come to realize that there are certain fundamentals of human nature which cannot be ignored. These cannot be ignored if human relations are to be creative and peaceable.

First is the essential dignity of man. Every man has certain basic human rights which must be respected. Such dignity demands self-expression, an opportunity to advance, and a sense that one has attained a point of usefulness in life. Second, man must have the esteem and respect of others. More than anything else he wants to be recognized as a person and to possess the confidence that he will be treated like a human being in all relationships.

Third, man yearns for survival. Food, clothing, housing, and other essentials are rightly his. He wants to know that he has access to them.

Finally, man reaches out for security. It is not sufficient that he have bread for today, but that there also be bread for tomorrow. He needs to have the confidence that he will be able to face illness, possible disability, and, ultimately, old age with financial security.

Challenge to Christians

As we face this vast field of human relations, we are made to realize that, as Christians, we have a tremendous challenge. Our churches and denominational schools must continue to produce men and women of character and integrity who will take with them the ideals of the Christian life into their economic professions, whether they become leaders in the ranks of labor or whether they take their places behind the desks of management.

All of us, through a serious and unprejudiced study of the problem, need to bring ourselves to a thorough understanding of all that is involved in the human relations of industry. The implications are of tremendous significance for both Christianity and our democratic way of life.

—Reprinted from the Baptist Student, February, 1952.

In the struggle between communism and democracy, what we do to our colored neighbors at home is equally important as what we do for our white friends abroad.—Liston Pope.

LIGHT

A Bulletin of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention,
108 Breckinridge Lane, Louisville 7, Kentucky.
Published monthly except July and August.

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U M T (Continued)

of large concentrations of military personnel. Great masses of men living in close proximity to each other, and away from the normal relationships of home and family, living under the restraints so necessary to military life, certainly do not live at their best or even at their near best. "Operation Killer," which is the ultimate goal of military education, can never hope to overcome the very evils inherent in its ultimate aims.

It, therefore, becomes sheer hypocrisy for the Defense Department to talk piously about military training being good for American youth. If they have any arguments in support of UMT, let them confine them solely to military necessity. Parents, educators, and the clergy are best equipped to talk about morals and character education needed for good citizenship. They, rather than the military, have demonstrated that they can, given a reasonable chance at young life, produce these qualities.

[Rev. Donald B. Cloward is executive secretary of the Council on Christian Social Progress of the American Baptist Convention, 152 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York.]

ALCOHOLISM—SELF-INDUCED

Dr. Haven Emerson, Professor Emeritus of Public Health Practice at Columbia University, former Commissioner of Health of New York City, and one of the outstanding authorities on alcoholism, stated in an article in the Christian Science Monitor of October 26, 1951:

"In speaking of alcoholism as a sickness, we have been led into a slovenly cutting of corners in language and are deceiving ourselves as to the truth.

"The currently popular theory that alcoholism is simply a sickness and hence that no one is responsible for excessive drinking is misleading and mischievous.

"A great deal of muddled thinking and writing and lack of clear definition has resulted, with frequently unhappy effects.

"This attitude is welcomed by the liquor industries because with it to build on they appear before the public as blameless, claiming merely to 'serve the universal needs of the people,' a few of whom are found to be unfortunate in respect to personality and emotional development and become medical and social problems as chronic alcoholics.

"Misjudgment as to the facts about alcoholism based on the sickness idea has done much harm to the educational campaign to teach people self-restraint, choice, and intelligent abstinence.

"THE CAUSE OF ALCOHOLISM IS, OF COURSE, THE EXCESSIVE AND PERSISTENT DRINKING OF BEVERAGE ALCOHOL. Probably more than half of all alcoholics began their use of alcohol without any physical, mental, or personality deviation from normal.

"This group became abnormal chiefly because of their excessive and in the first place 'moderate' and socially acceptable use of alcohol, which created for them many problems similar in character to those seen in psychoneurotics who make up somewhat less than half of the chronic alcoholics.

"True, an alcoholic, acute or chronic, occasional, continuous, compulsive, habitual, or as a victim of his addiction is a sick person. Alcoholism is a form of intoxication due to the presence of ethyl alcohol in the body.

"The state of alcoholism, a sickness, is self-induced and so different from the common conception of a sickness as not to be properly described as such, but as a SELF-INDUCED POISONING BY A NARCOTIC DRUG."

RISING TIDE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The Children's Bureau of the Federal Security Agency reported recently that juvenile court cases in 1949 in 413 courts in twenty-two states totaled 70,616. This represents a ratio of about 12 for every 1,000 children in the country between seven and seventeen years of age.

Reports from 218 courts that have been reporting for many years showed that juvenile court cases dropped from a peak of 71,117 in 1945 to 51,994 in 1948 and then rose to 54,028 in 1949. The Children's Bureau said that the preliminary figures for 1950 indicated a continued upward trend.

The claim of the Christian church to transcend the differences between races has always been challenged by Mohammedanism; today the new challenge of our times comes from Communism.—Ernest J. Bingle, London, England.

A MEDIEVAL PRAYER

A librarian in Dagenham, England, is said to have found a copy of a prayer written by a medieval purchaser of land in that district, it reads:

"O Lord, Thou knowest I have mine estates in the City of London and that I likewise lately purchased an estate in fee-simple in the County of Essex. I beseech Thee to preserve the two Counties of Middlesex and Essex from fire and earthquake, and as I have a mortgage in Herefordshire I beg Thee to have an eye of compassion upon that county. For the rest of the counties, Thou mayest deal with them as Thou art pleased."

PEACE (Continued)

2. Do not tolerate complacency about war.

Some of us may ourselves be complacent about war. If not, each of us knows some who are. So each one can do something to reduce the sum total of that complacency. We are witnessing today the shameful spectacle of men in national leadership who are pushing legislation which they know can only be obtained by frightening the American people. Others may feel that they are peculiarly qualified to exercise political leadership and that they can best ride into power on a wave of emotion. Those who influence public opinion may feel that sensationalism is needed to arouse and alert the American people. Those who do such things are following the doctrine that it is possible to get good by doing evil. The fact is that panic started for one purpose seldom stops until it has overshot the chosen mark.

3. Combat a mood of hysteria or blind hatred.

Each of us is aware of focal points of war hysteria and blind hatred. We know perhaps some of the individuals, groups and publications who are spreading that mood. Each, by writing to political leaders or editors, can do something to stop the development of unreasoning mob emotion. Hitlerism was built both upon the myth of racial supremacy and the rabid hatred of a minority people. We must avert the Hitlerian spirit in America.

4. Reject fatalism about war.

Each of us knows some who think that war is inevitable and that it is better to get it over quickly so as to relieve the strain of waiting and to anticipate the Soviet development of atomic power. Each can do something to change that mood of fatalism and impatience.

5. Oppose primary reliance on military strategy to meet Communist aggression.

Each of us has, or can have, influence with leaders in Congress or in the Administration or in political parties and can urge that they do not concentrate on military measures as though these alone would assure peace, but concern themselves also with economic, social, political and moral counter-measures against the threat of war.

In present conditions of international anarchy, where international law and international police power are lacking, national military strength is necessary, while we continually strive for the multilateral reduction and control of armaments through the United Nations. But the main defenses of what we treasure are to be found in non-military measures which will change the conditions favoring the spread of

(Over)

SBC Pub Library

despotism. To provide those defenses is not the task for military advisers. Therefore, the American people, in conformity with the principle of democratic government, should not permit policy making to pass predominantly into the hands of those who think primarily in military terms, as is too much the case today.

6. Press for positive programs which have immediate possibilities for peace and justice.

Each of us can use our voice and our vote in behalf of constructive measures by our government to increase the margin of safety, from war, such as programs for recovery, for increased social welfare, for a covenant on human rights and for a greater support of the United Nations and its many approaches to a better world.

We belong to a free society, and we cherish for ourselves and for others freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of petition, and freedom to vote. It is such freedoms which are threatened and which we want more fully to achieve and to preserve. Most of us would fight rather than surrender them, even though they might well be lost by fighting. These freedoms can, we are confident, be preserved if they are now used in ways to avert the immediate danger of war. In a free society every citizen has a duty of action.

POLICE AND THE PUBLIC

The key role of the police in Southern race relations has long been recognized. Learned studies by experts have pointed to it again and again. The press, in the South and elsewhere, has documented it in news and editorial columns. The plain people of the region have acknowledged it by turning appraising eyes on the police whenever race is a public issue.

This critical attention, however galling or unjustified it might seem at times to the policemen concerned, is quite understandable. For policemen are symbols. They represent the official conscience of society; they are the custodians of justice at the everyday level, where it is closest to the ordinary person.

So when a society is deeply occupied with a moral problem—in this case, Negro-white relations—policemen assume a bigger-than-life importance. If they perform badly, they do so not just as men wearing uniforms, but as the embodiment of law in their communities. If they perform well, the same thing holds true, except that unfortunately the news value may be less.

In the past, Southern police systems have drawn more blame than praise for their role in race relations. But recently another more hopeful trend has appeared. In town after town over the South a new quality of law enforcement is emerging. Police officers are winning merited acclaim for averting mob violence, safeguarding unpopular prisoners, protecting the innocent, curbing illegal activities of hate groups, and in general enforcing the law impartially and humanely. There are still far too many instances of police violence, forced confessions, and application of a double standard based on race. But such instances are occurring less frequently and are finding less public sanction than ever before.

How quickly this trend will become the normal and accepted pattern of Southern law enforcement depends in large part on public opinion. Police systems do not exist in a vacuum. In fact, they probably reflect more accurately than most of our institutions the temper of the public. When law enforcement is found wanting in fairness or efficiency, thoughtful citizens will ask themselves such questions as these:

Have we created in our community the atmosphere of tolerance and respect for the individual which breeds good law enforcement?

Have we made known to police authorities our interest in sound police practices?

Have we bothered to find out under what conditions our policemen are selected and do their work—qualifications, pay, training, recognition for service?

Have we given as much attention to the problems, shortcomings, and achievements of our police force as we have to those of our schools, churches, civic and welfare agencies?

In a typical community, the answer to each of these questions is likely to be "No." The day-to-day activities of the police—be they good, bad, or indifferent—commonly go unnoticed, uncriticized, unpraised. Only when crisis comes, or when lax or violent police practices erupt into headlines, are local citizens roused from their apathy. The police may well complain that their difficult job is made no easier by this unconstructive public attitude.

In order to help those who are concerned with these problems in their community, the Southern Regional Council has prepared a study booklet entitled, **RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.** It is a carefully documented survey of the changing trends of modern police practices in the southern regions.

There is a valuable check list by which you, the concerned citizen, can measure the practices of your own community.

The price of the booklet is 15c. Send stamps or coin to this office for your copy.

Social Service Commission
of the Southern Baptist Convention
Box 38—St. Matthews Branch
Louisville 7, Kentucky

THE PREVALENCE OF ALCOHOLISM

Speaking at the University of Washington, Seattle, on June 12, 1951, Dr. E. M. Jellinek, formerly Director of the Yale School of Alcohol Studies, and now Chairman of the International Committee on Alcohol Problems of the Mental Health Section of the World Health Organization, stated that there were **now** in the United States: 3,800,000 alcoholics and, in addition, 3,000,000 problem drinkers. "I would not argue with you if you said there were 7,000,000 alcoholics and problem drinkers in all," said Dr. Jellinek.

OUR HEALTH

" . . . Less than 10,000,000 of our 146,000,000,000 people have professional, , full-time health departments to guard their water, milk, and meat supplies from contamnation, to supervise disposal of sewage and garbage, and control communicable diseases."

"Forty million Americans lack the basic protection of full-time health departments. Another 85,000,000 have only the dubious protection of understaffed health departments."

—Senator Hill (Ala.)

Social Service Commission
of the Southern Baptist Convention
Box 38 - St. Matthews Branch
Louisville 7, Kentucky

Sec. 34.66, P.L.&R.
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Mr. Alexander Miller
11 Pryor St., S.W.
Suite 305
Atlanta 3, Ga.

March 6, 1952

Mr. Clarence Mitchell
Washington Bureau
NAACP
100 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I showed our new pamphlet on law enforcement to Paul Williams, who said you ought, by all means, to get a copy. It ties in neatly with the whole Florida business.

We are having good luck with selling the pamphlet in big blocks to church groups and teachers and to some business firms. Object: To get small groups of civic-minded people, after studying it, to take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff, and urge him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

Have you any suggestions as to ways of getting it out still further?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. We had a good meeting two weeks ago, and were much helped by the presence of Mrs. Hurley and Mr. Byrd. Sorry to miss you.

GSM:ec
Encls.

March 6, 1952

Rev. L. J. Twomey, S. J.
Institute of Industrial Relations
Loyola University
New Orleans 18, La.

Dear Father Twomey:

I will be there March 15 and 16.

Many thanks for getting out RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR

UNIVERSITY 5471

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

February 27, 1952

RECEIVED
FEB 29 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Exec.-Secy.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have arranged for your expenses to be covered on the trip to New Orleans to attend the Louisiana Conference on Labor Education. This Conference will be held at Xavier University on Saturday and Sunday, March 15 and 16 respectively. I am delighted to know that you will be with us on this occasion.

It was a real joy to be with you again in Shreveport. I am sure that contacts such as you establish on trips like this have the cumulative effect of bringing great good to the S.R.C.

The 200 copies of "Race and Law Enforcement" arrived a few days ago. I am now in the process of getting ready to distribute them to law enforcement officers throughout the state. I have read this booklet and I am convinced it should do a vast amount of good with fair-minded and more particularly open-minded police officers. Congratulations to you and your staff on this admirable work.

God bless you always.

Sincerely,

L. J. Twomey, S. J.

L. J. Twomey, S. J.
Director

LJT/grc

P. S. You will receive in a few days a letter from the Central Trades and Labor Council explaining the details of the Conference.

March 6, 1952

Mr. George Weaver
C. I. O.
718 Jackson Pl, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear George:

I showed this new booklet to Paul Williams, and he particularly wanted a copy sent on to you.

We have had good luck in getting it out in big blocks to church and lay groups all over the South. The Negro teachers in Georgia bought 500. The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company got a hundred. The main white churches have all come through with good, big block orders, and so have various Negro church groups.

We are trying hard to get local committees of civic-minded people to take the booklet along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and urge him to bring the force up to these modern standards. We know one booklet won't do it, but we think many visits might.

Only the other day the Methodist women in all the Southeastern States agreed to make such visits a part of their church program and to get the booklet taken to the sheriff in every county in the Southeast.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 6, 1952

Mr. Konrad Mommsen
Frankfurt M21
In Burgfeld 143
GERMANY

Dear Mr. Mommsen:

I am all gratitude for the atlas. The text part at the beginning is in German I could only puzzle out with a dictionary for every third word, but the maps are beautifully clear, and I get much pleasure out of trying to match my scraps of history and geography with their German.

Thank you warmly for getting hold of it and for sending it over. It will be consulted many times.

We had here not long ago a very nice Zuricher named Werner Yahoof, from the Neue Zuercher Zeitung. He is staying in Washington for a year to watch the elections and so on. Very nice fellow, who knew, of course, about you and your paper.

I send along our latest pamphlet, this time on the police. It is moving in big blocks to schools and churches, and I think will do some good.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 7, 1952

Mr. Paul Sifton
UAW-CIO
Walker Bldg.
734-15th St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Paul:

I showed Paul Williams this new booklet the other day, and he said, by all means, send a copy on to you.

It has only been out a couple of weeks, but we have already sold six or seven thousand in good, big blocks. They've gone to church and lay groups all over the South. Object: To get small groups of civic-minded people, after studying it, to take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff, and urge him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

We are grateful straight along for UAW's help to the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

G. HOWLAND SHAW
2723 N STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

RECEIVED
MAR 10 1952
Southern Regional Council

March 7, 1952

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am greatly obliged to you and to Paul Williams for the booklet on "Race and Law Enforcement.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

G. Howland Shaw.

March 10, 1952

Dr. Hugh A. Brimm
Social Service Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
Box 38, St. Matthews Station
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Hugh:

Many thanks for the fine write-up of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT in the current issue of LIGHT.

My cordial appreciation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 10, 1952

Mr. Elmer W. Henderson, Director
American Council on Human Rights
1130 Sixth St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Henderson:

No word from you yet about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Do see if you can't help me on getting it out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SRC - Race-Law Enf.

March 10, 1952

Rev. Charles C. Walker
1211 Chester St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Walker:

Please let me know what happened at the meeting. We would like a good, full account.

And did the Division order some copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT? We hope so.

We are eager for news.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. Do you think you could get hold of the head guy in the Arkansas association of Negro teachers? His opposite number in Georgia bought 500 copies of the pamphlet to mail out to teachers. And teachers are just perfect people for getting local action.

How about going to see that guy and seeing if he will move in?

GSM:ec

March 10, 1952

Mr. George Guernsey
CIO Education Department
718 Jackson Pl., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

It was a real experience to be again in the very thick of so good a CIO activity. I appreciate it a lot. I'll do you a better speech next time.

Here's the expense account.

RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT can be had, by the CIO alone, at ten dollars a hundred. To everybody else, fifteen.

I do hope you and Ben will get together on it and order some.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

UNITED AUTOMOBILE · AIRCRAFT · AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS
of AMERICA (UAW-CIO)

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS · 8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVENUE · DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN

WALTER P. REUTHER
PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY
SEC. & TREAS.

RICHARD GOSSER
VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN W. LIVINGSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL UNION

PHONE: EXECUTIVE 3522

IN REPLY REFER TO
WALTER P. REUTHER
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
734 FIFTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1952
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1952
Southern Regional Council

March 11, 1952

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I want to thank you for having sent me the pamphlet, Race and Law Enforcement, a Guide to Modern Police Practices.

I immediately forwarded it to the International offices with a suggestion that it might be useful.

Sincerely,

Paul Sifton

Paul Sifton
National Legislative Representative

PS:mh

Sent to heads of Negro teachers associations in Va., N. C., S. C., Miss., La., Fla.

March 11, 1952

Dr. Robert C. Hatch
The Alabama State Teachers Association
Alabama State College Teachers
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Dr. Hatch:

I have not yet had word from you about the pamphlet RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. We had been hoping your Association would lay in several hundred to be mailed out to teachers over the State. In Georgia the Teachers and Education Association got five hundred for this purpose. Though the pamphlet has only been out a month, it has been bought in big blocks by church and other groups for distribution.

We think it is the kind of thing that many of your teachers would be interested in as a part of their general civic work, and we do hope that you can let us know that the Association will buy some.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Sent to Negro teachers Ass'ns. in Ala, Va., S. C., Tenn., Miss., La., Fla., Okla.

February 14, 1952

Mr. W. L. Greene
The North Carolina Negro Teachers Association
125 E. Hargett St.
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mr. Greene:

You will recall the pamphlet RACE IN THE NEWS that came out two and a half years ago. I am sure some of your teachers helped in getting it distributed and in getting local newspaper people to switch around and adopt some, at least, of the practices recommended in that pamphlet.

Here is another, this time on police matters.

It is not aimed so much at teaching policemen individually their proper course of action, but rather at getting small groups of civic-minded people to go, pamphlet in hand, to see the chief or the sheriff and begin to work with him toward bringing the force around to these modern standards.

That's a workable and promising local action program for almost every Southern town.

Would your association consider seriously whether it can lay in a block of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT and get them out with a letter to all or selected ones among the teachers? The pamphlet sells for fifteen cents apiece.

But we are less interested in selling it than in getting it into the hands of people who will make it the basis of action in their own communities.

We have already had large orders for the pamphlet from the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, the Georgia Interracial Committee, the Mississippi and Alabama Divisions of the Southern Regional Council, the southeastern office of the National Council of Churches, the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, and others.

We are urging the principal denominational bodies, white and Negro, with members in the South to take it up too.

I do greatly hope that your association will find a way to get the little blue book into the hands of a lot of teachers.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.
Dictated but not read.

MEMO TO KATHERINE STONEY March 10, 1952

On Friday, March 7, Mr. Alfred Mynders requested the Council to send to him for Tennessee distribution 150 copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. Mr. Mynders proposes, jointly with Charles S. Johnson, to prepare and dispatch a letter to accompany R&LE to the 90 sheriffs and 40-50 police chiefs in Tennessee.

This will be your authority for charging to the Tennessee Division's trust fund the price of 150 copies of R & LE at 15¢ apiece, plus postage on them to Tennessee.

Mr. Mynders gave me no instructions as to the envelopes, but I should think it would be as well to dispatch to him with the pamphlets 150 envelopes, preferably without printing on them, and to charge the cost of the envelopes similarly to the Tennessee Division's trust fund.

GSM

SRC - Race - Law Enf.

March 10, 1952

Mr. Alvin Smith
R. F. D.
Newbern, Ala.

Dear Alvin:

We all enjoyed Dossie's letter with news about the Montgomery job. That is fierce traveling, but we are glad the Army has not yet nabbed you and that you can be at home at least a few hours out of each twenty-four.

Here is a small job I wish you would try to take on for me. I believe you have to drive through Selma every day. In Selma lives a nice old fellow named Dr. D. V. Jemison. Address: 1605 Lapsley Street. He is the president of all the Negro Baptists, gethered together as the National Baptist Convention. He is, or was until lately, a member of the Board of Directors of our Council. I have been to see him once or twice in Selma. The street is one of the main drags of the town, though, naturally, he lives at the colored end. Only three or four doors from Selma University, and as well as I remember, no great number of blocks off from the main highway.

Here is a letter I wrote him last month. Also a couple of copies of the pamphlet.

Old Mr. Jemison is seldom well, and he is a little hard to arouse to action.

I have written also to the secretary of the National Baptist Convention at Mobile, but no action there as yet.

Already the pamphlet has been bought in big blocks by the Methodists Church and the Methodist Church, Central Jurisdiction, and the Southern Baptist Convention and AME Church (Bishop Greene) and the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company and the Georgia colored teachers and the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council (500 copies) and the Mississippi Division (300 copies), and so on.

But I bad need for Mr. Jemison to stock about a thousand copies and mail 'em out. It would be a peach of an action program for his church.

Could you be so very kind as to stop by there some evening and try to get him to the point of decision? I am not trying to enlist you as advocate; I merely want you to be kind enough to make a personal appearance, which I know from experience, is indispensable to action.

If we don't get some Ford Foundation money for this Council pretty soon, Alice and I and Tidbit and Carlotita will be coming to Hale County to claim our corner.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Rewrite Apr. 9

March 10, 1952

Bishop W. J. Walls
4736 S. Parkway
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Bishop Walls:

I have not yet heard from you about the booklet RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

We are most anxious for it to be used in the AME Zion Church, and I do hope you will let us know what is decided.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 11, 1952

Bishop W. J. Walls
4736 S. Parkway
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Bishop Walls:

A pamphlet which our Council published two and a half years ago, called RACE IN THE NEWS, quite probably came to your attention. It was widely and effectively circulated in the South, both to newspapers and to local citizens, and in the time since it came out quite a remarkable improvement has occurred in the way in which the Southern daily papers handle Negro news items.

Now our Council is trying to apply the same method to the problem of police abuses. Here are a couple of copies of our new publication on it. Official release date February 13.

It is designed not really as a teaching document for policemen, but as something to stimulate conscientious local citizens to work with the chief or the sheriff in bringing the force around to these modern standards. The best use of it would be for a committee of three or five local citizens to call on the chief and begin with him the process of persuasion. It will take several visits and continued watchfulness on the part of the committee. But results in the end would be almost certain.

We worked it straight through, having in mind the special desirability of church people's forming such committees. It is ideally suited, we think, as an action program for local churches. It's in good temper and it is persuasive rather than abusive.

Though it is not yet officially out, we have had substantial blocks of the pamphlet purchased by the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, by the Georgia Interracial Committee, the Alabama and Mississippi Divisions of the Southern Regional Council, the Southeastern office of the National Council of the Churches of Christ, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and others. I have written about to carefully chosen leaders in practically all the denominational groups, white and Negro,

having a substantial membership in the South, and have some reason to hope that in quite a number of instances it will be quite a definite part of the action program of the church. Indeed, the women's division of the Southern Presbyterian Church has already undertaken to make its use a part of their program.

Mr. Clement here at Atlanta University, who is a member of our Board, suggested that I raise the matter with you for the AME Zion Church.

Our principal concern is with the Southern States, but there is really nothing in the pamphlet that does not apply to most Northern situations too.

We would be most grateful for your consideration of whether the Church will either buy a goodly block (they are fifteen cents apiece) and send them out officially to pastors and selected lay people, or whether there is some other way in which this opportunity to do a useful act could be brought forcefully to the attention of your people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

March 10, 1952

Mr. J. A. McDaniel
Executive Director
Memphis Urban League
546 Beale Ave.
Memphis, Tenn.

Dear Mr. McDaniel:

Very many thanks for your many kindnesses the other day. I appreciated particularly the opportunity to meet your wife and those fine girls.

Do give Mr. Hayes a ring on this subject. It takes personal contact to get things done.

I have written also to Bishop Clayborn for the AME Church. Bishop Greene over here bought 175 to mail out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Rewrite Apr. 9.

March 10, 1952

Mr. J. Ashton Hayes
576 Walker St.
Memphis, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Hayes:

When I was in Memphis a few days ago, Mr. McDaniel very kindly took me by your home in hopes that we could see you, but we found you away.

Object: To see if I could interest you, as a vice-president of the West Tennessee Teachers Association, in this new booklet.

The Georgia Teachers and Education Association bought 500 copies (it sells at fifteen cents apiece), to be distributed by them to teachers and school principals in Georgia. It has been bought in big blocks also by white and Negro church groups, by the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, by the various State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council, and by other similar bodies.

Our purpose in printing the pamphlet was to try to stimulate local committees of civic-minded people, after studying it, to take it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff and urge that the force be brought around to these modern standards.

Your teachers could do a lot to get such tiny local citizens' groups interested in taking this action.

I wrote about it ten days or so ago to Mr. G. W. Brooks at Clarksville for the whole Association, but have not heard as yet from him.

I thought perhaps if you would take the matter on yourself, you might be able to get favorable action from the Association.

Getting the pamphlet out to local communities is obviously a good thing to do, and at fifteen cents apiece it isn't much in money.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 10, 1952

Bishop J. H. Clayborn
R. R. Wright School of Religion
280 Hernando St.
Memphis, Tenn.

Dear Bishop Clayborn:

Here is a good, new booklet our Council has put out. It sells for fifteen cents apiece.

We are most anxious to get small groups of civic-minded people, after studying it, to take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff and urge that the force be brought around to these modern standards.

With surprising spped and interest, various groups in the South have bought it in good blocks. The Episcopalians took 200. The Southern Baptist Convention's Social Service Commission took 25. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith took 750. The Catholic Committee of the South bought a thousand. Bishop Bowen here took a hundred. The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company is sending out a hundred. The Methodist Church is undertaking, through the Woman's Society of Christian Service, to get it distributed very widely. Our Council's own State Divisions in nearly all the Southern States have bought it in large quantity. All this, though the pamphlet has only been out since February 13. We are already nearly through with a second printing, and I can see a third coming up.

Will you not most kindly consider whether for your area you could not stock a hundred or two hundred copies and mail them out, with a letter from you, to your ministers or lay people in the various churches? That is the way to get it really used.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 10, 1952

Mr. Crawford Solomon
Convention Press
218 W. Church St.
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Crawford:

The RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT pamphlet has now been bought in good, big blocks by the following: North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, 100; Georgia Teachers and Education Association, 500; Department of Interracial Cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches, 320; Texas Interracial Commission, 260; Department of Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 200; Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, 25; The Methodist Church, Central Jurisdiction (Bishop Bowen), 100; African-Methodist-Episcopal Church (Bishop Greene), 175; Georgia Interracial Committee, 167; North Carolina Division, Southern Regional Council, 200; South Carolina Division, SRC, 100; Alabama Division, SRC, 500; Louisiana Division, SRC, 200; Kentucky Division, SRC, 150; Mississippi Division, SRC, 300.

I am dickering with Alfred Mynders, chairman of the nearly-defunct Tennessee Division, for some arrangement in Tennessee, and I think the Arkansas Division at a meeting the other day ordered some too.

We do earnestly hope that Florida will take two or three hundred, anyway, and mail them out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1952
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Alabama State Teachers Association

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

S. Q. Bryant
Lanier High School
Lanett, Alabama

Mrs. Carrie C. Robinson
3224 McElvy Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Mrs. Francis J. Spencer
39 Washington Place
Mobile, Alabama

C. A. Fredd
Hale County Trg. School
Greensboro, Alabama

A. C. Henry
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Walker J. Carroll, *President*
Baldwin County Training School, Daphne, Alabama

R. C. Hatch, *Executive Secretary*
Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama

Telephone 3-7998

H. C. Trenholm, *Research Secy.*
P. O. Box 271
Montgomery, Alabama

D. A. Smith, *Treasurer*
Ozark City School
Ozark, Alabama

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

C. W. Orr
A and M College
Normal, Alabama

Leon Kennedy
630 - 11th Court, W.
Birmingham, Alabama

Robert I. Beasley
Eutaw High School
Eutaw, Alabama

March 12, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I regret that the pamphlet "Race and Law Enforcement" has not yet reached my desk. I would be pleased to receive and examine this pamphlet with the idea in mind of recommending that the executive committee consider the purchase of some of them for distribution to our membership.

With the hope that it may be possible for you to have a copy sent to me, I am

Yours very truly,

Robert C. Hatch

Robert C. Hatch

RCH:B

R&L.E.

March 13, 1952

Professor Paul N. Ylvisaker
Department of Political Science
Swarthmore College
Swarthmore, Pa.

Dear Mr. Ylvisaker:

I have sent you off a package of possible things. The SRC promotional literature is naturally free, and the rest of the things are at no great cost. But we would hope you could reimburse us for postage, which will be, roughly, fifty cents.

RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT is small. We have got plenty. Fifteen cents apiece.

You might find quite a lot in THE CONDITION OF OUR RIGHTS. Observe that we sell it now for next to nothing--two cents apiece if you get fifty.

I commend for your subject the article on discrimination in one of the issues of NEW SOUTH.

Price list and another good pamphlet coming separately.

I had a nephew and a niece who finished at your good college within the last couple of years and admired the whole works.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE
SWARTHMORE, PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

March 1, 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I have just read in the New York Times that your Council has published "Race and Law Enforcement: A Guide to Modern Police Practices." Would it be possible to obtain copies of the pamphlet for use in my class in State and Local Government? I hesitate to ask for individual copies for all members of the class (there are 35); but I would appreciate as many as you can spare. I am trying to strike out in a rather different direction from most courses in state and local government, and am having difficulty in finding materials. In the area of "Civil Liberties and Local Government", your pamphlet will prove most helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Paul N. Ylvisaker

Paul N. Ylvisaker

Congress of Industrial Organizations

718 Jackson Place, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

Office of
JAMES B. CAREY
Secretary-Treasurer

Cable Address "CIOLABOR"

EXecutive 5581

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1952
Southern Regional Council

March 13, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for sending me the copy of the booklet on police work. I think it is an excellent publication and I will keep it very much in mind when we have occasion to use it.

Sincerely,

Harry Read

Harry Read
Executive Assistant to the
Secretary-Treasurer

UAW·CIO

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
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INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1952
Southern Regional C

March 13, 1952

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for your kindness in sending Mr. Reuther a copy of the booklet put out by the Southern Regional Council. I will be sure to see that it reaches Mr. Reuther's attention upon his return to the city.

Sincerely yours,

Wm Dudenhoefer

Wm. Dudenhoefer,
Secretary to
Walter P. Reuther

8

March 5, 1952

Mr. Walter P. Reuther
International President
United Automobile Workers of America-CIO
8000 E. Jefferson Ave.
Detroit 14, Mich.

Dear Mr. Reuther:

When lately I showed a copy of this new booklet of the Council's to Paul Williams, he said that, by all means, you ought to have a copy.

We have had extra good luck in getting it sold in big blocks to church and lay groups for distribution to their members. Object: To get small groups of civic-minded people, after studying it, to take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff and urge him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

We continue to be grateful for the kind help of the United Automobile Workers to our Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.
Dictated but not read.

C10 File

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS • 8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVENUE • DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN

WALTER P. REUTHER
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

RICHARD GOSSER
INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT

EMIL MAZEY
INTERNATIONAL SECY.-TREAS.

JOHN W. LIVINGSTON
INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT

PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

RECEIVED
FEB 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 22, 1952

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for sending us a copy of your publication RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. At no time in the history of our country has there been a greater need for information and action in the field of civil rights and race relations. I am sure your publication will be helpful on this front.

I am referring your publication to William Oliver, Co-Director of our Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department for his information and use.

Sincerely yours,

Roy L. Reuther

Roy L. Reuther, Coordinator
Political Action Department

rlr;sbw
liu-72-cio

February 6, 1952

Mr. Walter P. Reuther, President
U. A. W.-C. I. O.
8000 E. Jefferson Ave.
Detroit 14, Mich.

Dear Mr. Reuther:

Our Council has been concerned for years to find a way of getting local police forces to handle matters of race with more humanity.

We have turned out this pamphlet (official publication date February 13). It is aimed at getting local citizens to work with the police department in order to bring about the changes recommended.

The UAW has helped our Council, and we thought you would be interested in the publication.

If you have time also, here is a most interesting editorial from a vigorous Negro newspaper in South Carolina. John McCray, who wrote it, is a fighter; the sweeter, therefore, praise from him of the fruits of reasonableness.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

March 13, 1952

Mr. Philip Widenhouse
Executive Director
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Widenhouse:

Here is a new pamphlet our Council has done.

It has proven already remarkably popular with church and educational groups over the South. We have had large block orders from the Episcopalians, the Methodists, various Negro church bodies, the Georgia Negro teachers' association (500), the Catholic Committee of the South (1,000), and some of our own State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council. The Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church has undertaken to get small groups of women to carry the pamphlet to the sheriff in every county in thirteen Southern States.

Incidentally, the Plymouth Congregational Church in Detroit, through its Men's Club, paid one hundred dollars toward the publication's cost of the pamphlet.

I sent Galen Weaver a copy two or three weeks ago and asked him to work at ways of getting it distributed more widely still.

I wondered if you would not be willing to write to someone at each of the AMA-assisted colleges in the South and see if arrangements could be made for a hundred or two to be purchased and sold or given to students? The right method would be for students to mail the pamphlet to a trusted friend in their home town and ask him to arrange for a small committee to go down and see the chief or the sheriff and try to exact from him some undertaking to pull the force around to these modern standards.

That's a useful action program and not expensive. We still have several thousand copies of the pamphlet at fifteen cents apiece.

Do let me know what you consider workable.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 13, 1952

Rev. Horace A. White
Plymouth Congregational Church
Garfield & Beaubien Sts.
Detroit 1, Mich.

Dear Mr. White:

You and the Men's Club will be pleased to hear of further success with RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Mrs. Tilly, who was a member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, has negotiated an arrangement with the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. They have made it an official part of their program in thirteen Southern States to have small committees of church women take the pamphlet along on a visit to the sheriff. They promise to use maps and get such a visit made to every sheriff in the South.

Our thanks are the warmer to you and the Church for helping on the pamphlet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 14, 1952

Mrs. Max Ascoli
Marion R. Ascoli Fund
100 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Ascoli:

We have had good luck with our most recent booklet.

We published it only on February 13 but have already sold it in good, big blocks to organizations in the South that can get it out usefully. They include the colored teachers of Georgia (500 copies); the appropriate department of the Episcopal Church; the ADL; the Catholic Committee of the South; the Southern Baptists; the Virginia Council of Churches; the AME Church; the Methodist Church, Central Jurisdiction; and our own State Divisions in North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

On top of that, Mrs. Tilly has worked out an arrangement with the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. They have undertaken to get a committee of locak women to carry the pamphlet along for a talk with the sheriff in every county in thirteen Southern States.

We hope all this will start a ground swell of interest in the way the local law enforcement people do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.
Dictated but not read.

March 14, 1952

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
Edgar Stern Family Fund
2110 American Bank Bldg.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Stern:

Here is some report on a successful venture.

We got out February 13 the enclosed booklet. It has already been sold in good, big blocks to the Negro teachers in Georgia; the Catholic Committee of the South; the Anti-Defamation League; the Southern Baptists; the Episcopalians; the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company; the Department of Interracial Cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches; the Georgia and Texas Interracial Commissions; our Southern Regional Council State Divisions in South Carolina, North Carolina, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas; the AME Church; the Methodist Church, Central Jurisdiction; and so on. Most of the sales were in blocks of one, two, or three hundred, and a couple were up to a thousand.

Now, in addition, good Mrs. Tilly has worked an arrangement with the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. The women have undertaken to see, through their local groups, that the booklet is taken by a committee to the sheriff of every county in thirteen Southern States!

My warmest thanks for the much help you have given us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 14, 1952

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hahn:

You will be interested to hear of the successful start with RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. We have sold it already to the following:

Bishop S. L. Greene, AME Church, Atlanta--175
Southeastern Intercouncil Office, National Council of Churches--100
Bishop J. W. E. Bowen, Methodist Church, Central Jurisdiction--100
Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith--667
Social Service Commission, Southern Baptist Convention--25
American Friends Service Committee, Race Relations Program--80
Department of Christian Social Relations, National Council of Protestant Episcopal Church--200
Department of Interracial Cooperation, Virginia Council of Churches--320
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.--100
Georgia Teachers and Education Association--500
Catholic Committee of the South--1,000
Urban League of Kansas City, Mo.--12
Rev. George J. Flanigan, Chattanooga, Tenn.--32
Texas Commission on Race Relations--260
Georgia Interracial Committee--168
North Carolina Division, SRC--200
South Carolina Division--100
Mississippi Division--300
Alabama Division--500
Louisiana Division--200
Kentucky Division--150
Arkansas Division--300

That adds up to about 5,500. In addition, we sent it to our own members and subscribers (3,000).

In the last few days Mrs. Tilly has worked out an arrangement with the Methodists that is most promising. In a great many local Methodist churches the women are organized into the Woman's Society of Christian Service. The Woman's Society of Christian Service has taken on, for both its Southeastern and Southcentral Jurisdictions, the task of getting local church women in every county in each State to carry the pamphlet to the sheriff, and if possible, get something in writing from him showing that he has received it. So we hope to get some ground swell from it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:cc

March 14, 1952

Mr. George E. Rundquist
Field Director
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear George Rundquist:

Many thanks for your letter of March 4. We had not known about the Herald Trib story, and we looked it up. Lesesne has a deft touch. One of the best in the business.

I send separately some copies of the booklet. It has had really remarkable success. We only got it out February 13, but it has already been sold in big blocks to an amazing variety of church and educational organizations who have promised to move it around in the South. On top of that, good Mrs. Tilly has worked out an arrangement with the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, under which their local women have undertaken to have committees go and see the sheriff in every county in thirteen Southern States and take along the pamphlet and talk to the sheriff about it! If we can make that work, it will be a real piece of distribution.

I get to New York every now and then, and will come to see you.

Do help us get the pamphlet known more. We still have a lot we want to sell.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

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in Sixteen Areas

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ORegon 5-5990

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March 4, 1952.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dear George Mitchell:

I read with interest an article in the New York Herald Tribune of Sunday, March 2nd, by Henry Lesesne, that you had been concerned with the problem of better police-race-relations. This problem is not local or confined to the south. We have the same problem in New York, and certainly you have read the reports of the Cicero riots, in which the police and sheriff, instead of preventing violations, actually encouraged them by standing by and doing nothing.

I am much interested to learn that the Southern Regional Council has published a manual entitled, "Race and Law Enforcement: A Guide to Modern Police Practices". Could I have a half/dozen copies for the use of our own Police Practices Committee, and also for the guidance of our branches who are studying the problem of race-police-relations.

I see Broadus once in a while and in that way I attempt to keep in touch with you. If you plan a trip up this way, do let me know as there are many friends and organizations interested in hearing you lecture on Georgia's influences on race-relations.

Kind personal regards,

Yours,

George

George E. Rundquist
Field Director

js

Incorporated — Founded 1920

Rewrite Apr. 9

March 15, 1952

Mr. Harry Roberts
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Va.

Dear Harry:

Here is a copy of a letter I wrote my good friend Dean Faulkner at Fisk. You will see the proposition.

Would you take on trying to work out something of that kind at Virginia State College? We would be very grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 15, 1952

Mrs. Hortense Young
818 S. 6th St.
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mrs. Young:

Another job!

Space for sigh.

I have got Mr. Tydings distributing this good pamphlet, presumably to chiefs of police and sheriffs, over Kentucky. Mrs. Tilly and the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church will also be sending small committees of church women in most Kentucky counties to see the sheriff, taking along the pamphlet.

But we never overdo these things. And I am most anxious to get teachers to know about the pamphlet and try to get action on it.

In Georgia the Teachers and Education Association (which is our Negro teachers' group) bought 500 and undertook to get local principals and teachers to act with it.

For the life of me, I can't get hold of the name of the president or the secretary of the association of Negro teachers in Kentucky. And even if I got his or her name and wrote him or her a letter, in all probability not a lot would happen. Can you find out who the guy is and call him up and hand him or mail him the pamphlet and put before him the question of having his association buy and distribute 200 or 300 copies (fifteen cents apiece, plus postage) from SRC here?

It's a good thing to do; it costs very little; and the teachers are the very best people to do it.

We would be grateful for anything else you might contrive in Kentucky. But do, please, write me what you can or will do on this one.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 15, 1952

Professor H. A. Bullock
Department of Sociology
Texas Southern University
Houston 4, Texas

Dear Mr. Bullock:

Thanks for your nice note of March 10. We have all too little material but are glad to send what we have.

Maybe you could do us a favor. We have just put out this booklet on RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. Object: To get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff and try to bring the force around to these modern standards.

No better group to get action on it than college students who would buy it and mail it home to their trusted friends, asking for something to be done with it.

Could you consult with some student group, such as the local NAACP chapter or the YM or the YW or what, and see if they could work out an arrangement under which three or ten or a hundred students would get it and do that with it?

Fifteen cents apiece.

It has been quite widely bought already in good, big blocks by churches and teachers, and even by businesses. The Texas Commission on Race Relations laid in several hundred and is sending them out to sheriffs and chiefs. And various bodies of church women will be visiting the chiefs locally. But nothing succeeds like friendly, informed, local pressure. And if the friends of some of your students would press, we would be delighted.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
R. O'HARA LANIER, PRESIDENT
HOUSTON 4, TEXAS

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

March 10, 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We wish to take this opportunity to thank you for the information which you were kind enough to send us concerning selected aspects of race relations in Atlanta. We have found this material extremely useful and directly pertinent to the sort of thing we are trying to do.

We are in the process of developing a treatise designed to show some of the changes that have occurred in the field of race relations since the development of volumes pertaining to such phenomena as we usually find in our libraries. As you probably know, changes have been taking place so fast that many of the studies very recently done are now out of date. This is the reason for our inquiry and you have helped us considerably in that direction.

Thanking you for all your kindness, I am

Sincerely yours,

H. A. Bullock

H. A. Bullock, Head
Department of Sociology

/dal

Rewrite Apr. 9

March 15, 1952

Mr. John W. Mitchell
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Va.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I write you because Moron I understand is sick and away, and I want some action at Hampton.

Here is an excellent, small pamphlet we've just got out. It is moving fast. I attach a list of organizations which had bought it up to a few days ago. We have more orders since then.

Object of the whole business: To get local committees of civic-minded people to carry the pamphlet along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff and try to bring the force around to these modern standards.

Observe that Emerson Smith and his group in Virginia have already bought some.

Now a peach of an action outlet would be college students. If some scores of students would buy it and mail it to a trusted person in each student's home town and write the trusted person and ask him to get action, that would really do some good.

At Fisk I write to Dean Faulkner, and I expect action. At Tuskegee, Gomillion. At the University of North Carolina, Guy Johnson.

It's out of your line, I know, but could I ask you to take on the job of getting action at Hampton? We've got thousands of the pamphlets on hand at fifteen cents apiece. We will gladly send them to you or to whomever you direct.

It's a good project for the local YM or YW or for the student chapter of the NAACP or for some other distinctively Hampton group.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 15, 1952

President Hollis Pryce
LeMoyne College
Memphis, Tenn.

Dear Hollis:

Here is a good, new pamphlet we put out. Also a list of outfits we have already sold it to in big blocks. The Tennessee Division is sending one to each sheriff and chief in the State. I'm begging the Negro teachers' organization in Tennessee to buy a flock too. Have written to Mr. Ashton Hayes. Also to Bishop Clayborn for the AME's.

Now a proposition. The finest kind of distribution would be for college students to buy it, one by one, and send it to trusted people in their own home towns and ask those people to get action with the local police force. A committee ought to go and see the chief or the sheriff, and so on.

Could you turn this letter over to your Dean of Students or your Religious Advisor or whomever is proper, and ask him to discuss it with the right students? The local NAACP chapter could take it over. Or the YW or the YM. We've got plenty of copies still to sell at fifteen cents apiece.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 15, 1952

Dean John William Faulkner
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dean Faulkner:

Here is a new pamphlet we have got out. A list also of organizations which have thus far bought it in good, big blocks.

What we want is for small groups of local citizens to take the pamphlet along on a visit to the sheriff or the chief and ask him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

The Tennessee Division of the Council has already undertaken to send a copy of the pamphlet to each sheriff and most chiefs in Tennessee.

Another excellent outlet would be for college students to send a copy of the pamphlet home to some chosen person and ask for that person to bring pressure to bear on the chief or the sheriff to act on these better principles.

We talked some at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council here the other day about how to get that done.

The person in your job is the key man on each campus. He could use any of various organizations. The YMCA or the YW or the student branch of the NAACP.

We've got several thousand copies more of the pamphlet still here. Fifteen cents apiece. Would you explore what could be done at Fisk?

Mind you, I'm not just interested in getting boys and girls to buy them. I want them to send them to their home towns to people who would act with it.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.
Dictated but not read.

March 15, 1952

Mr. David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Ky.

Dear Mr. McCandless:

Here are minutes of a small meeting in Atlanta last month, at which (page 2) mention was made of the Southern Police Training Institute.

You will be interested to hear that RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT is moving quite well. A great variety of church groups have bought it in large blocks, and so have various groups of teachers. The Woman's Society of Christian Service (Methodist Church) has undertaken officially to get committees of church women in every county in thirteen Southern States to carry the pamphlet to the sheriff and obtain from him some evidence that he has received it. That ought to be a pretty powerful engine.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.
Encl.

March 15, 1952

Mr. A. T. Butler
1719 Taylor St.
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mr. Butler:

Emerson has a poem somewhere with a line, "one pulse more of firm endeavor." I remember it when I ask you to do this little job.

No better outfit to distribute our new pamphlet RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT than the Teachers Association. The Georgia Teachers and Education Association bought 500. They will send them around to principals and teachers and ask them to get small groups of local people to take the pamphlet along on a visit to the sheriff or the chief, and try to get him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

I have written duly to Mr. Walker Solomon of the Palmetto State Teachers Association. As yet, he hasn't replied.

Are matters in such a way that you could be in touch with him or his proper subordinates and cause this matter to be acted on?

We've got some thousands of the pamphlet here, and would gladly ship an order over, at fifteen cents apiece, to the Association. You must be having a Statewide meeting before so long.

Do, please, turn about some and advise me what you have been able to do.

Gratefully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

March 17, 1952

President David D. Jones
Bennett College
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Dr. Jones:

We are having remarkable success in getting RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT out into the South. Here is a list of purchasers.

Observe that the North Carolina Division has bought 200 copies and will be getting them out to action people over the State.

But I covet another channel of distribution--through students. If a good many students would get hold of a copy and mail it, with a letter, to a trusted friend in the student's own home town and ask the friend to get action, things would happen.

We've still got plenty of copies, at fifteen cents apiece, here.

Could you ask the appropriate dean of students or religious advisor, or whomever, to explore this possibility? The YM or the YW could do it. The student chapter of the NAACP could do it admirably. We would be most grateful for whatever may be worked out at Bennett.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

March 17, 1952

President Clyde A. Milner
Guilford College
Guilford College, N. C.

Dear Dr. Milner:

We are having remarkable success in getting RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT out into the South. Here is a list of purchasers.

Observe that the North Carolina Division has bought 200 copies and will be getting them out to action people over the State.

But I covet another channel of distribution--through students. If a good many students would get hold of a copy and mail it, with a letter, to a trusted friend in the student's own home town and ask the friend to get action, things would happen.

We've still got plenty of copies, at fifteen cents apiece, here.

Could you ask the appropriate dean of students or religious advisor, or whomever, to explore this possibility? Perhaps some student organization would take over the distribution of the pamphlet.

We would be most grateful for whatever may be worked out at Guilford.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

March 17, 1952

Rev. Almon R. Pepper
Department of Christian Social Relations
National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church
281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Pepper:

We are very grateful indeed for the copy of the March-April issue of CHURCHWAYS, with its grand notice on page 14 of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. How very kind that is!

The booklet is going really well. In addition to the order you gave us, it has been bought by now by the appropriate boards or agencies of nearly every religious denomination (Negro and white) strong in the South, and various educational groups have taken it up too. A Negro life insurance company got a hundred. The New Jersey Department of Education got 200.

We hope that, with the help of all the church groups, it will be possible to get it taken to the sheriff in every Southern county. That ought really to start a movement!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

March 17, 1952

President Jacob L. Reddix
Jackson College
Jackson, Miss.

Dear Mr. Reddix:

Still further on RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, if you will, please.

Back in mid-February we wrote to the head man in each State association of Negro teachers and asked them to consider buying good, big blocks of the pamphlet and spreading it out through their teachers. Mr. Harper here in Georgia bought 500 for the Georgia Teachers and Education Association.

Among others, I wrote Mr. W. W. Blackburn, at 328 Lynch Street, as the head of The Mississippi Association of Teachers in Colored Schools.

He never has answered, though I have sent him a follow-up.

Is it too much to ask you to telephone to him and tell him we are good eggs and this is a good booklet and he and his teachers ought to use it?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

March 17, 1952

Mr. William E. Cole
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tenn.

Dear Bill:

Any way you could promote the sale of this among students? Maybe there's an organization on the campus that would take it up.

Object: To get small groups of local citizens to take the pamphlet along on a visit to the sheriff or the chief and ask him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

Mynders and Charles Johnson will be mailing one out to each sheriff and most police chiefs in the State. But I covet having some students send a copy to home folks and ask home folks to get some action.

Plenty more copies hereabouts at fifteen cents each.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 17, 1952

Mrs. Chris Crittenden
Hayes Barton
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Janet:

Please, Ma'm, a follow-up job, if you would.

We put out this good pamphlet in mid-February. It has gone like hot cakes to church and educational groups all over the South. The Episcies, 200; the Presbies, a few; the Baptists, some; the Methodists, a heap. The AME's, quite a lot. The CME's, a few. The Georgia colored teachers, 500. Mr. Spaulding's life insurance company, a hundred. The Catholic Committee of the South, a thousand. Our Jewish friends in the Anti-Defamation League, 750. And so on.

Object of the pamphlet: To get small groups of local, civic-minded citizens to take it along on a visit to the sheriff or the chief and ask him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

Among others, I wrote February 14 to the head of the North Carolina Negro Teachers Association and asked him to consider whether they would buy a good, big block of them. His name is Mr. W. L. Greene, and his office is at 125 E. Hargett Street in Raleigh. He's my friend.

But things never happen anywhere unless somebody goes to see the guy that's supposed to get them to happen.

Do I ask entirely too much if I ask you to please put on thy hat and thy slippers and go to see Mr. Greene and ask him is he going to buy some?

Affectionately,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 17, 1952

Rev. Russell Bowie
The Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia
Alexandria, Va.

My dear Dr. Bowie:

Here is a good, new pamphlet our Council has put out. It has already been widely bought by church and educational organizations over the South. Object: To get small committees of local, civic-minded persons to take it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff and urge him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

The Department of Christian Social Relations of the National Council very kindly has bought 200 copies, to be mailed out to diocesan secretaries.

I should like for the little pamphlet to be known at the Seminary, where so many who will be in the ministry in the South are trained.

If you will kindly hand these few about, I will be extremely grateful.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

March 17, 1952

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
MAR 19 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It is good to know that more than five thousand copies of "Race and Law Enforcement" already have been sold.

Thank you for writing.

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn

MH:jh

March 17, 1952

President A. W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, La.

Dear Dr. Dent:

We are having remarkable success in getting RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT out into the South. Here's a list of purchasers.

Observe that Father Twomey, for the Louisiana Division, will be getting copies to sheriffs and to many chiefs of police in Louisiana.

But I covet another channel of distribution--through students. If a good many students would get hold of a copy and mail it, with a letter, to a trusted friend in the student's own home town and ask the friend to get action, things would happen.

We've still got plenty of copies, at fifteen cents apiece, here.

Could you ask the appropriate dean of students or religious advisor, or whomever, to explore this possibility? The YM or the YW could do it. The student chapter of the NAACP could do it admirably. We would be most grateful for whatever may be worked out at Dillard.

Sincerely and with warm regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 17, 1952

President Jacob L. Reddix
Mississippi College
Jackson, Miss.

Dear Mr. Reddix:

We are having remarkable success in getting RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT out into the South. Here is a list of purchasers.

Observe that Mr. Long, for the Mississippi Division, has bought 300 copies and will be getting them to action people over the State.

But I covet another channel of distribution--through students. If a good many students would get hold of a copy and mail it, with a letter, to a trusted friend in the student's own home town and ask the friend to get action, things would happen.

We've still got plenty of copies, at fifteen cents apiece, here.

Could you ask the appropriate dean of students or religious adviser, or whomever, to explore this possibility? The YM or the YW could do it. The student chapter of the NAACP could do it admirably. We would be most grateful for whatever may be worked out at the College.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

March 18, 1952

Dr. H. C. Trenholm
State Teachers College
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Mr. Trenholm:

My letter to you of March 17 about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT went out, I see, after you had already helped me work out an arrangement of this kind with Mr. Pierce.

I think State College is doing its duty, and I am grateful to you and to Mr. Pierce, and of course also, to Mr. Hatch, who bought some for the teachers.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 17, 1952

Dr. H. C. Trenholm
State Teachers College
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Dr. Trenholm:

We are having remarkable success in getting RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT out into the South. Here is a list of purchasers.

I am delighted that the Alabama Division has bought 500 copies and will be getting them out to action people over the State.

But I covet another channel of distribution--through students. If a good many students would get hold of a copy and mail it, with a letter, to a trusted friend in the student's own home town and ask the friend to get action, things would happen.

We've still got plenty of copies here, at fifteen cents apiece.

Could you ask the appropriate dean of students or religious advisor, or whomever, to explore this possibility? The YM or the YW could do it. The student chapter of the NAACP could do it admirably. We would be most grateful for whatever may be worked out at the Teachers College.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

March 18, 1952

Mr. Roscoe Dunjee, Editor
The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Dear Mr. Dunjee:

Do dig up my letter to you of February 26 and tell me what can be done in Oklahoma. We would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

president of all the Northern Baptists

February 26, 1952

Mr. Roscoe Dunjee, Editor
Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Dear Mr. Dunjee:

Here is a good pamphlet and a letter I wrote to Mrs. Clement, of the Oklahoma Teachers Association. The letter explains our notion of getting the pamphlet used by local groups.

I wrote one of our few members in Oklahoma, Professor O. D. Duncan at Stillwater, and asked for his suggestions on how to get the pamphlet circulated in Oklahoma. We are too poor to mail them out for free. They cost fifteen cents apiece. In the other Southern States we have been able to get our own organization or some friendly group to buy two, three, or five hundred and mail them out themselves. They go properly to police departments and college libraries and churches and school teachers and any other known civic-minded groups.

How can I get it to move in Oklahoma? Mr. Duncan listed some of the various professors at Langston; said I ought to send it to the Chambers of Commerce, to the libraries of eighteen or twenty colleges, and to the police chiefs at twenty of your cities with considerable Negro populations.

I'm too broke to do all that, much as I would want to.

If it strikes you as worthwhile, do you think you might look around and find somebody or some organization in the State who would buy a hundred or two copies and mail them out to the right people?

It's only been out a couple of weeks, and we have already had orders from a long string of organizations. The Anti-Defamation League, the Catholic Committee of the South, the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States, the Southern Presbyterians, the Methodist Church, Central Jurisdiction, the Methodist Church in general, AME, the Southern Baptist Convention, the Georgia Teachers and Education, and so on.

Association

Do give it some thought and see what might be done usefully in Oklahoma.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. The Texas Commission on Race Relations (which has just changed its name to that from the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation) ordered 260 copies today. They will mail one to the chief police officer in every county in Texas.

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

SRC file

February 26, 1952

Professor O. D. Duncan, Head
Dept. of Sociology & Rural Life
Oklahoma A&M College
Stillwater, Okla.

Dear Mr. Duncan:

You are a good, careful person, generous of your time and help, and we are grateful for it.

I have sent copies of the pamphlet to Mrs. Clement of the Teachers Association, and I have written Roscoe Dunjee and asked him to scratch around and find some organization that would buy two or three hundred and mail them out.

If that fails, I will reluctantly send some to the police chiefs and the colleges and so on in Oklahoma. But they would do a lot less good coming from here, and we really haven't got the money either.

I do hope Roscoe Dunjee will move on it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE
STILLWATER

RECEIVED
FEB 21 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 19, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Replying to your letter of February 15, I have the following suggestions for getting out the bulletin on Race and Law Enforcement:

1. Write Dr. Oliver Hodge, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Capitol, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma for a list of the Negro school principals in Oklahoma (Not all towns in Oklahoma have Negro schools).

2. Mail copies to superintendents of schools in Oklahoma towns

3. Send distribution copies to Mrs. Cernoria D. Johnson, Urban League, Oklahoma City

4. Send copies to the following Langston University Professors at Langston, Oklahoma:
President G. L. Harrison
Mrs. Thelma D. Perry
Dean R. P. Perry
Dean Moore (I do not know his initials)
Chaplain, Langston University
School of Religion, Langston, Oklahoma
Librarian Langston University

5. Contact Mrs. Ella Lee Clement, Secretary, Oklahoma Teachers Association, Booker T. Washington School, Seminole, Oklahoma

6. Copy to Mr. Roscoe Dunjee, Editor, Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Copy to The Eagle, Tulsa, Oklahoma (I do not know the name of the editor or publisher).

7. Secretaries of Chambers of Commerce in Oklahoma towns of 5,000 or more.

8. Libraries of Oklahoma colleges
Southwestern State College, Weatherford
Northwestern State College, Alva
Central State College, Edmond
Southeastern State College, Durant
East Central State College, Ada
Northeastern State College, Tahlequah
University of Oklahoma, Norman

Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee
Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City
University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma
Panhandle A. & M. College, Goodwell
Cameron Agricultural College, Lawton
Murray Agricultural College, Tishomingo
Northeastern A & M College, Miami
Warner Agricultural College, Warner
Wilburton Agricultural College, Wilburton
Okmulgee Branch A&M College, Okmulgee
Oklahoma Military Academy, Claremore
Central Christian College, Bartlesville
Phillips University, Enid
Bethany Peniel College, Bethany
Oklahoma Junior College, Tonkawa
Altus Junior College, Altus
Okla. A&M College, Stillwater
Library, Fort Sill, Lawton

9. Prison libraries
State Penitentiary, McAlester
State Reformatory, Granite
Federal Reformatory, El Reno

10. I think probably I would send a copy to the police chiefs in the following towns:

Muskogee	Tulsa	Shawnee	Durant
Oklahoma City	Enid	Guthrie	Seminole
Bartlesville	Hugo	Ada	Pauls Valley
Lawton	Stillwater	Ardmore	Okmulgee
Henryetta	Sapulpa	Wewoka	Weleetka

11. Oklahoma City and Tulsa both have Y.M. & Y.W.C.A. organizations. It is possible that one might prevail upon them to buy a number of copies and distribute them locally, stamping each copy with the words, "Distributed with the compliments of (name of organization and city)." The same would apply to Chambers of Commerce in the larger towns, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Muskogee, Enid, Lawton, Ardmore, etc.

12. This is a project in which it might be possible to interest the League of Women Voters in the larger towns. They literally suffer for something to do, as a rule. Then, there are the Business and Professional women, likewise usually in need of something to make them happy. Still another organization is the American Association of University women, of which there is an active group in Oklahoma. Then, don't forget the State P.T.A.--Congress of Mothers (Oklahoma City).

I think the bulletin would have use in Oklahoma. We have a few Negroes and some Indians, enough to have a segregation pattern. There are some Negro policemen in Oklahoma, and we have one in Stillwater. They are usually

assigned to Negro districts, and they often call white police for help, although they have power to arrest anyone making disturbances in their territory.

I have suggested a number of people and groups who might be interested, especially in case you want to know to whom to send the bulletin, as well as some organizations whom you might try to interest in helping bear some of the cost of its distribution. I hope this proves helpful.

Sincerely yours,

O. D. Duncan

O. D. Duncan, Head
Department of Sociology & Rural Life
Oklahoma A. & M. College
Stillwater

ODD/abb

United Steelworkers of America

PHILIP MURRAY
PRESIDENT

DAVID J. McDONALD
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Committee on Civil Rights

1500 COMMONWEALTH BUILDING · PITTSBURGH 22, PA.

GRANT 1-5254

THOMAS W. SHANE
CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH GERMANO
JOSEPH T. McNICHOLS
JAMES DICKERSON
BERT HOUGH
FRANCIS C. SHANE
SECRETARY

4

March 18, 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 20 1952
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
MAR 20 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of February 6, 1952 addressed to David J. McDonald, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Steelworkers of America, has been referred to me.

I am sorry that I have not been able to reply before this late date, but I have just returned to the City after an extended absence and intend to write to Mr. Crawford, Director of District 35 USA with respect to your publication, "Race and Law Enforcement".

As soon as I have received a reply from Mr. Crawford I will contact you further on this matter.

Sincerely,

Francis C. Shane

Francis C. Shane
Secretary

FCS/vj

March 5, 1952

Mr. David J. McDonald
Secretary-Treasurer
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Bldg.
Pittsburgh 22, Pa.

Dear Mr. McDonald:

When lately I showed a copy of this new booklet of the Council's to Paul Williams, he said that, by all means, you ought to have a copy.

We have had extremely good luck in getting it sold in big blocks to church and lay groups for distribution to their members. Object: To get small groups of civic-minded people, after studying it, to take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff and urge him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

We continue to be grateful for the kind help of the United Steelworkers to our Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.
Dictated but not read.

February 6, 1952

Mr. David J. McDonald, Treasurer
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Bldg.
Pittsburgh 22, Pa.

Dear Mr. McDonald:

We have been working for years to get improvement in the way local police forces in the South handle colored people.

We hope we will really move things with this pamphlet (official publication date February 13). It isn't aimed so much at the police departments as it is at getting local citizens to work with the force in bringing about the recommended improvements. We are pulling every cord we can to get local action of this kind. I'll be asking Bill Crawford and others of your people in the South to help on getting the pamphlet known.

If you have time also, here is a most interesting editorial from a vigorous Negro newspaper in South Carolina. John McCray, who wrote it, is a fighter; the sweeter, therefore, is the praise from him of the fruits of reasonableness.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

SRC — Staff Memos

MEMO TO KS March 18, 1952

On this March 14-18 trip I collected dues from the following:

Mr. G. T. Dowdy, Box 971, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. (new member)
Mr. E. C. Gilliam, Box 791, Tuskegee Institute (new member)
Mr. Ernest Delpit, 3631 2nd St., New Orleans. (Former member of the Board. Removed from Board for non-payment of dues. GSM encountered and picked $3.00 from him.)

Mr. L. F. Potts, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. Verify initials L. F. Present or former member. Gave $25, which should cover dues and contribution. Each of the others above listed gave $3.00 dues.

Teachers

Dr. Robert C. Hatch, Alabama State/College, Montgomery--$3.00

Deliveries were made on the following purchases of R&LE:

Dean Gomillion at Tuskegee Inst.—200. Bill him.
Alabama State Teachers Association, 150. Send bill to Dr. Robert C. Hatch, State Teachers College, Montgomery.
Rev. R. A. Daly, 524 South St., Montgomery, 20 cc. Bill him.
Prof. J. E. Pierce, Alabama State Teachers College, Montgomery, 150 cc. Bill him.
Rev. O. R. Flournoy, 792 S. Holt St., Montgomery, 15cc. Pd. GSM $2.00.
National Baptist Convention, 100 cc. Bill
Rev. D. V. Jemison, 1605 Lapsley St., Selma.

Father Twomey told me he had not yet had a bill from you for the copies of R&LE which he has received. Please check over, and if need be, bill him.

You owe GSM $1.45 from the $20 bill.

Please note request for new name to be notified on one membership blank and request for info. on another.

La. Workers Education group paid me their covenanted $50. Expenses herewith. Against this I have in advance $35, and the sum of the expense account Miss Emily will give you is technically payable to GSM. I have endorsed the $50 check as payable to SRC.

If SRC owes me something on this single deal, I suggest you apply what it may owe me to what I may owe it on the last two or three trips. Let me know if there's a balance, and I will settle.

GSM

March 18, 1952

Mr. George A. Long
1625 Milton St.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Long:

Sorry to have missed you at 315 South Rampart Street Saturday afternoon.

Do get the Association to buy several hundred copies of the pamphlet and get them out to local communities. The teachers could make the very best use of them.

I think I told you that the Georgia State Teachers and Education Association bought 500.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 18, 1952

Mrs. Herbert H. Davidson
The News-Journal
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Davidson:

Here is a copy of a letter I wrote my good friend, Dean Faulkner, at Fisk. You will see what the proposition is.

Could you take on making the same proposal to the appropriate person at Bethune-Cookman? We would be very grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
F. G. CLARK, PRESIDENT
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

March 19, 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 24 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am asking Dean M. L. Harvey, our dean of students, to contact either our student branch NAACP, Inter-Fraternal Council or some other organization in keeping with your request that they consider purchasing, for redistribution, copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, with particular reference to the South. My belief is that some of our student organizations will be definitely interested in doing this particular social service for the good of improved inter-racial relations and a better south, nation , and world.

Sincerely yours,

Felton G. Clark,
President.

cc: Dean M. L. Harvey

March 17, 1952

President Felton G. Clark
Louisiana Southern University
(Scotlandville)
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Dr. Clark:

We are having remarkable success in getting RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT out into the South. Here is a list of purchasers.

Observe that Father Twomey, for the Louisiana Division, will be getting copies to sheriffs and to many chiefs of police in Louisiana.

But I covet another channel of distribution---through students. If a good many students would get hold of a copy and mail it, with a letter, to a trusted friend in the student's own home town and ask the friend to get action, things would happen.

We've still got plenty of copies, at fifteen cents apiece, here.

Could you ask the appropriate dean of students or religious advisor, or whomever, to explore this possibility? The YM or the YW could do it. The student chapter of the NAACP could do it admirably. We would be most grateful for whatever may be worked out at Southern.

Sincerely and with warm regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

March 19, 1952

Mr. John E. Montgomery
Chief of Police
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dear Mr. Montgomery:

You wrote March 17 about things that might be helpful on the matter of employing Negro policemen.

Here are three copies of a recent booklet we did on race and law enforcement. On page 12 something is said about that general subject.

I send also a list as up to date as we have it of Southern cities now using Negro policemen.

I am informed that Captain Jackson, of the New Orleans police department, has nearly completed preparation of a manual on human relations for use in that department.

We have followed pretty closely the movement to put on Negro policemen in the South, and have heard remarkably little complaint coming from any of the cities and towns which have done it. An occasional one of the new Negro policemen has had to be dropped from the force for some breach of discipline. But we have nowhere heard that this was disproportionate among the Negro members of the force. It has been interesting also to see the number of cities which have at first put on only two men or four, and have within a year or two taken on several more.

The most elaborate work done thus far on human relations training is Mr. Joseph Lohman's book POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS, available from the Chicago Park District Police. A quite similar volume was published also by the police department of Louisville, Kentucky, and should be available from the chief there.

If there is anything we can do, we would want to be helpful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

W. H. CATES
MAYOR-COMMISSIONER
B. A. RAGSDALE
MAYOR PRO TEM-COMMISSIONER
WILLIAM T. MAYO
COMMISSIONER
H. G. EASTERWOOD
COMMISSIONER
H. C. SUMMITT
COMMISSIONER

CITY OF TALLAHASSEE
FLORIDA

M. N. YANCEY
CITY MANAGER
GEORGE C. WHITE
AUDITOR-CLERK
JAMES MESSER, JR.
CITY ATTORNEY
JULIAN R. ALFORD
MUNICIPAL JUDGE

March 17, 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

This City contemplates employing negro policemen in the near future. Do you have any booklets or articles on Race and law enforcement which may be of value in setting up this proposed program?

Your recommendations and assistance in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

John E. Montgomery

John E. Montgomery,
Chief of Police

March 19, 1952

Mr. Galen R. Weaver
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Galen:

Many thanks for your letter of March 12 about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

In our own thinking we divide the problem of distributing the pamphlet into two parts: (1) small towns and country counties, and (2) cities. In the first one I am not afraid of double effort. If it happens, it will do good, and it will take many pressures to see that somebody does see the sheriff in every county. But in the second one you are right. And I take it most of your people in the South are in or near cities. The only device we have for dealing with that is to exert our pressure in consultation with the local Council of Church Women. So if you will send me the names of any people that Miss Hargrove or Mrs. McClintock can think of, we can be sure that those local persons are consulted when the local church women are preparing to make their visit.

You could help immediately if you would buy enough copies to send one from your office to each of your ministers in the South. And there is another whole channel through the students at AMA colleges. On this, see the enclosed to Widenhouse. Maybe you can help move that further.

The pamphlet continues to move admirably.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

GALEN R. WEAVER
RELIGION AND RACE

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1952
Southern Regional Council

March 12, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I would like you to know that I have not ignored your inquiry regarding what Congregational Christian women might do in relation to the approach you have suggested to police chiefs in southern cities. I have read with real interest your Guide to modern police practices and find it very excellently done. I have conferred with Miss Margaret Hargrove who is our National Secretary for Women's Work. She is quite new in this job and not widely acquainted as yet. For this reason she is conferring with Mrs. Berta McClintock, her predecessor, about people whom we might contact in strategic cities. I hope very much that something definite will come of this although I can see a problem if church women from various denominations undertake to duplicate an approach of this kind. I would think that for this reason it would perhaps be better, if we do turn up some hopeful names, to forward them to you and let you write to them directly. We could write from here a supporting letter. In this way the people in a given city could be put in touch with each other and act cooperatively in developing their strategy. Will you tell me whether you think this procedure would be the most desirable?

With sincere personal good wishes,

Very cordially yours,

Galen

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:a

The program of Religion and Race, including the work of George Thomas of Los Angeles, is jointly supported by the American Missionary Association Division and the Council for Social Action.

March 19, 1952

Mr. J. E. Haynes
Box 81
Ruston, La.

Dear Mr. Haynes:

I've been sending letters for several weeks to Mr. George A. Longe, 1625 Milton Street, New Orleans, in the vein of this original to him.

I can't get him to answer.

I was in New Orleans last week-end and tried to find him, but failed.

Friends at the meeting I went to told me that you had, most dismally, had a wreck and were laid up in the hospital at Baton Rouge. I am very sorry.

When you get well, do give this a check-in and see what can be done. We would be most grateful, not only for selling the pamphlets, but mainly for your getting them into places where they will really help.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 20, 1952

Mr. Elmer Martin Lancaster
Adviser on Negro Affairs
Department of Commerce
Office of the Secretary
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lancaster:

I send you forthwith three copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT for free. We hope that somebody there will be able to buy a goodish quantity (fifteen cents apiece) and get them around pretty generally to people who can bring some pressure on the police force.

We have no official connection with the Southern Police Institute at Louisville, but I do have a copy of a bulletin they put out some months ago. Herewith. You will find Mr. McCandless out there, who runs the Institute, a grand fellow who wants to be really helpful.

We have been urging Elmer Henderson to stock several hundred copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT and get it out to members of his component organizations. We would be grateful if you would talk with Mr. Henderson about this and try to get it through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON 25

March 18, 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 20 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As a result of recent police brutality in the District of Columbia, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and 39 Negro Civic associations have formed a united group to urge disciplinary action toward certain police officers who have made unwarranted insults upon Negro citizens. We are planning in the future to recommend to the District Commissioners an adequate training program for police officers of the Metropolitan area.

In order that we might study the best plan and program to be instituted in the District, we respectfully request several copies of the pamphlet on "Race and Law Enforcement" and the program and curriculum of the Police Training Division of Louisville, Kentucky.

In view of our deep interest in the subject, we urge that our inquiry be given your immediate consideration.

Very truly yours,

Emmer Martin Lancaster

Emmer Martin Lancaster
Adviser on Negro Affairs

EML:dmj

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RECEIVED
MAR 24 1952
Atlanta Regional Council

March 20, 1952.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

I note that my secretary has thanked you for the pamphlets on "Race and Law Enforcement", but I would like to convey my thanks also.

You can be certain that I will distribute the copies in the places where I think they will do the most good, and that I will bring the pamphlets to the attention of as many groups as I believe will be interested.

When you come to town, I'll see that you get a good Yankee meal!

Sincerely,

George

George E. Rundquist
Field Director
American Civil Liberties Union

js
dictated but
not read.

March 21, 1952

Dr. Lucius M. Bristol
114 N. W. 14th St.
Gainesville, Fla.

Dear Dr. Bristol:

Hal Lewis told me to write you about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. Here is a copy.

It is a good thing and ought to be got into the hands, not only of sheriffs and chiefs, but of local people all over the State who can help build public opinion. We are getting that done pretty well in most of the Southern States, through churches and other organizations and through our own members. Thus far I haven't been able to get final decision from the Florida Division of the Southern Regional Council, but hope they will undertake it in Florida.

In any case, I wanted you to see the pamphlet and try it for such sparks as it may strike with you.

They are fifteen cents apiece, and we still have plenty.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 21, 1952

Mr. Hal G. Lewis
University of Florida
College of Education
Gainesville, Fla.

Dear Hal:

I am glad you have some prospect of coming up this way. Do come to see us. Glad to have you stay at our house if you can be in town overnight or longer. 906 Lullwater Road, in Druid Hills. Telephone, DE 5961. At the office we are WA 1321.

I have hopes that the Florida Division of the Southern Regional Council is going to send the RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT booklet out to sheriffs and chiefs, but they haven't yet made up their mind. I am mailing a copy to Dr. Bristol and asking him to concern himself with the whole problem.

Mighty kind of you to offer to scare up the money to get it around. I may have to take you up, but I hope that my Jacksonville man will come through on it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:cc

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

March 13, 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Congratulations on a good pamphlet, "Race and Law Enforcement". I have been trying to come up with a good idea but I don't seem to have rung the bell yet. I have only one suggestion. Dr. Lucius M. Bristol, 114 N. W. 14th Street, Gainesville, is head of a recently organized civic association in one area of Gainesville. He is a retired Professor of Sociology from the University of Florida and has a social conscience. You probably don't remember him, but you met him after your speech in the P. K. Yonge Auditorium, a short, white-haired man, and the father-in-law of the woman who got you into Tallahassee. I believe that he will respond with some type of action if you will write to him.

Will it do any good simply to circulate all the sheriffs and police chiefs of Florida with this pamphlet if some way could be found to defray the cost? I will undertake to get the money here in this building to do that if you believe that mailing the pamphlet to them without any punch behind it will do any good.

I am going to try mine on the local police chief to see what happens.

I may be in Atlanta later this month. If I am, I'll call you.

Sincerely,

Hal Lewis

Hal G. Lewis

HGL/F

R&LE

March 21, 1952

Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie
864 Hunter St., SW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Birnie:

Here is the list of our members in Orangeburg. We hope that some of these are the ones you helped bring in.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 21, 1952

SRC MEMBERS IN ORANGEBURG, S. C.

Mr. & Mrs. J. E. Blanton
RFD 1, Box 99, Cordova
Orangeburg, S. C.

Mr. Gabe Buckman
State College

Mr. J. Wilson Cutliff
State College

Mr. Rudolph Jones
State College

Prof. Leo Kerford
State A&M College

Mr. Alonzo Robinson
193 E. Russell St.

Dr. J. J. Seabrook
Clafin University

Mr. Paul Simmons
State College

Mr. James E. Sulton
Russell St. Ext.

Mrs. M. B. Wilkinson
State A&M College

AMHERST 3656

CASSANDRA E. MAXWELL
ATTORNEY AT LAW
864 HUNTER ST., S. W.
ROOMS E AND G
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
MAR 21
Southern

March 19, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of March 18 and the extra copies of Race and Law Enforcement. I will let you know if I am able to dispose of some copies in Orangeburg.

I would appreciate your letting me have the names of these people in Orangeburg who placed their membership with me sometime ago. I believe I could get many of them to renew their membership if you were to give me this information.

Sincerely,

Cassandra M. Birnie

CMB:m

Cassandra Maxwell Birnie

March 18, 1952

Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie
864 Hunter St., SW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Birnie:

I believe you were going to write to people at Orangeburg and see if they could be interested in getting some of the students to buy and use copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Here are a couple of extra ones for you, anyway.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 25, 1952

Mr. William Spearman, Sr.
1740 Dumesnil St.
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mr. Spearman:

On my good friend, Mrs Hortense Young's, advice, I sent this original to your president. I particularly solicit your own active interest in this. It is a good thing to do, and the teachers can help a lot.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.
Encl.

March 25, 1952

Mr. Robert L. Dowery
328 Bradshaw St.
Shelbyville, Ky.

Dear Mr. Dowery:

I am told you've got a meeting of the KNEA coming up pretty soon.

I do hope that before the meeting you will want to provide yourself with several hundred copies of the enclosed pamphlet.

We put it out February 13. It has gone out in good, big blocks to a great variety of church organizations, white and Negro, all over the South. They include: the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Church; AME Church (Bishop Greene); the Methodist Church, Central Jurisdiction (Bishop Bowen), the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention; the National Baptist Convention; the American Friends Service Committee; and so on. The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company got a hundred to send out to agents.

It has been bought in large quantities by students at five or six leading Southern universities. The Georgia State Teachers and Education Association got 500. The Alabama State Teachers began the other day with 150. The Virginia Teachers Association will bring the matter up to its Executive Committee in a few days. Some of the labor organizations have bought good quantities.

Object: To get small committees of local, civic-minded persons to take it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff and urge him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

It is this kind of local pressure which will do the most good. I think it fair to assume that the sheriffs and most of the chiefs of police in Kentucky will have been sent copies in the next few days. The Kentucky Division of the Southern Regional Council, through Mr. J. M. Tydings, is taking care of that. And members of the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church have undertaken to carry it to each sheriff. But things are not really going to change unless the

sheriffs feel the weight of an altering public opinion. And that's where the teachers and their friends come in.

I do most earnestly hope, therefore, that the Association will get in enoughto enable distribution quite widely to teachers in the State. The pamphlets are fifteen cents apiece, and we have any reasonable quantity here.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.
Encl.

March 25, 1952

Mrs. Hortense Young
818 S. 6th St.
Louisville 3, Ky.

Dear Mrs. Young:

Many thanks for your kind letter. Here are my deeds. If you see Mr. Spearman, give him some urging, please.

Congratulations on the law!

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.
Encls.

C. MILTON YOUNG, M. D.
PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON
OFFICE & RESIDENCE, 818 SO. 6TH ST.
LOUISVILLE 3, KY.

20 March 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 24 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue.N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I know why you are the successful executive you are - you have a way of making people find time to do the things you want done by that subtle, persuasive manner you have. I should be trying to interpret clauses in cases on Constitutional Law right now, and I find myself pecking out this letter in order that I might aid in distributing this very informative and valuable pamphlet on RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. I am always weak for worthy causes.

The Kentucky Education Associations - Negro and white - will be meeting in Louisville around April 16th. Schools are closed the week they meet over the state. I should think it would be appropriate time to make good contacts and attempt a concentrated effort to get at least one teacher and principal from every school represented at the associations to purchase the pamphlet.

The President of the KNEA is Mr. Robert L. Dowery, 328 Bradshaw Street, Shelbyville, Kentucky. The secretary is Mr. William Spearman,Sr., 1740 Dumesnil Street, Louisville, Kentucky. The secretary is quite a"live wire" and will have the addresses of every member of the Negro Association.

This is about all the "ideas" I can contribute at this time. As Mr. Tydings has perhaps told you - I am now struggling trying to get a law degree at the University of Louisville. The study is very difficult, what with young,inexperienced teachers teaching an old woman - we are seeing hard times. But it is the most fascinating thing I have ever done and I enjoy every minute of it. My scholarship is very poor if you judge by my grades, but I am learning a whole lot o' law that I shall use advantageously one of these days. You can understand when I say that nothing short of the good causes you enlist me in would have made me lose these precious minutes from digging out the cases I have to have prepared for tomorrow. Glad to be able to do this little bit.

Sincerely,

Hortense

March 25, 1952

Rev. Horace Leonard
4517 Thalia St.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Leonard:

I talked the other evening with Rev. R. W. Coleman about ways of getting the enclosed booklet usefully distributed in Louisiana.

You can see in a moment or two what it is and the good it can do.

Arrangements have been made through the Louisiana Division of the Southern Regional Council for copies of the booklet to be sent to each sheriff and to most local chiefs of police. Also the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church has undertaken to get local church women (through the Council of Church Women, wherever practicable) to take along a copy of it on a visit to the sheriff or the chief and urge him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

But there remains the major job of getting it into the hands of civic-minded people, town by town, neighborhood by neighborhood, who can help build a better public opinion on this question.

Mr. Coleman thought that, on behalf of your Convention, you would be in a position to buy several hundred copies and mail them out, with a mimeoed letter from you, to ministers and lay people who you know could be effective in reaching the public conscience.

I do most cordially hope that you will find it possible to help in this way.

It has seemed to many church groups a wholesome and badly-needed local action effort.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 21, 1952

Rev. E. B. Billups, President
Louisiana Baptist Convention
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Brother Billups:

This Southern Regional Council here has recently printed the enclosed booklet, called RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. We would like to suggest that, on behalf of the Louisiana Baptist Convention, you purchase several hundred copies of it and enlist the aid of your ministers and leading lay people in getting it distributed usefully throughout Louisiana.

President Jenison has already bought some for the Convention as a whole, but the booklet will do the most good in small places, and it is going to take a detailed distribution job to get it out to people in the local communities.

The booklet is written in a fair-minded way. It could hardly cause offense, even in prejudiced quarters. And if it reaches concerned people in many places, it will importantly affect public opinion and police behavior.

The Council offers them at fifteen cents a piece. It has been bought in blocks of several hundred, and up to a thousand, byt a large number of church and other organizations already, though it has only been in print since February 13.

The careful distribution of the booklet is an admirable action program which our Baptist people would do well to undertake, and we warmly hope that you will cause a substantial number to be bought and sent out among Louisiana Baptists.

Sincerely,

Benjamin E. Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

William Holmes Borders, Pastor
Wheat Street Baptist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

March 21, 1952

Rev. W. H. Buckner, President
Louisiana Sunday School Congress
Franklin, La.

Dear Mr. Buckner:

The Southern Regional Council at its office here in Atlanta has lately put out the enclosed booklet on RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. It is a simple statement of the rules and standards which ought to be followed by police people and sheriffs and deputies in all matters of race. If distributed in the right way, it can do a great deal of good.

We write to ask your very particular help in getting it distributed in Louisiana.

The Louisiana Division of the Southern Regional Council is undertaking to mail a copy to each sheriff and most chiefs of police in the State. Various white church women, parish by parish, will also, we are told, be carrying a copy of it to the sheriff in most of the parishes. But it is of great importance for the booklet to be put into the hands of thoughtful and civic-minded people all over the State. The police forces will only change if they feel the pressure of a changing public opinion.

Could you not arrange for the purchase of several hundred copies of the booklet, each one to be mailed out by you to church and Sunday school leaders who you think will make effective use of it in their own communities? The Council has them for sale at fifteen cents apiece.

We hope that Mr. Billups will get some also for the Louisiana Baptist Convention. But we covet particularly your own channels of distribution.

Do write either of us what you think you can do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Benjamin E. Mays, President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

William Holmes Borders, Pastor
Wheat Street Baptist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

March 19, 1952

Rev. R. W. Coleman
Box 5255
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Coleman:

A pleasure to be with you at the dinner and later on during the week-end institute.

I find Mr. Mays out of town until Monday and haven't yet been able to reach Mr. Borders by phone. But as soon as I can line them both up, I hope they will agree to help me in writing to Mr. Billups and Mr. Buckner.

If you don't belong to our cause, I do wish you would join. We ought to have you. There's a blank toward the end of the enclosed leaflet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

March 19, 1952

Call Dr. Mays about getting Rev. E. B. Billups of Baton Rouge, Pres. of the La. Baptist Convention, to buy 1,000 copies of R&LE, inasmuch as the Rev. R. W. Coleman of New Orleans told me that Billups would be thus moved by Borders and Mays.

I was advised also to write to the Rev. Horace Leonard, 4517 Thalier St., New Orleans. He could buy a thousand. GSM can write to him GSM's own self, using Rev. R. W. Coleman's name. Leonard is head of what is called The Boyd Convention, or the old Freedman's Association. Mystery to me, but said to be important.

A joint Mitchell, Mays, Borders letter should be sent also to Rev. W. H. Buckner, Franklin, La., addressing him as the pres. of the La. Sunday School Congress Convention, ~~Louisiana Sunday School Congress.~~ He could buy a thousand.

March 25, 1952

President C. W. Troup
Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Ga.

Dear Mr. Troup:

We are having remarkable success in getting the enclosed pamphlet out into the South. Object: To get small committees of local, civic-minded persons to take it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff and urge him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

Here is a list of purchasers. Observe that the Georgia Committee will be getting the pamphlet out to action people over the State.

But I covet another channel of distribution--through students. If a good many students would get hold of a copy and mail it, with a letter, to a trusted friend in the student's own home town and ask the friend to get action, things would happen.

We've still got plenty of copies, at fifteen cents apiece, here.

Could you ask the appropriate dean of students or religious advisor, or whomever, to explore this possibility? Perhaps the student Christian association or the student chapter of the NAACP could do it. We will be most grateful for whatever may be worked out at Fort Valley.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

March 25, 1952

President Rufus B. Atwood
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Ky.

Dear Mr. Atwood:

We are having remarkable success in getting RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT out into the South. Here is a list of purchasers.

Observe that Mr. Tydings, for the Kentucky Division, will be getting copies to sheriffs and to many chiefs of police in Kentucky.

But I covet another channel of distribution--through students. If a good many students would get hold of a copy and mail it, with a letter, to a trusted friend in the student's own home town and ask the friend to get action, things would happen.

We've still got plenty of copies, at fifteen cents apiece, here.

Could you ask the appropriate dean of students or religious advisor, or whomever, to explore this possibility? The YM or the YW could do it. The student chapter of the NAACP could do it admirably. We would be most grateful for whatever may be worked out at Kentucky State.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

March 25, 1952

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Dept. of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Guy:

I call on you for everything. Sinful.

We thought we could get more copies of the police pamphlet out if students had the suggestion made to them that they buy it, one by one, and mail it to friends in their own home towns who might be persuaded by a letter from the student to take action.

Could you pass this good idea on to some student leader at Chapel Hill and see if he likes it? We could supply the organization with a stack of copies. If need be, we could supply the student book store with some.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.
Encl.

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
MAR 26
Southern Regional Council

March 24, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I appreciate copy of minutes of meeting in Atlanta last month, and the reference made by you to the Southern Police Institute. I know you are sure that I am appreciative of the assistance given to us by the Council. I have every hope of seeing you this summer during my trip through the South.

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless, Director

DAMcC:c

March 26, 1952

President Aaron Brown
Albany State College
Albany, Ga.

Dear Mr. Brown:

Very kind of you to spend time with me yesterday to bring in the others to talk about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. Do let me know if some can be ordered from there.

Here is a copy of RACE IN THE NEWS.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.
Encl.

Green Copy

March 27, 1952

Mr. Walter W. Sikes, National Director
Social Education
United Christian Missionary Society
Division of Home Missions
222 S. Downey Ave.
Indianapolis 7, Ind.

Dear Mr. Sikes:

Many thanks for your letter of March 24. Sorry about illness and so on.

Here is the booklet in print, as you supposed.

It is getting good circulation, but I covet for it the extra help your church could give.

We've sold it in good big blocks to appropriate boards in most denominations with strength in the South. The Southern Baptist Convention (not many, but some); the National Baptist Convention; AME; the Methodist Church, Central Jurisdiction; the Episcopalians; and some others. The Negro teachers' associations in Georgia and Alabama have bought a lot. So has the Catholic Committee of the South. So has the ADL. A Negro life insurance company is sending out a hundred to its agents. Even the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination got a hundred. And the CIO Department of Education got five hundred.

The most hopeful plan is that worked out by the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, which, for both its Southeastern and Southcentral Jurisdictions, has taken responsibility for getting small groups of church women (not necessarily Methodists) in every county in thirteen Southern States to carry a booklet along on a visit to the sheriff or the chief.

The Southern Presbyterians have also made distribution of the booklet an official part of their summer program.

Still, these things do not mean that it reaches all communities. Nor is a single copy in a city or county enough to do a lot of good. It will take an altered public opinion to alter police practices.

Could not you get out some copies to ministers and lay people in Southern communities? We have got any reasonable quantity here at fifteen cents apiece.

Have no fear of overlapping. In the larger cities our efforts will be worked through the Council of Church Women, which would bring in your people. What we want is more people interested in getting the thing done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

A. DALE FIERS, President MISS JESSIE M. TROUT, Vice-President MISS MAYBLE M. EPP, Secretary FRANCIS W. PAYNE, Treasurer

THE UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY

A Board of Missions and Education

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

James A. Crain,
Executive Secretary
Walter W. Sikes,
National Director
Social Education
Mrs. Ruth Estes Milner,
National Director
Church and Community Service

March 24, 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 26 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your letter of January 24, together with a draft of the pamphlet on Community Action in Race Relations have been before me for some time now.

Unfortunately, illness and absence from my office, and similar experiences on the part of my chief, Dr. James A. Crain, have prevented our discussion of the possibility of using this pamphlet.

I presume by now the pamphlet will have been published, and if you would like to send a sample copy of it, we will discuss this and possible uses of it, and will communicate with you regarding the uses which we may be able to make of this material.

Cordially yours,

Walter W. Sikes

WWS:c-784

DICTATED BY THE WRITER,
SIGNED AND FORWARDED
IN HIS ABSENCE

Walter W. Sikes
National Director
Social Education

March 27, 1952

Mr. Walter W. Sikes, National Director
Social Education
United Christian Missionary Society
Division of Home Missions
222 S. Downey Ave.
Indianapolis 7, Ind.

Dear Mr. Sikes:

Many thanks for your letter of March 24. Sorry about illness and so on.

Here is the booklet in print, as you supposed.

It is getting good circulation, but I covet for it the extra help your church could give.

We've sold it in good big blocks to appropriate boards in most denominations with strength in the South. The Southern Baptist Convention (not many, but some); the National Baptist Convention; AME; the Methodist Church, Central Jurisdition; the Episcopalians; and some others. The Negro teachers' associations in Georgia and Alabama have bought a lot. So has the Catholic Committee of the South. So has the ADL. A Negro life insurance company is sending out a hundred to its agents. Even the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination got a hundred. And the CIO Department of Education got five hundred.

The most hopeful plan is that worked out by the Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, which, for both its Southeastern and Southcentral Jurisdictions, has taken responsibility for getting small groups of church women (not necessarily Methodists) in every county in thirteen Southern States to carry a booklet along on a visit to the sheriff or the chief.

The Southern Presbyterians have also made distribution of the booklet an official part of their summer program.

Still, these things do not mean that it reaches all communities. Nor is a single copy in a city or county enough to do a lot of good. It will take an altered public opinion to alter police practices.

March 31, 1952

Mr. C. C. Spaulding
Box 201
Durham, N. C.

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

We appreciate greatly your kind permission of March 25.

Here is the slip that went into each of the 200 copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. The booklets have been put into the stamped envelopes, addressed to sheriffs and to a hundred chiefs of police, and are being expressed up to Greenville for Mr. Russell to mail.

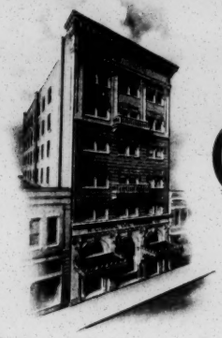
Our secretary-treasurer will send a bill to you, as treasurer of the North Carolina Division, for the booklets and the postage and so on.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.
Encl.



NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

FOUNDED BY JOHN MERRICK

RECEIVED
MAR 26 1952
Southern Regional Council

C. C. SPAULDING
PRESIDENT

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
March 25, 1952

Mr George S Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr Mitchell

I have been indisposed for several days and am just now getting around to spending a short while in my office. I have your letter with reference to the distribution of the books - RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT - together with the statement you have enclosed which will accompany each book. The statement meets my approval and I am perfectly willing for you to use my name along with that of Reverend Leon Russell in circulating the book.

With all good wishes,

Very truly yours,

C C Spaulding

ccs eb

RECEIVED
MAR 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

Chapel Hill N.C.
March 24/52

Dear George,

all o.k. by me. Well as a Directory, from which County Sheriffs names can easily be lifted. The 100 incorporated towns can be compiled from Postal Guide or other source.

I am up a few hours each day now — teaching one course every morning — but am still very weak.

Sincerely,
Guy

P.S. — I did write to Morris about the check case, but I neglected to let you know, I think.

March 19, 1952

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Guy:

I'm mighty sorry you have been dragging down such a rough road. I hope she becomes four-lane soon.

Here is a draft of a slip to be put in each of the pamphlets to be distributed in North Carolina.

I suggest that one be sent (a) to each sheriff, addressed by name, if you will send me the list; and (b) to "Chief of Police" in each incorporated town in North Carolina above 2,280 in population. Anna Holden tells me there are 100 such towns. A hundred counties--a hundred towns. There's your 200.

I am sending Mr. Russell a copy of this letter and a copy of the proposed language, and will ask for his approval of it.

When I get a letter from you saying who the sheriffs are and that you approve the deal, I will prepare the whole mailing and ship it up to Mr. Russell. Will be stamped and ready to go.

The pamphlet has gone admirably. Every State Division or affiliated committee has bought it (except Florida), and church bodies and teachers have bought it in big blocks. We are about ready for a third printing.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

March 19, 1952

Mr. C. C. Spaulding
Box 201
Durham, N. C.

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

I worked out by telephone with the Rev. Leon C. Russell (Chairman of the North Carolina Division of SRC) and Guy Johnson at Chapel Hill an arrangement for distributing RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT in North Carolina. The North Carolina Division is buying 200 copies and will mail them out from Greenville to sheriffs and chiefs of police.

It is proposed to put the following slip into each copy.

If you would be willing for your name, as secretary-treasurer, to go out in this way, it would considerably help, I am sure, in getting the law enforcement agencies in the State to pay reasonable attention to the booklet.

Would that be all right, or would you suggest changes, or does the idea not suit you?

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:EC
Encl.

March 19, 1952

Rev. Leon Russell
Jarvis Memorial Methodist Church
Greenville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Russell:

Guy has been sick, but wrote the other day that he was better and we should all go ahead on RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Here is the letter I have written him. Do let me know if the language of the proposed enclosure has your approval. Or alter it as may suit you.

Observe that I have written Mr. Spaulding to ask if we might use his name on it too.

I don't see that it need by actually signed. I should think the two names could be simply typed on if each of you approves.

If I trespass in some way on North Carolina's sensibilities, tell me just what you want done, and we will do our best to put it through in that way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
HOUSTON 4, TEXAS

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
W. R. BANKS, CHAIRMAN
PRAIRIE VIEW A. AND M. COLLEGE
PRAIRIE VIEW, TEXAS

March 17, 1952.

MAR 24 1952
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

The Executive Committee of The Texas Commission on Race Relations authorized the President to distribute 150 Copies of Race and Law Enforcement to key people in Texas and write a letter to local law enforcement Officers calling attention to this bulletin. In the meantime I am passing your letter to President E. B. Evans, Prairie View A. & M. College, Prairie View, Texas for his information and guidance. Also I am suggesting that you send a note to

President R. O. Lanier
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas.

I am
Yours truly
W. R. Banks

March 15, 1952

Mr. W. R. Banks
Prairie View State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Mr. Banks:

Here's a copy of a letter I wrote my good friend Dean Faulkner at Fisk. You will see what the proposition is.

Would you be good enough to take on trying to work out whatever might be possible in that way at Prairie View? We would be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

2/12/52
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dear George,

If it isn't one thing its another! Edward has been through a serious illness, and just as he was pulling out of it I got the same thing — some kind of virus like pneumonia, with high fever, etc. I am still feeling worse'n Hell, and the doctor is going to keep me in bed for several more days. Takes me 15 minutes to write a card like this. Why not go on and draft a simple 1-paragraph message to be enclosed in the Law Enforcement pamphlet? I can send the list of County sheriffs, but still don't have names of city police chiefs.

Guy B. Johnson

February 26, 1952

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Guy:

I talked to Russell. He is happy to order 200 copies for the North Carolina Division and is delighted that you and Harold will be a committee to do what may be needful in the way of preparing letters for him to sign and send out. I promised him he would be sent a sample of the letter for his criticism before he would be sent the whole stack. So will you try to remember that point?

On the clerical end of it, I suggest either: (a) Lend me the book that will have the list and write me what your directions are, and we will prepare the envelopes and put the postage on. But you ought to draft the letter if you would, in order for it to have the right North Carolina flavor. Or (b) you hire somebody to do the mimeographing and addressing and so on, and charge the bill to the North Carolina Division.

If we do the postage licking, we would bill the North Carolina Division for the postage, plus fifty cents or so for the mimeo paper, plus the 200 copies at fifteen cents apiece.

If you can contrive the clerical end up there, then all we would do is send wherever you say the 200 copies.

My guess is it would be easiest to follow (a). Then we could ship the stamped, addressed copies up to Greenville in one bunch.

But if we do (a), then we need a letter from you, which you would be simultaneously clearing with Russell, and the appropriate lists.

Sorry to put you to all the bother, but I have to to get things done.

Russell said he wanted to have a meeting of the Division, and I urged him to be in touch with you and work one out well before summer. Said he would.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Here is a booklet which we would like for you to know about and make use of.

We realize that you will need the help of a favorable public opinion. One of the aims of this booklet to bring that about. With that support, we believe, law enforcement agencies in every North Carolina community can achieve the ~~good~~ standards set out in the booklet.

Letter to be sent to all Sheriffs and to chiefs in 100 largest towns in N. C. by N. C. Division

Here is a booklet which we would like for you to know about and make use of. We realize that you will need the help of a favorable public opinion. One of the aims of this booklet is to encourage that ~~but~~ we are satisfied that the cooperative effort of interested citizens and law enforcement agencies can bring about in every North Carolina community adherence to the good standards set out in the booklet.

Sincerely,

Leon Russell, Chairman
N. C. Division, SRC
Jarvis Memorial Methodist Church
Greenville

C. C. Spaulding, Sec.-Treas.
Box 201
Durham

With that ~~support~~, we believe, ~~that~~ law enforcement agencies ~~can bring about~~ in every North Carolina community can achieve the good standards set out in the booklet.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 11, 1952

Dr. J. Rupert Picott
The Virginia Teachers Association
Clay St. at Fourth
Richmond 19, Va.

Dear Dr. Picott:

I have not yet had word from you about the pamphlet RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. We have been hoping your Association would lay in several hundred

ne le

March 31, 1952

Prof. O. A. Rowe
Drawer 5979
Jasper, Texas

Dear Mr. Rowe:

No news from you about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT for the teachers.

I do hope the Texas Association will buy a lot and get them out.

Please let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

March 24, 1952

Prof. O. A. Rowe
Drawer 5979
Jasper, Texas

Dear Mr. Rowe:

I suppose Mrs. Crate will have sent you already a copy of this booklet.

The Texas Commission on Race Relations bought 250-odd, and is sending them to Texas law enforcement officials and to local, civic-minded people, who are being urged to carry the booklet to the sheriff or to the chief and urge him to bring the force around to these standards.

I covet also the help of teachers in getting it out. Nothing would be more effective than for your members to single out, town by town, the people who could most effectively go and see the chief of police in this interest.

The Georgia State Teachers and Education Association, through Mr. Harper here, bought 500 for distribution in that way. The Alabama State Teachers Association got 150, and hope that their local chapters will order more. The Virginia Association has the matter up before its Executive Committee in a few days to decide on a purchase. I am trying to persuade the others.

The booklet has caught a real wave of popular interest. We have sole it in good, big blocks, mostly from a hundred to a thousand, to appropriate Boards among the Episcopalians, the Methodists, the Southern Baptists, the National Baptists, AME, the National Council of Churches, the American Friends Service Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, and so on. Several trade unions have bought it. The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company laid in a hundred to send out to agents.

Additionally, the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church has undertaken to reach each Southern sheriff with the booklet.

But the law enforcement officers are going to require that it be backed by a stronger public opinion. And the teachers could helpfully take part in building that opinion. I do hope that your Association will buy several hundred of the pamphlets and help in that way with this promising activity.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
2 Encls.

RECEIVED
MAR 21
Southern Re

MRS. JAMES S. CRATE
2410 INWOOD DRIVE
HOUSTON 19, TEXAS

March 19, 1952

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Hon been in Abilene the past week and found your letter when I returned home.

Prof. O. A. Rowe, Drawer 5979, Jasper, Tex. is president of the Tex. Negro Teachers Association. He is principal of the high school in Jasper, also on my Board of Directors of the Tex. Commission. A grand man.

I took a number of copies of Race & Law Enforcement to Abilene and hav gotten Church women to read them and then take them to the sheriffs or Chief of police. It is

MRS. JAMES S. CRATE
2410 INWOOD DRIVE
HOUSTON 19, TEXAS

certainly splendid material.

Do hope things are going well with you and S. R. C.

Sincerely
Margaret B. Crate.

SRC - Races - Law Enf.

March 10, 1952

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Dr.,
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

The association of Negro teachers in Georgia bought 500 copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. We have obtained from them the names of the principal officer of each of about nine other such state associations (Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, etc.), but nobody in Atlanta seems to know how to get hold of the head of the Texas association of Negro teachers (which probably has another name than that in any case).

Would you be so kind as to let me know who that is, and then I will write and ask them to get some too.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:cc

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
APR 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

April 1, 1952

Mr. Ocie Lee Smith
1500 Bishop St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Ocie Lee;

I can't get action out of your Arkansas Negro teachers.

March 10 I wrote Rev. C. C. Walker and asked him to stir 'em up. No action.

What do they say? They ought to do it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
ec

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM;ec
Dictated but not read.

We have definite plans for disposing of the other pamphlets in educational way. Per your suggestion over phone, I'll launch that next week and then mail, or have RW. Deer mail you a check for the 300 — OSL.

Dear Doc:
Pardon note on bottom of your letter, but just want to say, we did get action from the teachers of Ark in a pure way. Rev. Deer is to report to you soon. We actually set up a booth at teachers assoc. not altogether for selling the pamphlets (altho we sold 100) but we counseled with over 400 people within the 3 days (over)

I worked like a slave on big signs
on our booth which read something
like this.
1. What do you know about ARC?
2. you should know all about it
if you are to serve your
community? etc

Thats an idea
We served free punch as a bait,
shifts of 6 women at a time
occupied the booth (a whole
room) and spent from 3 to 4
minutes with each teacher in
consultation. — Teacher 55
yrs old had never heard of the
ARC. See what we got to work
with? I took 3 days annual
leave to be sure that Fed. Goverment
couldn't tie any strings on me, for
I wanted to spend 16 hrs per day at
that job, and I did. I had charge of the
punch barrell. (unspiked) Ha! I know we
did a bang up educational job on that
trip — Leaving in an hr. to work in Langston
Okla school of Religion as consultant univ.
Best wishes Over see

April 1, 1952

Mr. James E. Hilley
120 N. Ann St.
Mobile, Ala.

Dear Jim:

Thanks for sending me the latest word on your efforts. I enclose a list of our members in Mobile.

I had a brief telephone conversation with Dan and Mildred Fears when coming back from the Okefenokee Swamp Sunday. Denise's little brother is due in about two weeks. At least, with the acute man shortage, let's hope it's a little brother.

Had a fine time at the swamp, and got back greatly refreshed. We didn't see many birds, but there were lots of mosquitoes and turtles and a few 'gators. It was wonderful to ride through those vast, unoccupied expanses in South Georgia. Maybe I can go live there some day, and satisfy my craving for solitude.

I don't have but half of your letter here (the pairt about your efforts in Mobile), so I don't know whether there was something I was supposed to answer or not.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun

120 N. Ann Street
Mobile, Alabama
March 24, 1952

Dear Emily B.,

Am afraid that my last letter was much too optimistic concerning accomplishments in Mobile, from what I've discovered today. This p.m. I went on uptown from Brookley Field after getting off from work, and went by the Rev. Robinson's office. I had called him up Saturday a.m. to ask when I could see him, but he was busy Saturday and had a funeral planned; I suggested I drop by there this p.m. Went by there one p.m. last week (Thursday, I believe), but he had already left when I arrived.

Well, to make it short, it now appears that a committee did not contact city council or any of the city officials, as I informed you in the previous letter. I did receive that impression from Robinson on my previous visit, and I think he may have believed they did. Or, perhaps he said they planned to contact somebody--words to that effect. Anyway, a committee took the copies of the two pamphlets, which Robinson referred to them--probably stuck them away in a desk drawer after glancing over them. Rev. Robinson has received a letter from or about Jemison, in regards to the action suggested. He promised to refer the additional copies to another committee, and will also discuss Dr. Jemison's suggestions (or whatever he communicated) too, I understood.

Mr. Robinson was still friendly, but somewhat more noncommital and cautious this time. However, I won't say it's impossible that his committees may contact city council or police officials. Nevertheless, they may need additional prodding in a few weeks to obtain any action of that sort. I can understand their attitude, since Mobile is a hotbed of Dixiecrats, and has some strong racial prejudices. The morning and evening paper, published by the same firm, contain frequent violent attacks on the Alabama senators, Sparkman and Hill. They have also had several editorials lately condemning Estes Kefauver and Ellis Arnall. However, they've had a few words of praise for Dick Russell.

Emily, could you send me a list of Council members in Mobile--some of the Catholic priests you mentioned, or others? Perhaps I could confer with some of them in regards to a desirable course of action. They would undoubtedly be more familiar with the local situation and local politics, etc. Naturally also I can't afford to stick out my own neck in regard to taking any action, as long as Uncle Sam employs me. However, I'm glad to cooperate in seeing people, and in prodding others to action, so far as I can do so. Rev. Robinson appeared to understand the purpose of the pamphlet, and I explained the price to him. Next time I'm in touch with him, I could check to see if he or the committee have taken any action to have the state conventions purchase the pamphlet.

Will probably attend a Marian Anderson concert scheduled for Thursday,

March 25, 1952

Mr. James E. Hilley
120 N. Ann St.
Mobile, Ala.

Dear Jim:

To put you up to date on the police pamphlet and the National Baptist Convention: Dr. Mitchell did the other day go to see Mr. Jemison in Selma, and he bought 100 copies for the Convention as a whole. But we still hope Mr. Robinson will use his influence in getting them bought and distributed more widely, especially by the various State Conventions.

I'm beginning to feel very much in the mood for traveling, with spring more or less here. Plan to visit the cooperative community near Clarkesville as soon as it gets warm enough to sleep in a tent. Also, I want to go down to Taylor County and spend a week-end with a former classmate. She and her husband live out in the country under very primitive conditions. No bathroom, and they have wonderful, unpasteurized country buttermilk. That, in itself, is worth going to Taylor County for. This week-end I go down to the Okeefenokee with the Bird Club. Hope it doesn't snow.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun

March 14, 1952

Mr. James E. Hilley
120 N. Ann St.
Mobile, Ala.

Dear Jim:

Muchisimas gracias for all your trouble and time in contacting Rev. Robinson. Of course, we are delighted that he is spurring Negro ministers in Mobile to take some action.

However, as Dr. Mitchell expressed it, what we most want Mr. Robinson to do is "in his official capacity to bestir not only the National Baptist Convention, but each State Baptist Convention to purchase the pamphlet in large blocks, and having done that, the officials in each Convention to move their local persons--ministers and law persons--to move people to go to see the chief and the sheriff as they have done in Mobile."

Dr. Mitchell has written and asked a friend of his to contact Dr. Jemison, president of the National Baptist Convention, in Selma and persuade him that the National Baptist Convention should undertake such an action program.

The Methodist Woman's Society of Christian Service (white) is getting the pamphlet distributed to all its local Societies, with the object of getting small committees of Methodist women to carry the pamphlet to the sheriff and/or chief in every county in thirteen Southern States. That is the sort of thing that will really do some good, and the sort of thing we hope the National Baptist Convention will undertake.

Hope things work out so you can stay on at your job until you're ready to leave.

Thanks again for your efforts on behalf of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. We're looking forward to hearing the next chapter.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun

March 10, 1952

Rev. U. J. Robinson, Secretary
National Baptist Convention
405 St. Michael St.
Mobile, Ala.

Dear Mr. Robinson:

I have not heard from you about the pamphlet RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

We earnestly hope that the National Baptist Convention, through one branch or another, will make use of it. Do let me know what is decided.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 8, 1952

Mr. James E. Hilley
120 N. Ann St.
Mobile, Ala.

Dear Jim:

All we ask of most of our members is to pay their three dollars a year. However, since you are a good Baptist and a resident of Mobile, we're hoping that you will perform a mission for us concerning the enclosed letter.

I may have written you earlier about this police pamphlet. As you see, it has a lot of good ideas in it as to how the police ought to act. But it's obvious that the police aren't going to improve unless local citizens put the pressure on them.

I quote from a previous letter Dr. Mitchell wrote explaining how we hope visits from local citizens will operate.

> What we really want is for a committee of three or four people to go in each town to see the chief or the sheriff and talk with him earnestly about getting the force to follow the principles laid down in the little book. In a great many cases that will result in the chief's saying that he would like to follow these rules, but that it will be expensive. He will need more money to pay his policemen, and he will need money to get them better trained, and he will need more soap powder for cleaning up the jail. And that if the ladies really want to help, they should speak to the city council at the meeting Tuesday a week when the police budget will be up. That's good, fair, American work. I am not deluded that the chief will at once do better, but I think that a couple of subsequent visits will produce real improvement.

We are contacting the head people in all the major denominations, white and colored, over the South. The enclosed letter is to a big wheel among the Negro Baptists. We have no particular connections with him, so we fear that he'll need a little personal visit from somebody himself to prod him into action. Would you be willing to undertake it before you leave Mobile?

Mr. James E. Hilley--Feb. 8, 1952

Dr. Mitchell would like for you to talk to Mr. Robinson, find out what he thinks of the idea, and if possible get some kind of commitment out of him as to what he's going to do about it. You might point out to him the success of the pamphlet "Race in the News" in persuading many Southern editors to write up Negroes just like they would anybody else. The two Atlanta papers have shown marked improvement since the pamphlet was published (in 1948), and many other papers are now using courtesy titles for Negroes.

The problem of improving the police force in every little hick town in the South is admittedly more difficult, but it can be brought about gradually if local people keep pushing at it. It seems to me a good sort of thing for the loosely organized Baptist Church to work at, since it necessarily operates on the local level.

You might better explain to the man that we operate on a very small budget and therefore can't give out large numbers of the pamphlet for free distribution. So he would have to buy them at fifteen cents apiece.

Write us if there's anything else you want to know about this "mission." Our other members in Mobile are either Catholic priests or completely unknown to us, so you're just about the only one we can call on.

Call me up the next time you come through Atlanta. I haven't had a phone call at 3:00 in the morning since the last time you came through.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun

C
O
P
Y

February 8, 1952

Rev. U. J. Robinson, Secretary
National Baptist Convention
405 St. Michael St.
Mobile, Ala.

Dear Mr. Robinson:

I would dearly like to get you to stimulate local church groups throughout the whole National Baptist Convention to take hold of this pamphlet and get action on it.

We have just finished printing it. It will be officially released to the press February 13. It sells for fifteen cents apiece.

We wrote it intending for it to be used by small committees of local people who would take it along to discuss it with the chief of police or the sheriff. It is written temperately and yet, we hope, persuasively. One of the great things to be done in the South is to make safety of the person become a reality for everybody in every Southern place. And a large part of that job is a job of bringing the police around to their proper role. It is a thing few people have worked on locally. But the movement for better police practices is snowballing in the rest of the country. And if taken up by citizens, it will move ahead in the South.

There is already an excellent training school for police at Louisville, so operated as to be especially useful in training Southern police people. A good many Southern cities are sending policemen there. But we both understand that there is a vast amount to do.

In this city or that, there will be a question of strategy as to whether it will be wiser for a committee made up of Negro citizens only or of white citizens only or of Negro and white citizens would be best to send on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff. I am satisfied that you can reach people in almost every Southern place who could get a committee to read the pamphlet and take it along on a visit to the chief.

That seems to us the finest kind of Christian action program.

Mr. Jemison, as you know, has long been a member of our Board and helps us in many ways.

Our difficulty is to unroll the whole business of correspondence that would produce action, State by State, town by town, county by county, throughout the National Baptist Convention. Will you not carefully discuss it with your associates and let me know what your church can be expected to do?

Sincerely,

Clear Copy Brand Paper
MADE IN U.S.A.

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Rev. U. J. Robinson--Feb. 8, 1952

P. S. I may add that we have approached in a similar spirit the Methodist Church, the Episcopal Church, the Northern Presbyterians, the Southern Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Disciples of Christ, and the National Council of the Churches of Christ. And as quickly as I can, I will reach the AME Church and the AME Zion and the CME Church too.

GSM:ec
Encl: 3cc.

PEOPLE WE WROTE ABOUT R&LE WHO HAVEN'T ACTED Apr. 4 — 15 Apr. 4, 1952

Emily Clay, Florida Negro Teachers, she wrote back Apr. 15
C. V. Troup, Fort Valley State College, March 25
Pres. Rufus B. Atwood, Ky. State College, March 25
Rev. Horace Leonard, Boyd Convention, Mar. 25, Apr. 22
Guy Johnson, Chapel Hill, Mar. 25
Robert Dowery & Wm. Spearman, Ky. Negro Teachers Assoc., Mar. 25
H.A. Bullock, Texas Southern Univ., Mar. 15
E. B. Billups, La. Bapt. Conv., Mar. 21, Apr 22
W. H. Buckner, La. Sunday Sch. Congress, Mar. 21, Apr 22
Negro teachers assocs in S. C., Tenn., Miss., La., Okla, Feb. 14 & Mar. 11
~~Mrs. Herbert Davidson, Bethune Cookman, Mar. 18~~
Dr. Dent, Dillard, Mar. 17
Jacob Reddix, Jackson College, Mar. 17
David D. Jones, Bennett College, Mar. 17
Clyde Milner, Guilford College, Mar. 17
Jacob Reddix--to ask Miss Negro teachers to buy pamphlet--Mar. 17
Bill Cole, U. of Tenn., Mar. 17
Janet Crittendon, N. C. Negro teachers, Mar. 17
John Mitchell, Hampton Institute, Mar. 15, Apr. 9
Hollis ~~Bryce~~ Price, LeMoyne College, Mar. 15
A. T. Butler, Palmetto Teachers Assoc., Mar. 15 (they just had a meeting the other day)
Harry Roberts, Va. State College, Mar. 15, Apr. 9
J. A. Hayes, West Tenn. Teachers Assoc., Mar. 10, Apr. 9
Crawford Solomon, Fla. Division, Mar. 10, Feb. 5, Jan. 22, Apr. 8
Bishop Walls, AME Church, Mar. 10, Apr. 9.
Bishop Clayborn, Mar. 10, Apr. 22
Elmer Henderson, Amer. Council on Human Rights, Feb. 14 & Mar. 10, Apr. 22
~~Mrs. Fontain McDougall~~
~~Clarence Mitchell, NAACP~~
Charles Shaw, Watchtower Life Ins. Co, Feb. 27, Apr. 14 (in ans. to his letter)
Carter Wesley (to prod Chas. Shaw), Feb. 27, Apr.
J. Pius Barber, Editor, The Voice--asked to carry notice of R&LE--Feb. 8
Mrs. Leonard Haas,--advice on Leagues of Women Voters--Feb. 22
Bishop Bell, CME Church, Feb. 28, Apr. 9
Bishop Robt N. Brooks, Central Jurisdiction, Feb. 11 & Mar. 10, Apr. 9
~~Galen R. Weaver, Congregationalists, Jan. 23, Feb. 4, March 19~~
~~Philip Widenhouse--AMA (Congreg.) Colleges, Mar. 13~~
Walter A. Sikes, Disciples of Christ, Jan 24
Mrs. Geo. Wolfe--putting R&LE to use in her area--Jan. 8
Bishop Moody--getting Ky. 'Piscies to put the pamphlet to use--Jan. 7
Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology & Police Science--review of pamphlet--Feb. 4
Mrs. Virginia Efferson Warner--putting pamphlet to use in Fla.--Feb. 5, Apr 9
D. Swan Haworth--approaching chief & sheriff in Lumberton--Feb. 6

W. R. Banks wrote Mar. 17 that he had turned over to Pres. E. B. Evans, Prairie View A&M College, the matter of getting students to buy the pamphlet.
we wrote back Apr. 9

J. R. Picott, Va. Teachers Assoc., wrote Mar. 18 that he would let us know about buying the pamphlet as soon as a decision is reached. Fla. teachers assoc. wrote us about the same thing.

Felton Clark, La. Southern Univ., Baton Rouge wrote Mar. 19 that he was asking the dean of students to contact student organizations about buying and distributing pamphlet.
We wrote back Apr. 9

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
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DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY,
IN CHARGE WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 4, 1952

Miss Margaret Garrity
1312 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

Very nice to talk with you by phone Friday morning.

Here are four copies of the pamphlet.

Our friend Mr. McCandless told us that the Police Chiefs News (official publication of the International Association of Chiefs of Police) is published at 1424 K Street, N. W.

April 4, 1952

Mr. Herman H. Long, Director
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
Fisk University Office
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Dear Long:

We could send you 180 copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT for ten cents apiece, instead of the usual fifteen. That's eighteen dollars.

What way?

Do come to the May 15 meeting at Birmingham. You would help a lot.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 2, 1952

Mr. Herman H. Long, Director
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
Fisk University Office
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Long:

Dr. Mitchell is out of town, but I will call your letter to his attention when he returns Monday.

Sorry we neglected to send you the minutes of the February 22 meeting. Here they are.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

ENCL.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

March 31, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 2 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am in receipt of your mimeographed communication about the February 22 meeting of persons in the South concerned with lessening the resort to violence. Thanks very much for sending it. I did not attend this meeting but I would appreciate receiving a copy of the minutes which you indicated as having been sent to me. The list of persons and agencies working in the South is very useful; it was good of you to send it.

I have placed the May 15 date on my calendar, and I think I will be able to come to Birmingham at that time.

Will you please send me a quatation of price for a bulk order of 180 copies of the pamphlet Race and Law En- Law Enforcement? We want to include it in our packet of materials for our Institute of Race Relations membership.

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

hhl-p

Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va.
April 5, 1952.

Mr. George S.Mitchell:
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.
Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the copies of your important pamphlet on "Race and Law Enforcement." I am glad to to be able to read this myself, and to give copies to others here at the Seminary.

With my greetings to you,
Sincerely yours,

W. Russell Bowie

W.Russell Bowie.

April 7, 1952

Miss Margaret Carrity
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems
1312 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

Sorry to miss Dr. Izak. I got through my business and caught the night train down.

The lady sent us $200, and promised to have a foregathering in five or six weeks in Washington and see what she can do for more.

I went to see Kelly and caught him in. Pleasant guy, but said he had no money to buy all the good pamphlets that reached his desk. Would, however, see that it got noticed in the maggie.

Warm thanks and high regards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 15, 1952

Miss Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary
Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems
1312 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Margaret:

You are a busy bee, and we appreciate it.

Wouldn't it be wonderful if the International Association of Chiefs of Police would buy some copies?

It is going nicely. Here's a list of purchasers so far. I can add a few more. Our Tennessee Division has bought some, and our Arkansas Division is buying 300, and the Division Against Discrimination of the New Jersey Department of Education bought 100.

By the way, we were asked by the head of the Southern Police Training Institute at Louisville to send them 50 copies (for free) for them to give out to their next three rotations of trainees.

Do try the man Kelly one more time and see if you can bring him through.

Sometime when you see Miss Morrissy, remember me warmly to her. We used to sit together in a Political Economy Seminar at Hopkins.

Your people are taking part in a New Orleans Workers Education Institute this week-end (Xavier), and I am going down to try a speech.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.
Encl.

Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

A national organization of Catholics formed to promote the study and understanding of industrial problems by the calling of conferences at which no vote is taken on question of industrial policy.

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United Transport Workers of America
Chicago, Illinois

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Professor of Economics
College of Notre Dame of Maryland
Baltimore, Maryland

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KATHERINE B. KELLY
Social Action Department
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Washington, D. C.

INTERRACIAL SECRETARY

MARGARET GARRITY
Social Action Department
National Catholic Welfare Conference
Washington, D. C.

CONSULTANT

LINNA E. BRESETTE

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March 7, 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 10 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I finally got around to bringing the pamphlet to the International Association of Chiefs of Police and have had about three conversations with them about the booklet. They seemed to be interested in it and were debating yesterday the advisability of acquiring copies to send out to their mailing list. They will let me know on that and will mail us a copy of the bulletin which carries the review of the magazine. It all sounds good, but I'm not completely satisfied since I have not been able, as yet, to see Mr. Kelly who will make the final decision.

In any event, I will keep you informed on the matter and send to you any copies of the bulletin I receive. I didn't ask outright whether they could afford to purchase copies for their mailing list, but I did hint a bit. Apparently, money would not deter them.

There seems to be quite an awareness among the members of the staff of the need of corrective action in the various police forces, but apparently this organization, which is very small, has not decided on what steps should be taken, or at least what, if anything, it should do about the situation.

With best wishes and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Margaret

Margaret Garrity
Interracial Secretary

MG:dk

April 8, 1952

Mr. Crawford Solomon
Convention Press
218 W. Church St.
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Crawford:

Every stick and piece of the Southern Regional Council except the Florida Division has laid in good stocks of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT and is getting it out. Do you not like it in Florida, or are you needing an Executive Committee meeting or something?

Do tell us how you stand, anyway. We only want to help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 8, 1952

Mr. Philip M. Widenhouse
Board of Home Missions
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Ave.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Widenhouse:

That's very kind indeed of you to send out RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT to the various AMA college heads. We are most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches

287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

TRUMAN B. DOUGLASS
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

WILLIAM F. FRAZIER
TREASURER

PHILIP M. WIDENHOUSE
GENERAL SECRETARY

March 31st 1952

RECEIVED
APR. 2 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of March 13th, enclosing the pamphlet titled "Race and Law Enforcement".

I have sent copy of your letter and pamphlet to the president of each of our institutions, calling attention to your suggestion.

Cordially yours,

Philip M. Widenhouse

Philip M. Widenhouse.

PMW gw

April 8, 1952

Mr. Ocie Lee Smith
1500 Bishop St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Ocie Lee:

Mr. Deer wrote me about all the hard work you did on getting RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT to the Arkansas Teachers Association. You know I am grateful, as he is.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 9, 1952

President Felton Clark
Louisiana Southern University
Baton Rouge 5, La.

Dear Mr. Clark:

You were kind enough to write us March 19 that you were asking the Dean of Students to get in touch with student organizations about buying and distributing RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. But we have heard nothing further. Could your office run a check through on it?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Same letter: David Jones, Clyde Milner, Bill Cole, John Mitchell, Hollis Pryce, A. T. Butler, Harry Roberts, J. A. Hays, Bishop Walls, Bishop W. Y. Bell Mrs. Virginia Efferson Warner, Charles Shaw

April 9, 1952

President Jacob L. Reddix
Jackson College
Jackson, Miss.

Dear Mr. Reddix:

What could you do about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

April 9, 1952

Dr. J. Rupert Picott
The Virginia Teachers Association
Clay St. at Fourth
Richmond 19, Va.

Dear Dr. Picott:

What happened about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT? We earnestly want the Virginia Teachers Association to use it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 20, 1952

Mr. J. Rupert Picott, Executive Secretary
Virginia Teachers Association
Clay Street at Fourth
Richmond 19, Va.

Dear Mr. Picott:

Many thanks for your letter of March 18. We are delighted that the matter of buying copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT will come up before the Executive Committee and the local association people. We do hope that you will want some.

It is proving a very popular booklet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

VIRGINIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

IRMA B. BLACKWELL, PRESIDENT J. RUPERT PICOTT, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY LAVINIA J. BANKS, TREASURER

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE: CLAY STREET AT FOURTH • TELEPHONE 7-0868

RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA
March 18, 1952

RECEIVED
MAR 20 1952
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
20 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very kindly for your letter of the eleventh.

The matter of the purchasing of copies of the pamphlet RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT will be taken up with our Executive Committee and local association officials. I will write you as soon as a decision is available.

Cordially,

J. Rupert Picott

Executive Secretary

JRP:gs

VIRGINIA EDUCATION Bulletin

April 14, 1952

Mrs. Helen Schwartz
Jewish Community Relations Council
602 Fullerton Bldg.
St. Louis 1, Mo.

Dear Helen:

We are truly honored to have an order from you for ten copies of RACE IN THE NEWS. They are coming up. It's nearly the last ten we have. Reprints, etc., coming too.

Your teamsters' material will be running in the May issue of NEW SOUTH, along with an article from a cousin of mine in Louisville on how segregation is curling up at the edges in Kentucky.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Honorary President
SAMUEL I. SIEVERS

President
ALFRED FLEISHMAN

Executive Director
MYRON SCHWARTZ

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL

602 FULLERTON BUILDING • SAINT LOUIS 1 • CHestnut 2584

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MEMO TO: George Mitchell

FROM: Helen Schwartz

DATE: April 9, 1952

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APR 14 1952
Southern Regional Council

When I read the Post-Dispatch and the St. Louis Globe-Democrat I feel as though I am in the deep South again because both newspapers here race-labor. We are going to follow the pattern of action originated by you and Mrs. Tilly, and get some of the local church women to call on the newspaper editors, pamphlet in hand.

We would like to order 10 copies of RACE IN THE NEWS. If you still have some reprints of the article which appeared in Time Magazine, and the article which appeared in either the New York Times or the Herald Tribune, a few of those would be helpful.

My very best regards to you.

Helen

HS:ah

April 14, 1952

Mr. Charles Shaw, President
Watchtower Life Insurance Co.
Box 2097
Houston, Texas

{2208 Bowling

Dear Mr. Shaw:

What could you do about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. Since I dictated this I heard from Mr. Wesley that you are, distressingly, off at Mayo's. I am sure you will decide on action when you get back.

February 27, 1952

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Somebody here in Atlanta advised me to write to Mr. Shaw in this vein.

Do you think you could call up Mr. Shaw and urge him to act?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

February 27, 1952

President Charles Shaw
Watchtower Life Insurance Co.
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

I am writing you in your capacity as president of the National Negro Life Insurance Company Association.

I send you separately some copies of a brand-new pamphlet turned out by our Council. Though it has been in print only a couple of weeks, it has already had a remarkably wide sale. It has been purchased in large blocks by white and Negro church groups, by various teachers' organizations, by the State Divisions and affiliated interracial committees of our Council (including the Texas Commission on Race Relations, which bought 260), and so on. We are already into our second printing, after exhausting the first 8,000.

What we most want is for small groups of civic-minded persons to go through the book and then, as a committee, take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff and ask for his cooperation in bringing the department around to these modern standards.

The various life insurance companies have contacts which would make them peculiarly useful as distributors of the book.

Is there something you could do toward interesting them in the possibility of stocking it in blocks of two, three, or four hundred copies for distribution, either to policy holders or to agents?

A couple of years ago when our Council put out the booklet RACE IN THE NEWS, the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company bought a thousand copies and helped greatly therefore in getting the teachings of the little green book well into Southern cities and towns.

I would be extremely grateful for whatever you might find it possible to do in this connection.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 14, 1952

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

No, we haven't heard from Mr. Shaw. Do put it on your calendar to call him at about the time he ought to be getting back.

RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT is moving beautifully. We are into the third printing now (total 13,000 so far), and I think it is going to make a dent.

You will be pleased to hear that the financial crisis reported in our last Ex. Com. memo has been largely relieved by a check for $2,000 from the John Hay Whitneys (Privately, not the foundation) that Charles Johnson got us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

FREEDMEN'S PUBLISHING COMPANY

PUBLISHERS OF

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2418 LEELAND AVE. P. O. BOX 3086 HOUSTON 1, TEXAS

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The Means:

- THE INFORMER
- THE DALLAS EXPRESS
- THE HOUSTON INFORMER

April 12, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 14 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I wonder if you ever heard from Mr. Shaw in answer to your letter to him? Incidentally, he is in Mayo's, where he has had a rather serious operation within the week.

Best wishes.

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

Green

COPY

April 15, 1952

Miss Margaret Barrier
President, Interfaith Council
317 Kenan, UNC
Chapel Hill

Dear Margaret,

We have a project for Interfaith Council.

RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT has already gone out in large quantity to the SRC state divisions, to different church groups throughout theSouth, to labor organizations, to Negro teachers' associations and so forth--beside the regular mailing to our membership.

Dr. Mitchell isnow trying to make thelittle blue book effective through another medium. He would like for the Y or for the different student religious organizations to get students acquainted with it and its purpose, and hopefully get them to obtain their own copies which would be taken back home and put into the hands of someone who would go down and discuss local race and law enforcement with the chief of police and county sheriff.

Isn't your organization the appropriate one to initiate such a project? A copy is going to you under separate cover--pass it around the Council and see what they have to say. If organi ations ordered copies fortheir members to have (or to purchase from them) they would be .15 each.

Dr. Mitchell has already written Dr. Johnson to get him to broach the matter with the appropriate student group. He hadn t done anyt ing about it last time I tlakedto him. But maybe you could clear with him.

"ish I were still at Chapel Hill visiting. It was loads of fun. Now you must come visit me.

Sincerely ,

Anna Holden
Survey Assistant

April 16, 1952

Mr. Galen R. Weaver
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
Congregational Christian Churches
287 Fourth Ave.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Galen:

How very kind that was of you and Miss Hargrove and Mrs. McClintock to work out so wise a procedure on RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

We have sent copies to the four names you listed in your letter of April 8.

And we send you separately the six you wanted for your own office, plus a bonus of four more for your office, and a bill for a total of ten copies.

The booklet continues to be popular. We hear all the time of people who got it and went right off to the chief with it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Same letter to: Mrs. Robert G. Williams, Mrs. W. B. Williams, Mrs. William E. Wisseman. Addresses in Galen Weaver's letter of April 8.

April 16, 1952

Mrs. Fred P. Register
Fuquay Springs, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Register:

Mr. Galen Weaver asked us to send you a copy of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, about which he wrote you a few days ago.

We will all be most grateful for whatever you and your friends can do to get the standards laid out in the booklet really into police practice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

GALEN R. WEAVER
RELIGION AND RACE

RECEIVED
14 1952
Southern Regional Council

April 8, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 14 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Miss Margaret Hargrove, Director of our Women's Work, has consulted with her predecessor, Mrs. McClintock, and forwarded the names that are enclosed. They believe that these individuals -- some of whom will undoubtedly be known to you personally -- could be enlisted to help in the campaign for law enforcement. We are writing a letter to each of these individuals and enclosing a copy of the pamphlet "Race and Law Enforcement." We will indicate that it would be well for them to coordinate their activities with other church women in calling upon the chief of police and discussing the matter of fair and non-discriminatory treatment for minority persons. You will perhaps wish to do some follow-up also.

I discussed this matter today with Miss Esther Stamats, Director of Christian Social Relations for the United Church Women, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10. Miss Stamats will be able and willing, I am sure, to give you some further names and to offer help and co-operation.

Very sincerely yours,

Galen

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:a

P.S. We did not have enough copies to send to all the 13 names. Would you kindly send a pamphlet direct to the following persons:

Mrs. Fred P. Register, Fuquay Springs, N.C.
Mrs. Robert G. Williams, Lake Worth, Fla.
Mrs. W. B. Williams, 1253 - 24th Street, Newport News, Va.
Mrs. Wm. E. Wisseman, 315 N. Edgeworth Street, Greensboro, N.C.

We would also like to have six copies to keep here at the office for further use. Bill us for the ten. G.R.W.

The program of Religion and Race, including the work of George Thomas of Los Angeles, is jointly supported by the American Missionary Association Division and the Council for Social Action.

Mrs. Thomas Anderson
675 Piedmont Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Mark Winston Andes
Box 88
Virgilina, Va.

Mrs. William J. Andes
657 S. Sunset Drive
Winston Salem 7, N.C.

Rev. Annie Campbell
Garden, City, Ala.

Miss Pattie Lee Coghill
Elon College, N. C.
(Miss Coghill is on our staff in the Southern Convention office.)

Mrs. Herbert G. Council, Jr.
3507 Bainbridge Blvd.
Norfolk 6, Va.

Miss Marguerite Davison
19 S. LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois
(Miss Davison is now Secretary for Woman's Work in the Chicago area-but came to that position from the Atlanta office and therefore knows the situation quite well. She might have other suggestions)

Mrs. Armor Lanson Granger, Jr.
2300 Roanoke Avenue
Newport News, Va.

Mrs. Fletcher C. Lester
840 Sunset Avenue
Asheboro, N. C.

Miss Loretta Petersen
675 Piedmont Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.
(Miss Peterson is on our staff in the Southeast Convention office)

Mrs. Fred P. Register
Fuquay Springs, N. C.

Mrs. Robert G. Williams
Lake Worth, Florida

Mrs. W. B. Williams
1253 - 24th Street
Newport News, Va.
(President of Southern Convention)

Mrs. Wm. E. Wisseman
315 N. Edgeworth Street
Greensboro, N. C.

April 8th 1952

Mrs. Thomas Anderson
675 Piedmont Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

You are no doubt well acquainted with the constructive work of the Southern Regional Council whose Director is Dr. George Mitchell. Under the auspices of this group a very well written pamphlet has recently been published with the title "Race and Law Enforcement." We are venturing to send you a copy as well as to pass on to you a suggestion Dr. Mitchell has made regarding the way in which you might be helpful.

Dr. Mitchell believes that a genuine impact for good can be made upon law enforcement officers if citizens will call upon the Chief of Police and discuss the matter contained in this document. In such visits the concerned churchwoman can register the knowledge with the Chief that the police force is being watched by responsible citizens who expect professional conduct from their peace officers and justice for all groups and individuals in the community. It would seem to us to be best if you could join with one or several other women from other denominations in carrying out this mission. Where a local Council of Church Women is active, this organization might afford an excellent channel for joint activity in this area.

There is no need to spell out in detail or illustrate by examples the extremely grave importance of the issue of responsible professional conduct on the part of police officers. Too often prejudice and bigotry dictate irresponsible and brutal treatment resulting in injury and sometimes death. "Resistance to officers" is, as you know so well, frequently a flimsy excuse covering up sadistic behaviour on the part of the police. This type of conduct will be greatly curbed when citizen groups make their concern felt where it will count most — namely at police headquarters.

If you wish further advice or information we are certain that Dr. George Mitchell, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Ga. will be glad to confer with you or answer your communications.

Both of us have conferred with Mrs. E. E. McClintock who joins us in hoping that your interest in better human relations will prompt you to lend your cooperation by this practical means.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Hargrove
National Secretary
of Woman's Work

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:a
Enc.

SRC pubs note

April 17, 1952

Mr. George Schermer, Director
Mayor's Interracial Committee
720 Transportation Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Mr. Schermer:

Thank you for your letter of April 15th.

The pamphlet, RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT sells for fifteen cents per copy. Since this is only enough to cover the actual cost of the pamphlet, we have not been able to make any special prices for bulk orders unless the purchasers have ordered 500 or 1,000 in which case we have sold them for $10.00 per hundred.

We will be pleased to have your order for these pamphlets and will give it our prompt attention. For your conveneince I am enclosing a sample copy of the pamphlet.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ALBERT E. COBO
Mayor

REV. JOHN E. COOGAN
Chairman

GEORGE F. BOOS
JOHN J. CONSIDINE
ARTHUR DONDINEAU
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EDWARD M. TURNER

City of Detroit

MAYOR'S INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE

720 TRANSPORTATION BUILDING
131 WEST LAFAYETTE AVENUE
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
WOODWARD 1-9674

GEORGE SCHERMER
Director

BEULAH T. WHITBY
Assistant Director

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APR 17 1952
Southern Regional Council

April 15, 1952

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Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

We are interested in ordering 25 copies of your pamphlet RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT - A Guide to Modern Police Practices. If there is a charge for these, please let us know so we can process an order.

We would also like to know the quantity rates.

Very truly yours,

George Schermer

George Schermer
Director

McC

r & le

April 18, 1952

Miss F. O. Alexander
Jackson College
Jackson, Miss.

Dear Miss Alexander:

Could you tell me the name and address of the present president of the Mississippi Association of Jeanes Teachers?

I want to get her to get the Association to stock in some copies of this and mail it out to members.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Same letter: Mrs. Minnie C. Fields, St. Dept. of Educ., Tallahassee, Fla; Mrs. Mann, Tenn. A&I College, Nashville, Tenn.; Dr. A. H. Richardson, St. Dept. of Educ., Richmond, Va.

April 18, 1952

Mrs. M. B. Paul
2324 Washington St.
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Paul:

How very kind that was of you, on behalf of your group, to stock in the hundred copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

The distribution you will get for them will do a whole lot of good.

Let us know here if we can be helpful to you at any time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 18, 1952

Mrs. Modjeska Simpkins
2025 Marion St.
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Simpkins:

I do greatly appreciate the NAACP's and your own warm cooperation in getting a hundred copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

It will help everybody for you to get them out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

MEMO TO KS Apr. 18, 1952

Re sales of R&LE:

1. 100 cc. purchased by Bishop Frank Madison Reid, AME Church of S. C., Allen University, Columbia, S. C. Check herewith. Please be kind enough to send Bishop Reid an official ~~x~~ receipt. He gave me cash money, and I prefer such a transaction to show a record. Accompanying your receipt might be a brief note expressing appreciation for his purchase on behalf of the church in S. C.

2. S. C. Conference Branches of the NAACP, 100 cc. at $15.00.

3. S. C. Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, 100 cc. Treasurer's receipt herewith.

4. The Women's Council of Richland County, ~~Mr~~ by Mrs. Horatio Nelson, President. Mrs. Nelson's address is Benedict College, Columbia. These were sold to Mrs. Nelson perforce on credit, as they were sold to her while she was teaching a class. If by April 24 she has not sent you the money, send her a bill. I have sent her the enclosed note.

5. Mr. A. T. Butler, 2411 Laurel St., Columbia, S. C., who requested that I leave him 20 cc., which he would send the money for. I did leave the 20 cc., and have sent him the attached letter. If no $3 from him by Apr. 24, send him a bill.

April 18, 1952

Mrs. Horatio Nelson
Benedict College
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Nelson:

Apologies and much appreciation.

Nice to be with your group. I presumed too much on the professional courtesy of fellow professors, but you were more understanding than I could have hoped.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 18, 1952

Mrs. Sylvia P. Swinton
2507 Laurel St.
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Swinton:

You were kindness itself to talk to me at dawn-crack yesterday.

I have written Miss Mitchum, pretty much as I wrote you originally. I do hope she will get some for the Jeanes Teachers.

Other people in your city were kind about the booklets. Mrs. Nelson took fifty, and Mrs. Paul took a hundred, and Bishop Reid took a hundred, and so did the NAACP. Now if Mr. Solomon and Miss Mitchum will each get a good stack, I think the police in the State will begin to change.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 21, 1952

Mr. Clyde A. Erwin
Superintendent of Public Instruction
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mr. Erwin:

Can you get somebody in your office to be so kind as to give me the name and address of the present president of the Association of Jeanes Teachers in North Carolina?

I want to see if the Association will buy and distribute some copies of the enclosed good book.

Sincerely and with warm regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

April 21, 1952

Mrs. _____ Mann
Tennessee A&I College
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Mrs. Mann:

Could you tell me the name and address of the present president of the Tennessee Association of Jeanes Teachers?

I want to get her to get the Association to stock in some copies of this and mail them out to members.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

April 21, 1952

Dr. Kara V. Jackson
Grambling College
Grambling, La.

Dear Dr. Jackson:

Thus far, I'm not having very good luck with the list of chairmen of State Jeanes Associations which you were kind enough to send me.

Our first class letter to Mrs. Clara W. West, 1064 Pine Street, Greenville, Georgia, came back unclaimed. I learn now that Mrs. West was the chairman two years ago and that her present address is 1064 Pine Street, Thomson, Georgia.

In Columbia, South Carolina, the other day I looked up Mrs. Swinton. She says she is merely under the State Agent in the South Carolina Department of Education, and names as the head of the South Carolina Association of Jeanes Teachers Miss Floy Mitchum. I got no very accurate address for Miss Mitchum, but she is Supervising Jeanes Teacher in Fairfield County, and lives at Winnsboro, which is the county seat of Fairfield County.

I have sent letters to everybody on your list, and hope the others are correct. I do appreciate your sending me the list, and am writing you about the discrepancies because I thought you would want to revise your records.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 21, 1952

Miss Floy Mitchum
Fairfield County
Jeanes Supervising Teacher
Winnsboro, S. C.

Dear Miss Mitchum:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object: to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the South Carolina Jeanes Association buy some and send them out? If each Jeanes Teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

What will your Association do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

April 21, 1952

Mr. Walker E. Solomon
1719 Taylor St.
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mr. Solomon:

I am mighty sorry I missed you the other day, but I realize you were off at an extremely valuable meeting. I only hope that Marion Wright went for our Council.

Mrs. Bailey will tell you of my visit about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. It does seem to me that the Palmetto State Teachers Association could do a whole lot of good for quite a small sum, by getting in one, two, or three hundred copies and sending them out, with a suggestion that means be taken to press the chief or the sheriff in the direction of the booklet. I think that with faithful local work, the new idea will get well into the police forces of the State in one or two years' time.

Others in Columbia were mighty helpful. Mrs. Nelson very kindly got fifty for the Women's Council of Richland County, and Mrs. Paul took a hundred for her Federation. Bishop Reid got a hundred for the AME Church, and Mr. Redd and Mrs. Simpkins got a hundred for the NAACP.

Helpful as that distribution is, there is still a lot to be done, and you can get them into towns that otherwise would not be reached at all.

Do let me know what is decided.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 21, 1952

Mrs. Annie May Hall
Box 46
Newton, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Hall:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object: to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the Georgia Jeanes Association buy some and send them out? If each Jeanes Teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

I know it might be awkward for you to work out a decision on such a matter when your State convention has but lately met. I talked with Mrs. Maynelle Dempsey, and she thought perhaps when your committee meeting came up in May, it might then be possible to come to a decision.

Mr. Harper, for the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, bought 500, but we particularly want Jeanes Teachers to help get this idea into many local communities.

What will your Association do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

April 21, 1952

Mrs. C. M. Birnie
864 Hunter St., SW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Birnie:

Many thanks for telling me about Mrs. Paul. I went to see her at eight o'clock or so Thursday morning, and had no more than to explain the matter before she promptly bought a hundred copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT on behalf of the South Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.

I am sure she will help us also in persuading Mr. Solomon, of the South Carolina Teachers Association. I couldn't reach him because he was away.

Bishop Reid bought a hundred, and Mrs. Simpkins got a hundred for the State NAACP, and Mrs. Nelson bought fifty for the Women's Council of Richland County.

In all, I disposed of 370.

Helps SRC and helps distribution of the pamphlet a lot.

I was impressed with Mrs. Paul. She is widely informed and quick to make good judgments.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 21, 1952

Mr. A. T. Butler
2411 Laurel St.
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mr. Butler:

You were very kind to advise and help us the other day. And so were your fellow Columbians kind.

I missed Mr. Solomon, who was away, and perhaps you might in some way be influential in the decision he will make as to getting some of the pamphlets.

But meanwhile, Mrs. Nelson very kindly took fifty for the Women's Council, and Mrs. Paul took a hundred for her women's clubs, and Mr. Redd and Mrs. Simpkins took a hundred for the NAACP, and Bishop Reid got a hundred. So I think that if the teachers will take it on also, a really effective distribution will have been achieved in South Carolina.

I am glad you are well started in the new business. All success.

You have been a devoted and mighty helpful member of this Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM: ec

April 22, 1952

Rev. Horace Leonard
4517 Thalia St.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Leonard:

You will recall my letter to you of March 25 about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Do let me know what you have decided it will be possible to do. The booklet is moving well, but it is of the greatest importance to have it reach local church people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 22, 1952

Rev. W. H. Buckner, President
Louisiana Sunday School Congress
Franklin, La.

Dear Mr. Buckner:

You will remember the letter Mr. Mays and Mr. Borders and I wrote you March 21 about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Do let me know what you decide to do. It is of the greatest importance for the booklet to reach local church people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 22, 1952

Rev. E. B. Billups, President
Louisiana Baptist Convention
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Mr. Billups:

You will recall President Mays' and the Rev. Mr. Borders' letter to you of March 21 about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Do let us know what you decide to do about it. It is of the greatest importance for the booklet to reach local church people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 22, 1952

Mr. Elmer W. Henderson, Director
American Council on Human Rights
1130 Sixth St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Henderson:

Still no word about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Do decide on it, and help us get it around.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 8, 1952

Mr. Elmer W. Henderson, Director
American Council on Human Rights
1130- 6th St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Henderson:

I am hoping the ACHR will order fifty or more copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT to send out to your people.

We could send them to you at ten cents apiece from fifty on up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 22, 1952

Bishop J. H. Clayborn
R. R. Wright School of Religion
280 Hernando St.
Memphis, Tenn.

Dear Bishop Clayborn:

You will recall my letter of March 10 about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

We haven't heard from you yet on it, and do earnestly hope that you will get some for the invaluable circulation you can give them to people in local communities.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 22, 1952

Rev. R. W. Coleman
Box 5255
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Coleman:

In accordance with your kind suggestion, letters went out March 21 or March 25 to Rev. Horace Leonard, Rev. E. B. Billups, and Rev. W. H. Buckner, recommending the purchase of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT for distribution through their groups. Mr. Mays and Mr. Borders signed the letters to Mr. Buckner and Mr. Billups.

Thus far, I have had no answer from either Mr. Billups or Mr. Buckner or Mr. Leonard. I have sent each a follow-up today.

Can you not take some Louisiana Means of getting them to decide, and to decide helpfully? We will be extremely grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 24, 1952

Dr. Robert C. Hatch
Alabama State Teachers College
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Dr. Hatch:

Thanks a lot for Miss Oliver's name.

I have written her about the booklet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

STATE OF ALABAMA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

April 23, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 24 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In response to your inquiry of April 18, I wish to advise that Miss Tessie M. Oliver, P O Box 324, Union Springs, Alabama, is now president of the Alabama Association of Jeanes Teachers.

Yours very truly,

Robert C. Hatch
B.

Robert C. Hatch
Education Consultant

b/

nole

April 28, 1952

Mr. S. Andhil Fineberg
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Fineberg:

Thank you for your kind comments on RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT and the point you raise about several of the questions in the checklist.

We have worked with a lot of people on getting the pamphlet together and were glad to have the benefit of suggestions from Alex Miller and Art Levin, of ADL, among them. But the booklet is strictly an SRC job.

I am sorry you feel that questions 17, 18, and 19 tend to create stereotypes. Our reason for including them was just the opposite--to get local people to discover proof, with figures, that existing stereotypes result in gross inequalities in law and justice.

All our experience has shown us that far more Negroes than whites are apprehended on such vague--and often unfounded--charges as "suspicion." Also, the homicide rate is uniformly higher among Negroes than among whites because of lax law enforcement in the Negro communities and scoffingly light court sentences when Negroes kill other Negroes. It is important, we think, for these facts to become known to local citizens interested in securing even-handed justice for all.

We have been gratified by the wide use being made of the pamphlet by Southern groups. ADL's Southern Office purchased some 650 copies. Most of the leading religious denominations, Negro and white, having strength in the South, have similarly bought good quantities of the pamphlet for their local action programs. The Methodist Church, through its women's branch, has undertaken to get a copy taken by a local committee to the sheriff in every county in thirteen Southern States. The Catholic Committee of the South is using a thousand copies; various Negro teachers' groups have bought it in large numbers. And so on.

We have never supposed that the booklet would carry a lot of weight as a training manual for policemen themselves. The object is to interest a substantial citizenry in each community in improving police organization as it relates to racial matters. AJC can help us on that, and we earnestly hope you will pick up all of the load you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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IRVING M. ENGEL, *Chairman, Executive Committee*
HERBERT B. EHRMANN, *Chairman, Administrative Committee*
J. M. KAPLAN, *Treasurer*
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JOSEPH WILLEN, *New York, Vice-President*

RECEIVED
APR 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

April 22, 1952

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I note in your excellent pamphlet "Race and Law Enforcement" several questions which I certainly would not have raised. I refer to items 17, 18 and 19 on page 17. I can go along with No. 20, but I see no good resulting in the tedious study of the cases on a racial basis, which is likely to create stereotypes and make it appear that the differences of extent in types of crime result from racial differences.

I understand that the Anti-Defamation League has cooperated in the preparation of this pamphlet, and perhaps I should address my criticism there. But in any event, I want you to know that I am skeptical of the trend of crime study that is typified in those questions. Otherwise, it is a splendid pamphlet. My congratulations to you and to the Anti-Defamation League.

Sincerely yours,

S. Andhil Fineberg L.P.

SAF/lhp

S. ANDHIL FINEBERG

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dictated but not read

April 29, 1952

Mrs. Ida N. Givens
National President
Jeanes Teachers Association
c/o State Dept. of Education
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Mrs. Givens:

Very kind of you the other day to undertake to be in touch with Mrs. Odile C. Ward at Natchitoches (Box 393), with a view to getting the Louisiana Association of Jeanes Teachers to buy some copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

We originally wrote Mrs. Ward April 15 and asked her, on behalf of the Association, to get some. But as yet we have heard nothing from her.

If you have any influence with Mr. George Longe, for the Teachers Association, we want them to get some too, and have been writing to Mr. Longe every now and then for some weeks, but as yet without success.

It is a perfect opportunity for teachers to use in exemplifying citizenship, and ~~exemplifying~~ at 154 per copy it is cheap enough.

Do help us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

LAW OFFICES
OF
RICHARD J. FOSTER
OFFICES 7 & 8
NEW CITY CURB MARKET BUILDING
ELFORD STREET
P. O. BOX 232
GREENVILLE, S. C.

OFFICE PHONE
5-3011

RESIDENCE PHONE
3-0053

April 29, 1952

(1) A Holden
(2) Mrs Tilly
(3) HCF

Chief Jennings
City Police Department
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Chief Jennings:

I am sending to you a copy of a very interesting pamphlet on Race and Law Enforcement in the South. I believe that you will be interested in looking over the material in this booklet.

As chairman of the Law Enforcement Committee that made a study of race relations and law enforcement in the City of Greenville, we were most appreciative of the cooperation that you gave to our committee, and I was, therefore, confident that you would be interested in the experience of other communities with this problem.

Sincerely yours,

Richard J. Foster
Richard J. Foster

RJF:eg
Enclosure

rgle

April 29, 1952

Mr. S. W. Curtis
Executive Secretary
Florida State Teachers Association
Box 726
Clearwater, Fla.

Dear Mr. Curtis:

Do tell us what happened about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT when your Board met.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 16, 1952

Miss Emily Clay
1020 Granada St.
Clearwater, Fla.

Dear Emily:

How very kind of you to "put your shoes on and go do it." I am sure that your visit to Mr. Curtis will get action.

The pamphlet has gone amazingly. Practically every church body that ever had any links with Dr. Will or this Council has helped in one way or another, and teachers groups are coming through pretty well.

Sorry about the Clearwater IRC. You've got a good man now running the Florida Division, and two or three really interested people could get together an active group.

We miss you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

1020 Granada Street
Clearwater, Florida
April 13, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 15 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dear George,

You must have wondered why I apparently ignored your letter, requesting me to talk with Mr. Curtis. I am sorry for the delay, but I was not able to see him until Friday. He recalled, immediately, your letter and the pamphlet, which he said he thought was very fine. His Board will meet in Miami the latter part of this week, I think he said, and he will present your proposition at that time. He promised to write you soon after the meeting, so I hope that you will have a favorable answer very soon. Distribution of the pamphlet, which is excellent, should be helpful and I hope that it will have wide use.

It has been a disappointment to me that the interracial group which appeared to have a good start here has vanished. At the last meeting, more than a year ago, it seems to me, new officers were elected and the group was expected to meet again in the late fall. Nothing further has been done, however. It seems that the white leaders who were instrumental in organizing the group have a reputation

for starting something and not seeing it through. Jane Havens had had some experience with one of them once before. Unfortunately, I have no influence, and my work has so consumed my energy that I have had time for little beyond earning a living — or trying to do so!

Last June the Board of Education decided, just as school was closing, to discontinue the County adult handwaving program in which my sister and I were working. Because of taking action so late, they offered us the use of the equipment, as well as the space which we were using in Clearwater, and we have had a private school during the present school year. After the free program, it was not possible to charge enough this first year to make a living. We have, however, had some very interesting pupils and we hope that we are on the way toward developing something worthwhile after our present arrangement ends this June.

Best wishes to you and your family, and to Mrs. Dilly, Anne, and other SRC friends. I think of you all many times and wish that I could be of some real help.

Sincerely,

Emily H. Clay

April 9, 1952

Mr. S. W. Curtis, Executive Secretary
Florida State Teachers Association
Box 726
Clearwater, Fla.

Dear Mr. Curtis:

What happened about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT?

You wrote us February 21 that the Board of Directors would meet soon, and you would let us know what they decided.

We earnestly want the Florida State Teachers Association to use the booklet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 17, 1952

Miss Emily Clay
1020 Granada St.
Clearwater, Fla.

Dear Emily:

Here is a copy of a letter we sent in February to Mr. S. W. Curtis, who is supposed to run the association of Negro teachers in Florida.

As yet, no reply.

It's a good deal to ask, but could you contrive to go and see him and talk with him about it? I think then there would probably be a good, big order—three, four, or five hundred copies.

If the job has got you tied into knots, could you telephone?

Sincerely and with friendly recollections,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

P. S. After dictating this I discovered that Mr. Curtis wrote us that he would take it up with his Board. But a visit, I am sure, would do a lot to lock it.

February 25, 1952

Mr. S. W. Curtis, Executive Secretary
Florida State Teachers Association
Box 726
Clearwater, Fla.

Dear Mr. Curtis:

Thank you for your letter of February 21.

The pamphlet is going well, and I do hope your group will take it up and help us push it in Florida. We are into a second printing, and I can see a third one coming up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

FLORIDA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

SAMUEL O. COHEN, President
S. W. CURTIS, Executive Secretary
BEN D. GRIFFIN, Treasurer

Headquarters Office:
P. O. Box 726
CLEARWATER, FLORIDA

February 21, 1952

RECEIVED
FEB 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George D. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have just received your kind letter and a copy of the recent pamphlet "Race And Law Enforcement". I thoroughly enjoyed reading this copy. Our Board of Directors will be meeting sometime soon and I shall bring to the attention of the Board the purchase price and the plan of distribution. I shall advise you of whatever action the Board takes.

Sincerely,

S. W. Curtis

S. W. Curtis, Executive Secretary
Florida State Teachers Association

ljw

May 1, 1952

Mr. Galen R. Weaver
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Ave.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Galen:

I continue to appreciate and admire your letters to the various leading lay people to whom you have been writing. And it is particularly a job to have them go out to people in rural spots, such as Nansemond and Surry Counties, Virginia.

Everybody is pulling on this business of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. It is most heartening to see the way in which church organizations are taking it up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 29th 1952

Mrs. Garland Spratley
Dendron, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Spratley:

You are no doubt well acquainted with the constructive work of the Southern Regional Council whose Director is Dr. George Mitchell. Under the auspices of this group a very well written pamphlet has recently been published with the title "Race and Law Enforcement." We are venturing to send you a copy as well as to pass on to you a suggestion Dr. Mitchell has made regarding the way in which you might be helpful.

Dr. Mitchell believes that a genuine impact for good can be made upon law enforcement officers if citizens will call upon the Chief of Police and discuss the matter contained in this document. In such visits the concerned churchwoman can register the knowledge with the Chief that the police force is being watched by responsible citizens who expect professional conduct from their peace officers and justice for all groups and individuals in the community. It would seem to us to be best if you could join with one or several other women from other denominations in carrying out this mission. Where a local Council of Church Women is active, this organization might afford an excellent channel for joint activity in this area.

There is no need to spell out in detail or illustrate by examples the extremely grave importance of the issue of responsible professional conduct on the part of police officers. Too often prejudice and bigotry dictate irresponsible and brutal treatment resulting in injury and sometimes death. "Resistance to officers" is, as you know so well, frequently a flimsy excuse covering up sadistic behaviour on the part of the police. This type of conduct will be greatly curbed when citizen groups make their concern felt where it will count most — namely at police headquarters.

If you wish further advice or information we are certain that Dr. George Mitchell, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Ga. will be glad to confer with you or answer your communications.

Both of us have conferred with Mrs. E.S. McClintock who joins us in hoping that your interest in better human relations will prompt you to lend your cooperation by this practical means.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Hargrove
National Secretary
of Woman's Work

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:a
Enc.

P.S. A similar communication has been sent to Mrs. Mark W. Andes, Box 68, Virgilina; Mrs. Herbert G. Council Jr, 3507 Bainbridge Blvd., Norfolk; Mrs. Armor Lanson Granger, Jr., 2300 Roanoke Avenue, Newport News; and Mrs. W.B. Williams, 1253 - 24th Street, Newport News, in your State.

April 29th 1952

Mrs. J. Everette Neese
6112 Granby Street
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Neese:

You are no doubt well acquainted with the constructive work of the Southern Regional Council whose Director is Dr. George Mitchell. Under the auspices of this group a very well written pamphlet has recently been published with the title "Race and Law Enforcement." We are venturing to send you a copy as well as to pass on to you a suggestion Dr. Mitchell has made regarding the way in which you might be helpful.

Dr. Mitchell believes that a genuine impact for good can be made upon law enforcement officers if citizens will call upon the Chief of Police and discuss the matter contained in this document. In such visits the concerned churchwoman can register the knowledge with the Chief that the police force is being watched by responsible citizens who expect professional conduct from their peace officers and justice for all groups and individuals in the community. It would seem to us to be best if you could join with one or several other women from other denominations in carrying out this mission. Where a local Council of Church Women is active, this organization might afford an excellent channel for joint activity in this area.

There is no need to spell out in detail or illustrate by examples the extremely grave importance of the issue of responsible professional conduct on the part of police officers. Too often prejudice and bigotry dictate irresponsible and brutal treatment resulting in injury and sometimes death. "Resistance to officers" is, as you know so well, frequently a flimsy excuse covering up sadistic behaviour on the part of the police. This type of conduct will be greatly curbed when citizen groups make their concern felt where it will count most — namely at police headquarters.

If you wish further advice or information we are certain that Dr. George Mitchell, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta, Ga. will be glad to confer with you or answer your communications.

Both of us have conferred with Mrs. E.E. McClintock who joins us in hoping that your interest in better human relations will prompt you to lend your cooperation by this practical means.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Hargrove
National Secretary
of Woman's Work

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:a
Enc.

P.S. A similar communication has been sent to the following women in your State: Mrs. Mark W. Andes, Box 88, Virgilina
Mrs. Herbert G. Council Jr., 3507 Bainbridge Blvd., Norfolk
Mrs. Armor Lanson Granger Jr., 2300 Roanoke Ave., Newport News
Mrs. W. B. Williams, 1253 - 24th Street, Newport News
Mrs. Garland Spratley, Dendron.

April 29th 1952

Mrs. Henry E. Robinson
227 Parkview Drive
Burlington, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Robinson:

You are no doubt well acquainted with the constructive work of the Southern Regional Council whose Director is Dr. George Mitchell. Under the auspices of this group a very well written pamphlet has recently been published with the title "Race and Law Enforcement." We are venturing to send you a copy as well as to pass on to you a suggestion Dr. Mitchell has made regarding the way in which you might be helpful.

Dr. Mitchell believes that a genuine impact for good can be made upon law enforcement officers if citizens will call upon the Chief of Police and discuss the matter contained in this document. In such visits the concerned churchwoman can register the knowledge with the Chief that the police force is being watched by responsible citizens who expect professional conduct from their peace officers and justice for all groups and individuals in the community. It would seem to us to be best if you could join with one or several other women from other denominations in carrying out this mission. Where a local Council of Church Women is active, this organization might afford an excellent channel for joint activity in this area.

There is no need to spell out in detail or illustrate by examples the extremely grave importance of the issue of responsible professional conduct on the part of police officers. Too often prejudice and bigotry dictate irresponsible and brutal treatment resulting in injury and sometimes death. "Resistance to officers" is, as you know so well, frequently a flimsy excuse covering up sadistic behaviour on the part of the police. This type of conduct will be greatly curbed when citizen groups make their concern felt where it will count most — namely at police headquarters.

If you wish further advice or information we are certain that Mr. George Mitchell, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta, Ga. will be glad to confer with you or answer your communications.

Both of us have conferred with Mrs. E.E. McClintock who joins us in hoping that your interest in better human relations will prompt you to lend your cooperation by this practical means.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Hargrove
National Secretary
of Woman's Work

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:a
Enc.

P.S. A similar communication has been sent to the following women in North Carolina: Mrs. William J. Andes, 657 S. Sunset Drive, Winston Salem
Mrs. Fletcher C. Lester, 840 Sunset Avenue, Asheboro
Mrs. William E. Wisseman, 315 N. Edgeworth Street, Greensboro

April 28, 1952

RECEIVED
MAY 1 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Robert Lee House
Bennet Street
Southern Pines, N. C.

Dear friend:

I am sending herewith the new publication put out by the Southern Regional Council. Inasmuch as it deals with a very important topic, I thought you - because of your interest in better race relations and because of your responsibilities as Editor of the Christian Sun - would like to have a copy. I hope you will find some good use for it.

You will be interested to know, I think, that after consulting with Miss Hargrove and Mrs. McClintock, Miss Hargrove and I have sent a joint letter to some 20 women of our churches in the South inviting them to use this pamphlet as an opening for a call upon the Chief of Police of their city or town. In presenting him a copy the way will be open to discuss the extremely important matter of the just and fair handling of minority group persons by the police. George Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council has suggested this course of action and I hope that these good ladies will respond by taking up the matter with their respective police chiefs.

Ross Sanderson has mentioned to me the possibility that you may put out an issue of the Christian Sun dealing in whole or in part with race relations. I hope very much that you will undertake to do this. If there is any way in which I can be of help I will gladly respond.

With warm fraternal regards,

Very cordially yours,

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:a
Enc.
P.S. I suppose you have already had a copy of "The Stewardship of the Council for Social Action." If not, you may have one or more copies of this recently published document which sets forth in a positive way the program of the Council with special reference to recent years. The attacks made upon the Council make this publication very timely and we trust, useful, in correcting misapprehensions and distortions.

GRW:

Mrs Tilly

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

April 25, 1952

The Rev. H. S. Hardcastle
Chuckatuck, Virginia

Dear Mr. Hardcastle:

Pattie Lee Coghill has suggested that you would probably find considerable interest in the new booklet prepared and published under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council having to do with more responsible police conduct in respect to minority groups. Miss Hargrove and I have sent a joint letter to approximately 20 women in our southern churches suggesting that they associate themselves with other church women in presenting this document to the Chief of Police in their city or town, thus opening the way for a conversation on this critical subject. Perhaps you will think of other ways in which you think it can be constructively used.

With personal good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:a

May 5, 1952

Mr. James E. Hilley
120 N. Ann St.
Mobile, Ala.

Dear Jim:

I never could seem to remember to bring the letter from the house to the office. Hence the delay in answering you.

Just as I thought, Mr. Mitchell says we can't send the pamphlets to him free. Partly because we're too po' and partly because we think he'd do a much better job of getting them out to his people if he paid for them. Numerous of organizations have bought large blocks of them since February and gotten them out to their members. Here is a fairly complete list.

Hope you're having more luck with the SRC members in Mobile. It will be fine if you can get some local action toward improving law enforcement practices there.

Wonderful to know that you grow buttermilk on your farm, and so kind of you to offer me some! I'll see if I can't persuade my mother to take a trip down that way, and we can fill up the thermos. Almost went to Butler to see my friend with the buttermilk, but she phoned that her baby was real sick and not to come.

Well, you haven't got much longer, have you? Hope you can carry out your plan to stay on the job till the last minute.

Sincerely,

May 5, 1952

Miss Helen L. Peterson, Director
Commission on Human Relations
Denver, Colo.

Dear Miss Peterson:

Hi! We are proud to send you 25 copies.
Bill herewith.

The booklet has moved around amazingly.
We have got church women toting it to the
sheriff in every county in thirteen Southern
States.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

COMMISSION
WILLIAM GRANT, CHAIRMAN
PRUDENCE BOSTWICK
GEORGE W. BRAYFIELD
THE VERY REV. HAROLD V. CAMPBELL
MRS. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN
JAMES FRESQUES
GERALD W. FRUMESS, M. D.
CLARENCE HOLMES, D. D. S.
JOHN H. JACOBS
HARRY LITZENBERGER
MICHAEL LIVODA

May 2, 1952

RECEIVED
MAY 5 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Will you please send us 25 copies of the Police Public Relations Manual of which you gave me one copy when we were in New York City.

Please send a bill for whatever charges there may be.

Sincerely,

Helen

Helen L. Peterson
Director

hlp/ms

rele

Monday AM

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dear Doc;

I'm coming up a letter slow with my project, but don't give me out, you see I've got to work through Rev Walker (the secty) and, he is very nervous — We don't talk this, really try to cover up for him in most places. but the fact remains, and impedes progress — Rev Deer and I submitted the form letter to him a month ago. this was to go out with 10 book each for the members to dispose of. or pay for themselves. I just called the lady who is to do the mimeographing & she said she wanted get on it today. I hate to start a monday morn off the A D Steward way — you know what I mean, Ha; but I have got to have action today — oh, well, I'm sorry to worry you with such minor details, but I had to get this neglect off my chest. It'll go today I bet you

Bye now

Ocie Lee

RECEIVED
1952
Southern Regional Council

May 7, 1952

Mr. Ocie Lee Smith
1500 Bishop St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Ocie Lee:

That's a good letter, and it will help a lot.

That little pamphlet has moved around something tremendous! You will be interested in this list of all of the groups that have bought it.

I hope some day I will get over to your territory.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Monday we got it
well Doc. I got it
out, they will be
mailed before night
Hope you like the
idea of asking them
to use this pamphlet
for education
which, to me, is the
prime objective
of the material
more later
OPS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Little Rock, Ark.
May 6, 1952

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dear Member:

Dr. George E. Mitchell, Executive Secretary, Southern Regional Council, has asked each state chapter to be responsible for the distribution and sale of at least 300 copies of the pamphlet, "RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT."

Ocie Lee Smith, Vice President of the State Chapter devised a scheme to sell 100 copies during the Arkansas Teacher's Association. There are still 200 copies to be disposed of. We are sending the members 10 copies each and asking that you make an effort to get them in the hands of 10 people who will make use of this fine material. They sell for 15¢ each. However, you might prefer underwriting the $1.50, then use the opportunity as a means of selling the idea, purpose and objective of the S. C. R. by presenting strategic and interested persons with a copy of this pamphlet, then following through on it later. More people should know more about this effort.

This little instrument may well mean the bringing of more people into our state organization, and certainly acquainting others with what we are trying to do. The mere fact that you are a member of the S.R.C. signifies your great interest in the objectives of this organization. May you use this material to further your interest and influence others.

You may mail your check of $1.50 to Mr. Ocie Lee Smith, Sr. Vice President Southern Regional Council, 1500 Bishop Street, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Sincerely

Rev. L. H. Deer, President

Rev. C. C. Walker, Secretary

May 8, 1952

Mr. Richard J. Foster
Box 232
Greenville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Foster:

I do greatly appreciate your kindness in sending over the letter you had from Chief Jennings.

It is just such follow-ups action as yours that gets this job done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

R9 LE

LAW OFFICES
OF
RICHARD J. FOSTER
OFFICES 7 & 8
NEW CITY CURB MARKET BUILDING
ELFORD STREET
P. O. BOX 232
GREENVILLE, S. C.

OFFICE PHONE
5-3011

RESIDENCE PHONE
3-0053

May 7, 1952

RECEIVED
MAY 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue - N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing herewith letter from Chief Jennings, Chief of Police in the City of Greenville, for your attention.

Yours very truly,

Richard J. Foster

Richard J. Foster Jr.

RJF:eg
Enclosure

J. H. JENNINGS
CHIEF OF POLICE

L. W. HAMMOND
CHIEF OF DETECTIVES

HEADQUARTERS
DEPARTMENT OF POLICE

Send To Southern Regional Council Atlanta Ga

GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

May 3rd, 1952

Mr. Richard J. Foster,
P. O. Box 232
Greenville, S. C.

Dear Mr. Foster:

I have just received a copy of the pamphlet on Race and Law Enforcement in the south, and want to take this opportunity to thank you so very much for sending me a copy. I am sure the contents will be very interesting.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours very truly,

JHJ/lbg

J. H. Jennings Jr.
J. H. Jennings,
Chief of Police

May 8, 1952

Mrs. George Campbell
312 New St.
DeLand, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Campbell:

May I ask you for some help, just as a member?

Here is a letter we wrote to Mrs. Sharpe. Could you go to see her and discuss with her the possibility of their following through on this plan?

It would help the Council and Florida a lot.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

May 8, 1952

Florida Supervisors Association
Mrs. Evelyn Sharpe, President
321 S. Delaware Ave.
De Land, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Sharpe:

Here is a book that our Council has recently printed. You will see at a glance what it is about. Object: To get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It is being widely used by church groups and by teachers.

We are particularly anxious for Jeanes Teachers everywhere to know about it and to spread the word of its usefulness in improving matters, town by town.

We would like to get the Florida Supervisors Association to purchase fifty or a hundred copies and get them out to their members.

Can you not bring the proposal up to your Executive Committee or otherwise reach a decision on it? It costs only fifteen cents apiece, and clearly, it would do a world of good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

STATE OF FLORIDA

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

TALLAHASSEE

THOMAS D. BAILEY
SUPERINTENDENT

May 7, 1952

RECEIVED
MAY 8 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for a copy of Race and Law Enforcement.

Mrs. Evelyn Sharpe is the president of the Florida Supervisors Association and you may contact her at this address:

321 South Delaware Avenue
Deland, Florida

Sincerely yours,

Minnie Hall Fields

(Mrs.) Minnie Hall Fields, Supervisor
Elementary Schools for Negroes

MHF:RYK

EDUCATION MOLDS OUR FUTURE

BETTER SCHOOLS MAKE BETTER COMMUNITIES

April 30, 1952

Miss Anne Queen
American Friends Service Committee
225 E. Lee St.
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Anne:

Here's a letter we writ.

Thee and I is experienced in these matters and know that without a personal visit, not a lot is apt to happen.

Does not thee feel a concern to go and visit Mr. Whitley? Please, Ma'am, do, and tell him we are good eggs and that he ought to make his Association come through.

Appreciatively, ahead of time,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 30, 1952

Mrs. Ida N. Givens, President
National Association of Jeanes Supervisors
585 S. 13th St.
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Mrs. Givens:

We were uncertain yesterday of a correct address for you. Today came a letter from Dr. Jackson at Crambling, which shows your correct Baton Rouge address, and we send on this copy to make sure you get it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

April 30, 1952

Mr. James E. Whitley, President
Association of Jeanes Teachers in North Carolina
c/o County Superintendent of Schools
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Mr. Whitley:

Here is a book that our Council has recently printed. You will see at a glance what it is about. Object: To get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It is being widely used by church groups and by teachers.

We are particularly anxious for Jeanes Teachers everywhere to know about it and to spread the word of its usefulness in improving matters, town by town.

We would like to get the North Carolina Jeanes Teachers, as an Association, to purchase fifty or a hundred copies and get them out to their members.

Can you not bring the proposal up to your Executive Committee or otherwise reach a decision on it? It only costs fifteen cents apiece, and clearly it would do a world of good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
RALEIGH

RECEIVED
29 1952
Southern Regional Council

April 28, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In accordance with your request, I am glad to advise that Mr. James E. Whitley is president of the Association of Jeanes Teachers in North Carolina. His address is in care of the County School Superintendent's office, Greensboro, North Carolina.

With best wishes, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Clyde A. Erwin

Clyde A. Erwin
State Superintendent Public Instruction

April 30, 1952

Dr. Kara V. Jackson
Grambling College
Grambling, La.

Dear Dr. Jackson:

I realized when I wrote it that my letter rang rudely somehow, but I was in a hurry, and I let it go.

I didn't mean to be rude, and I'm sorry.

You were mighty kind to help, and I am grateful for all the trouble you have taken.

The main thing is to get various of the Jeanes Associations to make use of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. Do help some more on that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEANES SUPERVISORS

Vice-President
MISS FLORENCE O. ALEXANDER
1120 W. Pascagoula Street
Jackson, Mississippi

President
MRS. IDA NANCE GIVENS
585 S. 13th Street
Baton Rouge, La.

Executive Secretary
DR. KARA VAUGHN JACKSON
Grambling College
Grambling, Louisiana

Recording Secretary
MRS. THELMA S. MORRIS
301 S. Lawrence Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Treasurer
MRS. LELIA B. YANCEY
Box 569
Henderson, So. Carolina

April 28, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 30 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Presidents of State Jeanes Associations change each year, some during the annual fall meetings and others during the annual spring meetings. The list I sent you consisted of names of former State or Regional Chairmen as far as my record show. In instances where I did not have the name of the State President I gave you the name of a key person in the state, usually the state official charged directly with the responsibility of directing Jeanes workers. This I thought you would appreciate. But now I realize that it is only State Presidents that you want. I regret that I did not explain the list to you more fully.

I think you are getting the accurate record as I would do. Although I appreciate the courtesy, it must be an added burden for you to take the responsibility of getting my record straight, and if it pleases you, you may feel relieved of this burden.

I get an annual address list from the Southern Education Foundation of the 528 Jeanes workers, and I experience very little difficulty in dispatching general or specific information to any one or all of these. I have found that individual contacts yield better results than working through state groups.

I must apologize for being as little service to you as I have been, and then confusing you at that.

Sincerely yours,

Kara V. Jackson

Kara V. Jackson, Special
Jeanes Teacher

KVJ/o

April 25, 1952

Dr. Kara V. Jackson
Grambling College
Grambling, La.

Dear Dr. Jackson:

In Virginia the associate supervisor of elementary and secondary education, Mr. A. G. Richardson, wrote me that the chairman of the Virginia Supervisors Association is Mrs. Naomi W. Grannum, Box 302, Manassas.

Apparently, they have dropped out the name "Jeanes" right there in Virginia Randolph's home State!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 25, 1952

Mrs. Naomi W. Grannum, Chairman
Virginia Supervisors Association
Box 302
Manassas, Va.

Dear Mrs. Grannum:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object: to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the Virginia Supervisors Association buy some and send them out? If each supervising teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

April 25, 1952

Mr. Or Mrs. Arthur Raper
Box 72, Route 2
Vienna, Va.

Dear Martha and Arthur:

Here's a letter we wrote to a not too remote neighbor of yours.

We all know from experience that such a letter will hardly get response unless it is assisted by a personal visit.

I know you are busy running the government and the farm and a flock of younguns. But couldn't you, please, some week-end day or a twilight evening soon, drive over to Manassas and hunt up Mrs. Grannum and tell her the Council is an okay outfit and the booklet is some account and she ought to get some?

She's the right one, because I have fresh word from Richardson, who is a head guy on those things in the State Department of Education in Richmond. He names her as the chairman of the Virginia Supervisors Association. In Virginia, apparently, they no longer call their supervisors "Jeanes Teachers." That blessed Virginia--she will never do anything like anybody else!

Gratefully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

P. S. And can you send me a post card and say what happened?

April 25, 1952

Mr. A. G. Richardson
Associate Supervisor of Elementary
& Secondary Education
State Board of Education
Richmond 16, Va.

Dear Mr. Richardson:

Many thanks for Mrs. Grannum's address.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
RICHMOND, 16

April 23, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 25 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mrs. Naomi W. Grannum, Box 302, Manassas, Virginia, is the Chairman of our Virginia Supervisors Association.

I am sure Mrs. Grannum will cooperate with you in distributing these bulletins to the supervisors who were formerly known as Jeanes Teachers.

Sincerely yours,

A. G. Richardson

A. G. Richardson
Associate Supervisor of Elementary
and Secondary Education

AGR/ec

April 24, 1952

Dr. Kara V. Jackson
Grambling College
Grambling, La.

Dear Dr. Jackson:

Mr. Robert C. Hatch, for the Alabama State Department of Education, supplied me April 23, '52, with the name of Miss Tessie M. Oliver, P. O. Box 324, Union Springs, Alabama, as being presently president of the Alabama Association of Jeanes Teachers.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 24, 1952

Professor Lewis Jones
Box 67
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Lewis:

I'm very anxious to get Jeanes Teachers provided with copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. And each State Association of Jeanes Teachers has a minute treasury from which it could buy some. I am told the difficulty is that nothing ever happens except once a year, when they have a meeting. Still, they must have executive committee meetings once in a while.

It is a lot to ask, but can you stick this matter in the glove compartment of your car, and on some early trip South stop at Union Springs and hunt up Miss Oliver and try to persuade her to act?

With warm appreciation,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

April 24, 1952

Miss Tessie M. Oliver
Box 324
Union Springs, Ala.

Dear Miss Oliver:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object: to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the Alabama Jeanes Association buy some and send them out? If each Jeanes Teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

Dr. Hatch At State College bought 150 for the Teachers Association. But we particularly want Jeanes Teachers to help get this idea into many local communities.

What will your Association do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

April 18, 1952

Dr. Robert C. Hatch
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Dr. Hatch:

Who is the head now of the Alabama Association of Jeanes Teachers?

Sincerely and with warm regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 17, 1952

Rev. W. J. Faulkner
Dean of the Chapel
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Dear Dean Faulkner:

Have you got any leads as to Mrs. Evelyn Hall at Gallatin, Tennessee? She's the head of the Tennessee Association of Jeanes Teachers.

I wrote her the other day and asked her to get her organization to buy a flock of copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT and help move it around.

If you know anybody that knows her, who could get word to her that we are decent and it is a good thing and that she ought to do it, I would appreciate it a lot. If you want me to write to some friend of hers, I will be happy to.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 17, 1952

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
808 Hamie St.
Hattiesburg, Miss.

Dear Rabbi Mantinband:

I propose to you a job, but only if it happens to be convenient to you.

Here's a letter we wrote to the young woman who is the chairman of the Association of Jeanes Teachers for Mississippi.

I observe that she's over at Prentiss, which may or may not be one of the towns you spear out to once in a while.

If you do get over there and could go and see her, I am sure that the chance of her Association buying fifty or a hundred copies and doing something about it would be enormously increased.

And the Jeanes Teachers are such good people anyway, that if you do not already have their acquaintance in Mississippi, it would be worth something to you to get to know their head person.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

April 17, 1952

Mr. George Stephens
The Stephens Press
Asheville, N. C.

Dear George:

Here's a letter I sent a fellow citizen of yours in Asheville.

You will see that she is president of the North Carolina Association of Jeanes Teachers.

For a letter, she's not apt to act.

Do you think you could phone her, or even go to see her? If not, have you a friend so situated that he or she could persuade Mrs. Herring?

The Jeanes Teachers could do infinite good with the booklet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

P. S. I appreciate your help to Marion Wright. He is a good egg.

Encls.

April 17, 1952

President Rufus B. Atwood
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Ky.

Dear Mr. Atwood:

Here is a letter I wrote Mrs. Copeland from Hoptown.

I don't know whether you have leads to her or not.

If you know her or know somebody who does know her, do you think you could try to persuade her to do what the letter asks?

It would do a heap of good if the Jeanes Teachers would pick it up.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

April 17, 1952

Dean C. G. Gomillion
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Dean Gomillion:

Here is a letter I wrote Mrs. Sheffield at Moulton.

I haven't got a member within miles of Moulton. But I do want somebody to get word to Mrs. Sheffield that we are all right and that her Association would do well to help this along.

Have you got any channel that would reach her? If so, I know you will try. And we will thank you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

April 15, 1952

Mrs. Dorothy G. Holmes
Box 246
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Holmes:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object: to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the Florida Jeanes Association buy some and send them out? If each Jeanes Teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

What will your Association do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 15, 1952

Mrs. Clara W. West
1064 Pine St.
Greenville, Ga.

wrong address

Dear Mrs. West:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object: to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the Georgia Jeanes Association buy some and send them out? If each Jeanes Teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

Mr. Harper, for the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, bought 500, but we particularly want Jeanes Teachers to help get this idea into many local communities.

What will your Association do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 15, 1952

Mrs. Mayne L. Copeland
302 E. 4th St.
Hopkinsville, Ky.

Dear Mrs. Copeland:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object: to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the Kentucky Jeanes Association buy some and send them out? If each Jeanes Teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

The Lincoln Foundation has bought 200 to send out to chiefs of police. The Kentucky Division of SRC has sent out 150. But we particularly want Jeanes Teachers to help get this idea into many local communities.

What will your Association do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 15, 1952

Mrs. Odile C. Ward
Box 393
Natchitoches, La.

Dear Mrs. Ward:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object: to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the Louisiana Jeanes Association buy some and send them out? If each Jeanes teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

The Louisiana Division of the Council has sent out a couple of hundred over the State, and we are trying hard to get Mr. George Longe, for the Teachers Association, to buy a supply. But we particularly want Jeanes Teachers to help get this idea into many local communities.

What will your Association do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 15, 1952

Mrs. Thelma W. Johnson
Prentiss Institute
Prentiss, Miss.

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object: to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the Mississippi Jeanes Association buy some and send them out? If each Jeanes teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

The Mississippi Division of SRC has sent out 300, and we have been trying hard to get Mr. Blackburn, for the Mississippi Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, to lay in a supply. But we particularly want Jeanes Teachers to help get this idea into many local Communities.

What will your Association do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 15, 1952

Mrs. Lucy S. Herring
91 Broad St.
Asheville, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Herring:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object: to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the North Carolina Jeanes Association buy some and send them out? If each Jeanes teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

The North Carolina Division of the Council has bought and sent out a couple of hundred. But we particularly want Jeanes Teachers to help get this idea into many local communities.

What will your Association do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 15, 1952

Mrs. Sylvia P. Swinton
State Department of Education
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mrs. Swinton:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object: to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the Jeanes Association in South Carolina buy some and send them out? If each Jeanes Teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

The South Carolina Division of the Council sent out a hundred. But we particularly want Jeanes Teachers to help get this idea into many local communities.

What will your Association do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 15, 1952

Mrs. Evelyn Hall
Box 236
Gallatin, Tenn.

Dear Mrs. Hall:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object: to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the Jeanes Association in Tennessee buy some and send them out? If each Jeanes teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

Alfred Mynders and Dr. Charles Johnson sent out a couple of hundred to sheriffs and chiefs in Tennessee, and we have been trying hard to get decision out of Mr. Brooks at Clarksville, as head of the Tennessee Negro Education Association. But we particularly want Jeanes Teachers to help get this idea into many local communities.

What will your Association do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 15, 1952

Mrs. Pauline W. Campbell
Sam Houston High School
Huntsville, Texas

Dear Mrs. Campbell:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object; to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the Texas Jeanes Association buy some and send them out? If each Jeanes Teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

Mrs. Crate, of the Texas Interracial Commission, sent out forty dollars' worth, and I have been trying to interest Mr. Rowe at Jasper in using a lot for his Association. But we particularly want Jeanes Teachers to help get this idea into many local communities.

What will your Association do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 15, 1952

Mrs. Odele L. Sheffield — Incorrect
Box 193
Moulton, Ala.

Dear Mrs. Sheffield:

A few weeks ago our Council published this booklet. Object: to get local committees of civic-minded people to carry it along on a visit to the chief or the sheriff, and try to get him to bring the force up to these modern standards.

It has taken remarkably well. See note on page 7 of current NEW SOUTH, herewith.

Could not the Alabama Jeanes Association buy some and send them out? If each Jeanes Teacher had one for herself and even one extra to give to some influential local person, that would do a lot of good.

Mr. Hatch at State College bought 150 for the Teachers Association. But we particularly want Jeanes Teachers to help get this idea into many local communities.

What will your Association do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 15, 1952

Mrs. Margaret T. Haley
21h E. Clay St., Rm. 400
Richmond, Va.

Dear Mrs. Haley:

Here is the letter I have written to the heads of each of the State Associations of Jeanes Teachers.

Richmond is my home town, and I feel as though I could write in special friendship to you. Anyway, Henrico is where the whole Jeanes business began.

Mr. Picott has promised to take up with his Executive Committee my request that the Virginia Teachers Association get enough to send about to many of their members. And Emerson Smith has already sent out over 300 for the Department of Interracial Cooperation of the Virginia Council of Churches.

Honest, the Jeanes Teachers in Virginia ought to do this. Would you?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 15, 1952

Mrs. Gloria S. Ainsworth
41 F St., NE
Ardmore, Okla.

Dear Mrs. Ainsworth:

Here is a letter such as I sent to the chairmen of the State Associations of Jeanes Teachers in other Southern States.

Could you help me some in Oklahoma?

Our Council has no Division in the State (only nine or ten members), and I simply haven't been able to find anybody in the State with a small treasury that would buy fifty or a hundred copies and get them out usefully. Mr. O. D. Duncan, at Stillwater, told me to write counties to whose sheriffs it should go, but still I can't manage it unless somebody can buy the little fifteen-cent booklets.

Sure 'nuff, why shouldn't your Association take this little job and do it, privately or as an Association?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 14, 1952

Dr. Kara V. Jackson
Grambling College
Grambling, La.

Dear Dr. Jackson:

I greatly appreciate your letter of April 10 with the names of the chairmen of the State Jeanes Associations.

We've written each one of them a long letter asking for action on the police pamphlet.

I do hope that each Association will buy a goodly number. Nobody better in the world to push that idea than Jeanes Teachers.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

GRAMBLING COLLEGE

R. W. E. JONES, PRESIDENT

GRAMBLING, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

April 10, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 14 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

The list of names and addresses of the chairmen of State Jeanes Association is enclosed as by request.

I regret that being away from my office delayed this response to your request.

Yours very truly,

Kara V. Jackson

Kara V. Jackson,
Director of Student
Personnel Services

KVJ/o

Mrs. Odele L. Sheffield
Box 193
Moulton, Alabama

Mrs. Dorothy G. Holmes
Box 246
Tallahassee, Florida

Mrs. Clara W. West
1064 Pine Street
Greenville, Georgia

Mrs. Mayme L. Copeland
302 E. 4th Street
Hopkinsville, Kentucky

DK Mrs. Odile C. Ward
Box 393
Natchitoches, Louisiana

Mrs. Thelma W. Johnson
Prentiss Institute
Prentiss, Mississippi

Mrs. R. A. Crawford
Box 690
Caruthersville, Mo.

Mrs. Lucy S. Herring
91 Broad Street
Asheville, N. C.

Mrs. Gloria S. Ainsworth
41 F. Street, N. E.
Ardmore, Okla.

Mrs. Sylvia P. Swinton
State Dept. of Education
Columbia, S. C.

Mrs. Evelyn Hall
Box 236
Gallatin, Tennessee

Mrs. Pauline W. Campbell
Sam Houston H. S.
Huntsville, Texas

Mrs. Margaret T. Haley
Room 400
214 E. Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia

Eup.

March 31, 1952

Dr. Kara Vaughn Jackson
Grambling College
Grambling, La.

Dear Dr. Jackson:

I have been hoping you would send me the names of the heads of the State associations of Jeanes teachers.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Dictated but not read.

March 6, 1952

Dr. Kara Vaughn Jackson
Grambling College
Grambling, La.

Dear Dr. Jackson:

Our Council has just put out this booklet. It costs fifteen cents apiece.

Object: To get small groups of civic-minded people, after studying it, to take it along on a visit to the chief or to the sheriff, and urge him to bring the force around to these modern standards.

If you would be good enough to give me the addresses of one appropriate officer for each State Association of Jeanes Supervisors, we would be glad to write a letter to each one and ask for help from that State Association in getting it around in the State.

The booklet has already been bought in good, big blocks by church groups and by teachers. The Georgia Teachers and Education Association bought 500.

My regards to you and my most pleasant recollections to Grambling,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Same letter: Rev. L. H. Brown, 409 Hobart Pl., N. W., Washington, D. C.

May 9, 1952

Mr. L. S. White
Williams Institutional CME Church
2317 Seventh Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. White:

We received today an order from Bishop W. Y. Bell for three hundred copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, to be sent to him in your name. We have sent them out today by express.

I merely write to appraise you of the contents of the package, with a view to lessening, as much as possible, the chance of any mishap of the package getting safely through to Bishop Bell in time for the meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

May 9, 1952

Bishop W. Y. Bell
2105 N. Main Ave.
South Boston, Va.

Dear Bishop Bell:

We were rejoiced when Mr. Short called today and later came by the office to tell us about the magnificent order for the three hundred and the two hundred copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT!

We have sent them off, addressed as below:

Bishop W. Y. Bell
c/o Mr. L. S. White
Williams Institutional CME Church
2317 Seventh Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Bishop W. Y. Bell
c/o Rev. L. H. Brown 409 Hobart Pl., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

I do hope no mishap occurs in getting them directly to you and in time for the meetings.

To make it as sure as possible, I have sent the enclosed letter to Mr. Brown and Mr. White.

We feel like really good things are being done when you undertake a distribution of this kind.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

May 12, 1952

Rev. R. B. Shorts
18 Raymond St., SW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Shorts:

How very kind that was of you to bring us Bishop Bell's order for the five hundred copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT!

We sent them out Friday.

If our Council can ever be of any help to you, we would like to.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

n file

May 12, 1952

Professor O. A. Rowe, President
Colored Teachers State Association of Texas
Drawer 5979
Jasper, Texas

Dear Mr. Rowe:

Please tell us what happened about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT at your Executive Committee meeting May 3.

We are very hopeful that the Association will have arranged a goodly purchase.

We covet the distribution your group can give it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

April 10, 1952

Professor O. A. Rowe, President
Colored Teachers State Association of Texas
Drawer 5979
Jasper, Texas

Dear Mr. Rowe:

Many thanks for your letter of April 7. We will be on the lookout for news of the decision of your Executive Committee when it meets May 3.

Would you like to send a copy of the booklet to each member of the Executive Committee? That would give them every chance to know it well when they come to decide on it.

I send you separately fifteen copies, with that in mind.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Colored Teachers State Association of Texas

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT
DRAWER 5979
JASPER, TEXAS

PRESIDENT
O. A. ROWE

SECRETARY-TREASURER
MRS. HAZEL HARVEY-PEACE
FORT WORTH

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
F. R. RICE
AUSTIN

J. E. GOODEN
HOUSTON

J. J. WILSON
WACO

H. L. WALTON
DALLAS

J. E. CODWELL
HOUSTON

GUS JONES
CALDWELL

H. C. JOHNSON
BEAUMONT

T. B. MITCHELL
KENDLETON

H. L. KING
FORT WORTH

E. F. GREEN
GLADEWATER

G. C. MERIDITH
TEMPLE

R. W. STAFFORD
ABILENE

T. J. DOWNS
GILMER

April 7, 1952

RECEIVED
APR 10 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Re: Race and Law Enforcement Bul.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In reply to your letter of March 31, 1952 regarding the above mentioned bulletin for teachers, please be advised that our Executive Committee will meet on May 3, 1952 and this matter will be presented to them at that time.

I will let you hear from me immediately after this meeting.

Very truly yours,

O. A. Rowe

O. A. Rowe, President
Colored Teachers State
Association of Texas

OAR:vma

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address:* "AMJCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

JACOB BLAUSTEIN, *President*
IRVING M. ENGEL, *Chairman, Executive Committee*
HERBERT B. EHRMANN, *Chairman, Administrative Committee*
J. M. KAPLAN, *Treasurer*
MAURICE GLINERT, *Associate Treasurer*
EDWARD A. NORMAN, *Secretary*
JOHN SLAWSON, *Executive Vice-President*

JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER, *Honorary President*
HERBERT H. LEHMAN, *Honorary Vice-President*
SAMUEL D. LEIDESDORF, *Honorary Vice-President*
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HAROLD RIEGELMAN, *New York, Vice-President*
LESTER ROTH, *Los Angeles, Vice-President*
RALPH E. SAMUEL, *New York, Vice-President*
JOSEPH WILLEN, *New York, Vice-President*

May 12, 1952

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks for your informative letter of April 28th. My own feeling about getting justice for the Negro is molded largely by the change of tactics that brought infinitely better results in regard to anti-Semitism than the old attempts to deal directly with stereotypes. My own finding long ago was that dealing directly with a slur, even while attempting to contradict it, only fastens it deeper into the public memory.

The fact that Negroes should get equal and even justice is a splendid thesis that can be advanced in many ways. But I do not think it will help a bit to show that the homicidal rate is uniformily higher among Negroes than among whites. The public won't believe that it is lax law enforcement that causes this. What sticks in the public mind is the idea that more Negroes are murderers. Moreover, the people who will read questions 16, 17, 18 and 19 will in only a few instances follow the matter up by adequate study.

I believe this is a splendid pamphlet, but I do take the liberty of urging you to reconsider some of those psychological factors relating to those particular questions. My own feeling is that you can't argue with the public or get very far by the use of subtleties. By the "public" I mean that large segment of society which is not directly interested in a matter and which will not spend time becoming expert in regard to it. I am part of the public that was eating spinach plentifully and now drink orange juice abundantly and tomorrow may think that carrots are the most indispensable of foods -- while the dieticians, who know what it is all about, are probably biting their nails while a few popularizers hammer home their ideas with some good hammer strokes. If I seem to "disparage the public" please bear in mind that I consider myself as much of a boob in regard to engineering, architecture, biology, thermo-dynamics and countless other subjects, as I consider our "public" to be in the field of intergroup relations.

I would like us to arrive at the best judgments, the most honest ideals and the most socially desirable goals and to put those across to the public with as much propaganda ability as we can muster. All that I know of propaganda and public education convinces me that you cannot say with success to the public: "The Negroes are shabby, dirty and disorderly; but it is the fault of someone else." What I would say is: "Look what fine, intelligent, honorable

upstanding citizens the Negro group can and does produce when given a chance. Let's do this and that to give more Negroes opportunity to become fine citizens."

No doubt this is the kind of thing that one discusses to better advantage in person than by correspondence. I hope, however, that I have transmitted my view. Thanks for yours.

Cordially yours,

S. Andhil Fineberg

SAF/lhp

S. ANDHIL FINEBERG

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

MEMO RE R&LE June 5, 1952

Mrs. Tilly June 3 sold a considerable quantity of R&LE, number as yet unknown, to the Alabama Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. Mrs. Tilly delegated the matter of disposing of them to Mrs. Jones. Get name and address from Mrs. Tilly. Mrs. Jones is to sell them and send the money over here. Mrs. Tilly had a hundred pamphlets to begin with.

nole

June 5, 1952

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
NAACP
624 Masonic Temple Bldg.
1630-4th Ave., N.
Birmingham, Ala.

Dear Mrs. Hurley:

We have had two or three goodish orders from NAACP groups for RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. Our friend Mrs. Constance Daniel got fifteen for the D. C. Branch, and Mrs. Simpkins, in Columbia, S. C., got a hundred for the South Carolina Branches.

I wonder whether other local branches or State organizations would be interested in getting some and using them to educate local police people? It's a good, workable local action job.

If you should think it a suitable thing to do, I would be glad to send you some reasonable quantity--fifteen or thirty, say--to be sent out by you to State or local people, with notice that more can be had directly from here. Alternatively, you could lay in a stack and distribute them down to local people.

They are supposed to be fifteen cents flat, but I would be glad to send them to you in quantity at ten cents apiece. (A sample supply to you free, of course, if you want it.)

I must have told you that Mrs. Tilly and the church women are trying to have local committees take it to the sheriff in every county in thirteen Southern States. But such a vast undertaking will leave a whole lot of gaps. And there's never any harm in pressure coming at the police people from several directions.

What do you think?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encls.

1500 Bishop St
Little Rock Ark.

Dear Doc:

I am still in the process of Disposing of the Pamphlets. The results are fair— I've decided to wait about 2 wks then send in the amount I have. Really wanted to submit it all at once. I am not satisfied at all with our Ark chapter. Trying to figure out a way to sort of stir up some activity. I will soon. for we aren't doing anything of late

R & LE

June 16, 1952

Mrs. John L. Parkes
Board of Women's Work
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
309 Henry Grady Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Parkes:

I got back the other day from a trip to South Carolina. In the course of that, I found myself one noontime wandering at large in the main building of Coker College at Hartsville. One temporarily empty room was arranged for what I can see now was a meeting of one of your Women's Training Schools. Prominent in the literature on the table was the July issue of PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN. Notwithstanding a good, big sign that said," Please do not take," I swiped three, because I knew that would be the issue that carried, as duly it did, a fine notice of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

I thank you and the Board of Women's Work for putting that through. It will help a lot.

I am told that in the last few days some orders have trickled in, carrying no indication directly of having been prompted by Volume 8, Number 4, but quite probably attributable to it. The chances are that any orders that come in, as these have, duly enclosing the fifteen cents, will have been stimulated by PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN. Nearly everybody else says, "Send me one," and then we have to bill them for the fifteen cents.

We will keep a record of the orders that we rather guess are from that source and will let you know.

Meanwhile, we appreciate being noticed so well.

Mrs. Dabbs, at whose home I stayed in Mayesville, was about to go over to hartsville for the training curse.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

1

Janie W. McGaughey
Executive Secretary

Mrs. John L. Parkes
Assistant Secretary

Mary S. Quidor
Treasurer

Board of Women's Work

Presbyterian Church in the United States.

309 Henry Grady Building, Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1952
Southern Regional Council

June 12, 1952

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing a copy of our July issue of PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN which is marked to show you how we brought the booklet, "Race and Law Enforcement," to the women of our Church. It will also be mentioned in Women's Training Schools this summer and we will be interested in knowing if our Presbyterian women ordered it, if you keep a record by denominations. Please don't feel that you must do it because I mentioned it, but after you said that the other denominations were introducing it we wanted you to know that we too felt that it was such an excellent booklet that we wanted our women to use it.

Most sincerely,

Dorothy D. Parkes

Mrs. John L. Parkes
Assistant Secretary

DDP:ba

enc.

mole

THE CENTRAL CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE
631 BARONNE STREET
NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.

RECEIVED
JUL 22 1952
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF
THE EDITOR

July 21, 1952.

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
663 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Thank you sincerely for the pamphlet entitled, "Race and Law Enforcement", which I consider exceedingly noteworthy. I am writing an editorial concerning it for the Central Christian Advocate.

I am sorry that I missed you when you were in our city. When I come to Atlanta I shall contact you.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Prince A. Taylor, Jr.

Prince A. Taylor, Jr.

PAT:oj

SRC Pubs n.d. c

Freedoms Foundation

VALLEY FORGE

PA.

KENNETH D. WELLS
President

RECEIVED
JUN 30 1952
Southern Regional Council

June 26, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for sending me copies of your new book "Race and Law Enforcement". I am going to read it with great interest.

Certainly there is very much yet to be done in America, and always will need to be done, as we keep all of the police powers working in the interests of all Americans regardless of who or where they are. We have made great progress in our country as compared to the other countries of the world, but there is still so much to be done and always will be so long as we human beings, who are made in the image of our maker, fall short again and again of the personal conduct that we should have in dealing with other peoples, and which most unfortunately seems many times to reach a low ebb when we have the authority of the uniform and the badge.

I am intensely interested in the subject which you have dealt with, and I will examine what you have had to say and put the materials in the 1952 consideration file for our Awards Jury. I invite you to send any and all other things which are in this total field for review when the Jury meets this coming fall on the 1952 program.

Most sincerely,

Kenneth D. Wells

Kenneth D. Wells

KDW:MS

Soap

June 6, 1952

Mr. Kenneth D. Wells
Executive Vice President
Freedoms Foundation
Valley Forge, Pa.

Dear Mr. Wells:

Back in November, 1949, our Council sent you a copy of a green-backed booklet called RACE IN THE NEWS. We thought maybe we would by it earn some award from Freedom's Foundation. You very kindly wrote me December 6, 1949, that you were entering it in the official judging for the 1950 competition.

We would like to enter now another effort. Three copies enclosed. Title, RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

This was published by the Council in February, 1952. We exhausted a first issue of 8,000, a second printing of 5,000, and have nearly exhausted our third printing of 5,000.

We have sold it (ordinarily at fifteen cents a copy) to the following organizations:

AME Church, Atlanta	175
AME Church, Columbia, S. C.	100
CME Church	500
Methodist Church, Central Jurisdiction	100
National Council of Churches, Southeastern Office	100
Southern Baptist Convention, Social Service Commission	25
Protestant Episcopal Church, National Council	200
Congregational Christian Churches, American Missionary Association	10
Wheat Street Baptist Church, Atlanta	200
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith	667
YWCA National Board, Atlanta	160
The Bookshop (YWCA Publications), New York	10
American Friends Service Committee	80
Catholic Committee of the South	1,000
Virginia Council of Churches, Dept. of Interracial Cooperation	320
Texas Commission on Race Relations	260
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation	167
North Carolina Division, Southern Regional Council	200
South Carolina Division, SRC	100
Mississippi Division, SRC	300

North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.	100
Alabama Division, SRC	500
Louisiana Division, SRC	200
Kentucky Division, SRC	150
Arkansas Division, SRC	300
Tennessee Division, SRC	150
National Baptist Convention	100
Georgia Teachers and Education Association	500
Florida State Teachers Association	160
Alabama State Teachers Association	150
New Jersey Division against Discrimination	100
Jewish Community Relations Council, St. Louis	15
Board of Community Relations, Buffalo	15
Race Relations Institute, Fisk University	180
Commission on Human Relations, Denver	25
Urban League of Kansas City	12
Urban League of Anderson, Indiana	10
The Lincoln Foundation, Louisville	200
South Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Clubs	100
Woman's Council of Richland County, S. C.	50
National Council of Negro Women, Region IV	70
NAACP, South Carolina Conference Branches	100
NAACP, District of Columbia Branch	15
American Nurses' Association	60
CIO, Department of Research and Education	500
Students at Morehouse College	100
Students at Tuskegee Institute	200
Students at Alabama State Teachers College	150
Students at Tougaloo (Mississippi) College	20
Students at Fisk University	32
Students at Bethune-Cookman College	75
TOTAL	9,013

In addition, we sent it out to our own 4,000 members and subscribers.

The Board of Women's Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. has made the topic of improving police work anent matters of race a part of their official program for the month of July, 1952.

The Woman's Society of Christian Service for the Southeastern Jurisdiction and for the Southcentral Jurisdiction (comprising Methodist women in thirteen Southern States, plus Missouri) have, by formal action, made it a part of their program to get small committees of church women in every one of the counties in the South, after reading the pamphlet, to carry it to their sheriff and obtain from him, if possible, some written notation that he has received it.

It will be seen that the booklet is addressed not so much to police officers themselves as to interested members of the public. What we want to do is to arouse such an interest in each county and in towns and cities across the South, so that law enforcement officials will be aware of informed and concerned local public opinion on this matter.

We think that the measures taken to obtain local distribution of the pamphlet to just such persons as will be interested have been effective. We therefore think that a slow but substantial change has been begun in the attitude of the law enforcement officials in the South on this question of fair and equal dealing, regardless of race.

Our Council is a responsible organization, proceeding always in an orderly and law-abiding way.

We submit this effort in the way of building helpful public opinion as a good instance of preserving and extending the American way of life.

I should like you to know at this time that we have reason to believe that RACE IN THE NEWS, issued two and a half years ago, has played a substantial part in the great advance made by the Southern press in impartial and considerate handling of news about Negro citizens.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encs.

GSM—

For "Race and Law Enforcement," as discussed.

HCF

DON BELDING
PRESIDENT

GUY M. RUSH
VICE CHAIRMAN

LEWIS H. BROWN
VICE CHAIRMAN

KENNETH DALE WELLS
EXEC. VICE PRESIDENT

Mitchell

Ozyd

Freedoms Foundation
INC.

VALLEY FORGE (PENNA.) U. S. A.

"PRESERVING AND EXTENDING THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE"

December 6, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 423
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter to Don Belding enclosing the brochure "Race in The News."

We are entering this in the official judging for the 1950 competition.

Most cordially,

Kenneth D. Wells
Executive Vice President

KDW:hw

role

July 7, 1952

Bishop Robert N. Brooks
651 Baronne St.
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Bishop Brooks:

I was mighty sorry to have missed you the other day when I was in the city.

Your secretary very kindly undertook to show you a copy of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. I do hope you will like it and will wish to get one, two, or three hundred out to your various ministers.

We remember your warm interest in the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

April 9, 1952

Bishop Robert N. Brooks
651 Baronne St.
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Bishop Brooks:

I really counted on you to lay in a good stock of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT and help get it out. I wrote you about it February 11 and again March 10.

You know we admire and respect you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

March 10, 1952

Bishop Robert N. Brooks
651 Baronne St.
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Bishop Brooks:

Do, please, keep my letter of February active. We greatly hope that you can help us get that pamphlet out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 11, 1952

Bishop Robert N. Brooks
651 Baronne St.
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Bishop Brooks:

Here's another good pamphlet, this time about police. We all remember your interest in RACE IN THE NEWS two and a half years ago.

Main purpose of this one is to stimulate local citizens to go, blue pamphlet in hand, to see the chief or the sheriff and talk over with him ways of bringing the force around to these modern standards. If we can get that done in hundreds of places over the South, it should produce a remarkable improvement in a matter of two, three, or four years.

We have worked it out hoping all along that it would be picked up and used as part of the action program of local churches. It's a persuasive and not a pushy thing. And using it is directly in line with any Christian citizen's duty.

The official publication date is February 13. But already, on seeing only mimeographed copies, we have had large orders for it from the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, the Georgia interracial Committee, the National Council of the Churches of Christ, the Alabama and Mississippi Divisions of the Southern Regional Council, and so on. I have written about it to leading people in nearly all of the denominations having substantial membership in the South.

Would you not seriously consider what can be done with it by the Central Jurisdiction? If you could contrive a way for it to reach the minister and, perhaps directly, some of the lay people in each church, with a letter pointing out how best to use it, I think a lot of good would result.

The pamphlet sells for fifteen cents apiece. We've still got several thousand, but not a lot unless we reprint. But selling them is not my first interest; I want to get them actionably into the hands of local citizens.

With warm regards and appreciation of your kindness to and interest in the Council in the past.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

r & k

July 7, 1952

Mr. Prince Taylor
631 Baronne St.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

I'm sorry I missed you the other day. Do be kind enough to look at RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT and see if it merits some notice in the magazine.

Let us know when you come to Atlanta. We would like to see you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SRC Pubs R&LE

MEMO RE R&LE July 14, 1952

GSM left on consignment with Dan Dodson of N. Y. Univ. approximately 29 copies of R&LE, for him to sell them at 15¢ apiece.

rrle

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310 W. Bartlette St.
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Vice-President
J. M. McAllister
Tomlinson High School
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RECEIVED
JUL 16 1952
Southern Regional

PALMETTO STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
SIT LUX
FOUNDED 1918

W. E. SOLOMON, Executive Secretary
1719 Taylor Street
COLUMBIA 1, SOUTH CAROLINA
TELEPHONE 2-9383

July 15, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of July 14. Mr. Solomon is away from the state on vacation. I will call your letter to his attention when he returns the latter part of next week.

Our new Executive Committee will not have a meeting until the latter part of August due to the absence of the majority of the members who are away on vacation or attending summer schools.

Yours truly,
B. F. Bailey
B. F. Bailey,
Secretary

Presbyterian Women

Vol. 8, No.4 | *Board of Women's Work, Presbyterian Church, U. S.* | July, 1952

Henry Grady Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia

Single subscriptions 75c. Group subscriptions—3 or more to one address—40c each per year. Single copies 10c each.

The Christian Woman In Today's World

MANY people are aware of the present dangers to our democratic way of life and the increasing difficulties inherent in our world today which give a new importance to women in their civic responsibility. All across the land Councils of Church Women are working together to test and find new ways of preserving our freedom, of making democracy work.

Church women have a truly thrilling role to play in relating their Christian responsibility to the issues of peace, of human rights, ethics, moral standards and the many questions of foreign policy. Good citizenship has never been more greatly needed and Christian women can help keep the values of peace and freedom which are only possible in a democratic society.

The Church Woman's Action Program for Peace is essentially a program of citizenship. Each of us through her citizenship inherits a great legacy. We believe that every person is a child of God and thereby inherits this legacy which is freedom. We have the right to elect our public officials, to make laws based on justice, to fight prejudice and intolerance at home and abroad. The founders of our country believed that all men are created free and equal and that our rights come from God and man's relation to God. Only as we seek to understand, accept, and share our influence as Christian citizens in our own communities, state, and nation are we assuming our responsibility for preserving the precious heritage of freedom. We women of this generation stand at one of the most challenging moments of history. Ours is an unparalleled opportunity in the struggle for peace.

Shall we accept the challenge? The answer lies in our own hearts.

(Mrs. James D.) Mossie A. Wyker
Columbia, Missouri
President, General Department
United Church Women

Mrs. Wyker was born in Richmond, Kentucky. Herself an ordained minister, she married a minister. The Wykers and their children Virginia and Jerry for many years worked and planned in their own "laboratory of life." Mrs. Wyker's refreshing and rich philosophy of life makes her a much sought after speaker. Her leadership reveals faith and courage.

"TO TALK ABOUT . . ."

at circle meeting

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord.

Is America such a nation? We are shocked to see wickedness in high places. Public officials have taken bribes. And just as guilty are those who gave the bribes; it is a two-way street. Stealing money is bad, but even worse is stealing the good names of innocent people in order to discredit them for political reasons. We recall what Pilate said when he was trying Jesus, "What is truth?" Jesus had to be destroyed and the truth didn't matter to Pilate.

Am I responsible for morality in government?

It would be comforting if we could lay all the blame on politicians. But politics has been accurately described as a "mirror of ourselves." Jesus said, "Why do you see the speck that is in your brother's eye, but do not notice the log that is in your own eye?" There are sixty million Christians in America today. Have we been asleep at the switch so far as Christian citizenship is concerned? Have we worked to elect Christian men to office or been willing to run ourselves? Have we tried to see that political decisions were Christian decisions? Or have we sought special favors for ourselves, our town, or our nation? "Those who love liberty must bear the fatigue of supporting it." If we want a Christian democracy we will have to work for it.

Is the situation hopeless?

No task is too difficult for Christians because Christ will give us the power and strength and courage we need. Once I asked a professional politician what he thought of a certain presidential candidate. He looked utterly astonished and said, "Good gracious, lady. That man is dangerous; he has convictions; he believes them things." The forces of evil in politics recognize the power of people with convictions.

What can I do?

Most Christians want to work for good government, but they don't know what to do. Here are some suggestions: Discuss them and choose those you will undertake. Let's quit being grandstand citizens.

1. *Register and vote.* A good project in Christian Citizenship would be to get members of your church to register and vote.

2. *Be informed on issues and candidates.* Christ said, " . . . love the Lord thy God with all thy mind." To vote intelligently we must study the issues and base our decisions on facts. An organization which publishes unbiased information on governmental issues is the League of Women Voters, 1026 17th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

3. *Work for candidates whom you believe in.* It is essential to elect to office capable, intelligent people who have open minds and will work for the public good. (Read *The Christian in Politics,* Voorhis. Order from Associated Press, 291 Broadway, New York, N. Y.)

4. *Contribute to campaign funds of worthy candidates.* The high cost of political campaigns is a serious obstacle to good government. An independent candidate, unwilling to give out special favors, has difficulty getting money for legitimate campaign expenses, such as entry fees and advertising.

5. *Insist on candidates running clean races*—no irresponsible statements about their opponents or stirring up of class vs. class or race vs. race.

6. *Work at the polls.* A group of women in one Southern city kept an election from being stolen. They refused to go for lunch until the ballots were counted, thus thwarting the plans to be carried out in their absence!

7. *Run for office or encourage other qualified Christians to do so.* The possibilities are endless. It is high adventure and brings deep satisfaction to make a contribution to your generation.

Sixty million active Christian Citizens can assure a Christian Democracy!

(Mrs. Robert L.)
Margaret McDow MacDougall
Atlanta, Georgia

MY PART IN CONGREGATIONAL SINGING

Congregational singing is one act of worship in which all the worshippers may find a part. It unifies the congregation into the same emotion, which may be penitence, adoration or triumph. Because it is (or should be) participated in by all it is my part to sing with my mind and heart, as well as voice, the lovely sentiment of the words. It is not a matter of quality of voice or of training, but of offering to God sincere worship. If for any reason I am unable to sing, I should participate by silently reading the words and thinking the thoughts of the hymn with the singers.

(Mrs. D. R.) Elma R. Beeson
Johnson City, Tennessee

PROGRAM GUIDE

JULY

Monthly Emphasis . . .

Christian Citizenship

For the Individual Woman:

Read the July *Presbyterian Survey* for articles related to the July Emphasis.

Use *The Presbyterian Woman's Workbook.* Pages 32-37 for circle Bible study and page 14 for the general program (if book sequence is followed).

Circle Program

Bible Study . . .

Theme: *Christ in You*: . . .

Topic: *"Has Your Life Really Been Changed?"*

"To Talk About . . ."
Presbyterian Women — page 2.

General Program

Theme: *Great Protestant Leaders*

Topic: "John Knox"—
or

According to your choice—The Chapter to be used is a matter of local choice. See page 9, *The Presbyterian Woman's Workbook.* Also pages 14-15.

LET'S REMEMBER

That the purpose of the motion to Rescind is to *annul* or *to strike out* the whole of something already adopted.

Over a thousand women will be studying ! Mon

Point 3

The Protestant women of America believe that to achieve peace, we must recognize that no nation alone achieves lasting peace. Point 3 of the Christian Woman's Action for Peace is: "We believe that next to the Church today's best instrument for peace is the United Nations. Therefore, we will know it and support it."

Christian women are concerned for every organized effort toward peace—they see the need for an understanding of the United Nations, its agencies and its accomplishments.

They are ready to study the *Declaration of Human Rights* and face their part in making that declaration a reality.

They are on the alert for service they might render toward people of other nations in our country that will help to make for peaceful relationships.

They would be interpreters of the way of peace when visiting other countries.

Supremely, they are aware that they have a personal responsibility for building lasting peace where they are, they know "that peace on our own doorsteps is an essential part of the peace of the world."

Some materials recommended for personal reading and group discussion relative to the structure, purpose and accomplishments of the United Nations are:

God and the Nations.

Let Us Live for God and the Nations.

(Order from Board of Missions, Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.)

United Nations—What It Is—What It Does—How It Works.

Basic Facts About the United Nations.

The Unified Nations' Action for Peace.

(Order from The United Nations, New York.)

FOR YOUR *Survey* READING

What Shall the Churches Do About Alcohol?

Families Carry On

The Christian Faith and World Citizenship

Religion and Morals

The Christian Gospel and the American Way of Life

CITIZENSHIP - *His* WAY

"The cults of comfort are in error, and they have no worthy answer to trouble when they tell us to dodge it by metaphysical gymnastics, or to *think* it away . . . light, easy answers are based on the false assumption that the goal of life is happiness, peace of mind, and comfort. It isn't.

"Holiness, not happiness, is the goal of life. So, when God molds a man, He puts weights on him, gives him burdens to lift, crosses to carry, hardships to endure, tribulations over which to triumph. All is a profound mystery, to be sure. A little boy wanted to know why vitamins are always put in spinach and never in ice cream, where they should be. Don't ask me why, but for some strange reason our sweetest songs come out of our saddest thoughts; the Negro spirituals are the sad songs of a sad race, and they are the loveliest music in America! Arnold Toynbee, the historian, traced it through history in his monumental study. In a chapter entitled, 'The Stimulus of Blows,' he shows how hardy civilization has come to birth in response to challenge: 'The greater the challenge, the greater the stimulus.' Without weights, even civilization cannot keep going. A little boy was leading his sister up a mountain path. 'Why,' she complained, 'it's not a path at all. It's all rocky and bumpy.' 'Sure,' he said, 'The bumps are what you climb on'."*

In this election year, as Christian citizens, may His convictions be the weights that cause our witness to be His triumph!

*—From *Ride the Wild Horses*, by J. Wallace Hamilton
Used by Permission of Fleming H. Revel Co., Publishers

books on CITIZENSHIP

Religion and Morals. Report to General Assembly—Division of Christian Relations. July *Presbyterian Survey.*

Let's Join the Human Race. Stringfellow Barr. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill. 25c.

Public Affairs Pamphlets:

No. 164—*What About Communism?* Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., 20c.

No. 181—*Politics Is What You Make It.* Joseph E. McLean. 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. 25c.

Alcoholics Anonymous Publications, The Alcoholic Foundation, Inc., Box 459 (Grand Central Station), New York 17, N. Y.

from the QUESTIONNAIRES

(The following statements were chosen from various questionnaires.)

Gave New Testaments with a personal message on fly-leaf to one quota of inductees.

Lending influence to better Sabbath Observance by taking stand against Sunday movies.

Members of other races aided in various ways—educationally; financially; physically and spiritually.

Joined with Christians and Jews in Federation Fellowship meeting.

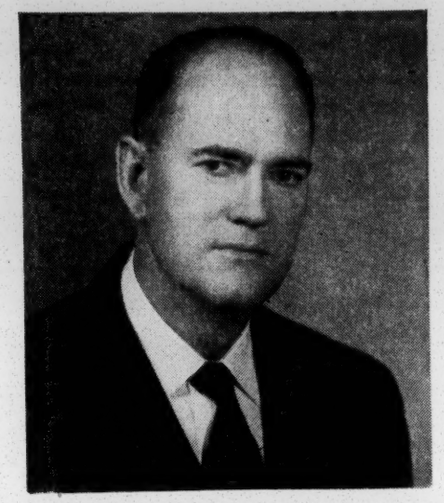
Interracial meeting held every fifth Monday with other churches, Negro and white.

Room kept for use of business girls where they may come and have their lunch, church furnishing coffee and tea, average 150 girls a week.

ADVENTURING FOR GOD

Adventure! Signposts! A new experience—A new journey—Maybe a trip to a faraway land—Could mean a trip to a place near at hand—

Adventuring for God is just an eight-page booklet but it carries five signposts that one may follow on a most exciting journey—helping to develop understanding, appreciation and respect for peoples of the earth. **Signpost No. 1** helps us think about how we personally behave. **Signpost No. 2** brings our families into view. **Signpost No. 3** reminds us "love" is the way. **Signpost No. 4** helps us to "keep going." **Signpost No. 5** suggests that we have still further to go yet, and we must "Keep on keeping on!" A list of reading material follows the signposts.



WOMEN OF THE CHURCH, may we present . . .

The Reverend Malcolm P. Calhoun, Th.D.

A native of Laurinburg, N. C.

A graduate of Davidson College and Union Theological Seminary

A pastor in Charleston, W. Va., St. Pauls, N. C., and York, S. C.

Dr. Calhoun assumed the position of Secretary of the Division of Christian Relations of the Board of Church Extension in May. He brings to the work a wise, forward-looking leadership. We welcome him and ask your prayerful support for him.

NEW Opportunities in the Quarter

For Bible Study—In the Sunday schools using the *International Sunday School series,* there will begin in July a study of "The Rise of the Kingdom" (*Judges* to *Solomon*) Every woman interested in Biblical history will find here special interest and profit in Bible study as we consider leading characters in Israel's history. Every woman is urged to find a place in Sunday school that will help her to know God and His will for the life of His followers.

For Family Worship—A new issue of *Day by Day* is off the press. Order now a copy at 10c and begin daily worship in the family with the use of this guide. (Order from the Presbyterian Book Store, Richmond 9, Virginia.)

RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT*

Citizenship touches every area of our service and as Christian women we want to enlist more women in an interest in better police practices.

The booklet, *Race and Law Enforcement* is a guide to modern police practices. You will find it an excellent aid in stimulating women to action and we gladly recommend it. Price 15c.

**Prepared by and available from Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia*

NEW BOOKS ON THE HOLY SPIRIT

You and the Holy Spirit. Stuart R. Oglesby. (Order from John Knox Press, Richmond, Va.) Price $1.50

Power for Your Daily Living. Joseph M. Gettys. 35c. (Order from First Presbyterian Church, Dallas, Tex.)

IMPORTANT DATE

August 5-12, 1952

"Repetition is the soul of emphasis" so we emphasize again the Women's Training School for our Negro women to be held at Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

The opportunity it affords all of us in serving our Master is unparalleled!

In the June issue of *Presbyterian Women* we gave the program—*today* we come to ask you to remember His words, "Freely ye have received, freely give," and to share in the School by praying for the leaders, the faculty, the speakers, the delegates, and by a gift of money or by sending a delegate.

This is an important period in our Negro work, Snedecor Region is more far-reaching than Snedecor Synod was and it is the hope of the Board of Women's Work that all presbyterial officers of Snedecor can come to the Training School.

Gifts will be needed to supplement the expense accounts of these officers, some who travel long distances.

Cause for Concern—Balance to date in the treasury toward our 1952 School is very low.

Ray of Hope—A gift from New York City in a letter with these words, "Find enclosed a check for $25.00 to be used for a delegate to Stillman's Women's Training School this summer."

Negro Work is Our Work — The Women's Training School is our School. Come, let's lift it to His Glory!

MEDITATION AND PRAYER

In Him ALL Things Consist—Colossians 1:17

He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; for in him *all* things were created, in heaven and on earth . . . *all* things were created through him and for him. *He is before all things, and in him all things hold together.* (Col. 1:15-17. R.S.V.)

So reads the whole thought that reaches its climax in the last sentence, which reveals its full force only when the whole is kept in mind. So, re-read Colossians 1:15-17. R.S.V. Are you not strongly reminded of the opening sentences of John's Gospel? Re-read John 1:1-5. "He was in the beginning with God; *all* things were made through him and without him was not anything made that was made."

"He? . . . Him?" Jesus, of course, "the first-*born* of all creation . . . the only *begotten Son of God.*" One co-existent and co-equal with "God the Father, Almighty Maker of heaven and earth." "Before Abraham was *I am,*" He once said of Himself, (John 8:58,) directly claiming Eternal Existence and Divine Power.

He, God in His only born Son, created in the first instance, and forever holds *all* created things *together.* Now, what have you to fear, who are God's re-born son of grace, whose "life is hid with Christ in God"?—Col. 3:3. What is left out of *"all things"?* What is beyond His *"holding together"?* If this present age should fall apart, if this present civilization should completely decay, if this "present world" should crash in ruin in your lifetime, would not you be "safe and secure from all alarms" under whose existence and salvation are "the Everlasting Arms"?

More, will He not "hold together" all the infinitely precious things of His own Eternal Kingdom, when He "once more will shake not only the earth but also the heaven . . . in order that what cannot be shaken may remain"? Let every one who belongs to His Kingdom "be grateful for receiving a kingdom that cannot be shaken . . . and offer to God acceptable worship, with reverence and awe." (Heb. 12:26-28.)

Rest your soul, then *all* who are wholeheartedly *"in Him,"* in the complete and eternal security which is yours in His Kingdom who *"holds all things together."*

—(Mrs. S. H.) Mary W. Askew
Decatur, Georgia

P - 38M - 5-52

nde

August 14, 1952

Mr. Gene Cox
Route 1, Box 58
Cruger, Miss.

Dear Mr. Cox:

I send you ten copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, which is the February, 1952, issue of NEW SOUTH. Ordinarily they are fifteen cents apiece, but for good cooperators we make a special price of ten for a dollar, postage paid.

In the packet there is also our latest printed list of cities with Negro policemen, and a typed list of additional Negro policemen employed September, 1950, to August, 1952.

We will print a revised table in a month or two. Thank you for helping to get them out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

COOPERATIVE FARMS, INC.

TRUSTEES:
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SHERWOOD EDDY, SECRETARY-TREASURER
CHARLES JOHNSON
EMORY W. LUCCOCK
F. D. PATTERSON
ARTHUR RAPER
JOHN RUST

Cruger, Miss.
Aug. 11, 1952

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ROUTE 1, CRUGER, MISSISSIPPI
DELTA COOPERATIVE FARM
ROCHDALE, MISSISSIPPI
EASTERN OFFICE:
ROOM 1101, 52 VANDERBILT AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dear George Mitchell,

If possible I would like to have a few bits of material on The Negro Policeman. Especially desirable would be the Feb., 1952, issue of New South. Quite frequently, I find people around the state who need something new on the subject.

Please mail me what you can spare and I'll send you a check to cover.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially,

Gene Cox

rgle

August 25, 1952

Bishop W. Y. Bell
2105 N. Main Ave.
South Boston, Va.

Dear Bishop Bell:

Many thanks for kindness in general and for the check.

I found Mr. D. A. Bell at home at 2407 Pomeroy, and without more than courteous reassurance he signed the check. I gave him a notation about the division of the payment as between the two Conferences.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

rrle

MEMO TO K. S. August 26, 1952

Here is a check in payment for the 500 copies of R&LE supplied Bishop Bell of the CME Church. I saw Bishop Bell in South Boston, and he prepared this document, minus D. A. Bell's signature and sent me to find Rev. D. A. Bell, at 2407 Pomeroy Rd., S. E., in Washington, D. C., who duly affixed D. A. Bell's signature. I assume it's a good check.

In conversation with Bishop Bell, I waived payment of postage or express, so this is in full.

GSM

SRC Pubs - misc

August 29, 1952

Mr. David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Ky.

Dear Mr. McCandless:

I have kept until now your letter of way back last February 11, about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. You remember that blue pamphlet. I had written and asked if you would need to order some more, and you replied that you had enough for the immediate classes but would want to buy some for the fall class starting in late September.

We've still got a couple of thousand (only) on hand. Still fifteen cents apiece.

I put in also as of interest a list of the block orders for it. We think that's a pretty good spread. And the church women are vigorously taking it, in committees of three and four ladies, to the sheriff in each county in the South. They report most interesting conversations. One Mississippi committee wrote and said, "Our sheriff said everything was very nice, and he and all his deputies were scrupulously fair in handling colored prisoners. But," said the ladies, "Could you send us one more copy of that little blue book to give to the night watchman at the jail?"

Let us know if you need some more.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

FEB 14 1952
Southern Regional Council

February 11, 1952

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT reached the Institute this week. We have sufficient for this and the following class. We will be glad to purchase from you copies for the Fall class which starts in late September.

I hope to see you this summer. I wish to discuss a matter with you and ask your advice on several questions. I will write you more fully concerning a possible date for conference with you.

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless, Director

DAMcC:c

SRC Pubs—note

September 4, 1952

Bishop W. Y. Bell
2105 N. Main Ave.
South Boston, Va.

Dear Bishop Bell:

We were greatly pleased to receive Bishop Hamlett's order for six hundred copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, three hundred to Kansas City, Missouri, and three hundred to Memphis. He will use them at his Fall conference. We owe that entirely to you, and do thank you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SRC - Ex. Dir.

September 4, 1952

Dr. R. A. Vonderlehr
Regional Medical Director
Public Health Service
50 Seventh St., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Vonderlehr:

Many thanks for your letter of August 28.

I will be on hand in your office at 9:15 Monday morning for the 9:30 staff meeting. A blackboard is all I will need.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
REGIONAL OFFICE
50 - Seventh Street, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

REFER TO: PHS/RMD

August 28, 1952

RECEIVED
SEP 2 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing a copy of the announcement of our staff meeting of September 8 which has been sent to the Regional staff.

In accordance with your letter of July 14, we will have a blackboard in the conference room for your use. If there is any other piece of equipment that you will need, please let us know.

Looking forward to having you with us on the 8th.

Sincerely yours,

R. A. Vonderlehr

R. A. VONDERLEHR
Regional Medical Director
Chairman, Program Committee

Encl.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
Region VI

SUBJECT: Staff Meeting DATE: September 8, 1952

PLACE: Red Cross Auditorium TIME: 9:30 A. M.

PROGRAM: The Map of the South -- Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

* * *

Dr. Mitchell was born in Richmond, Virginia. He graduated with a B. A. Degree at the University of Richmond, received his Ph. D. from Johns Hopkins University, and studied for several years at Oxford University, England. His Federal service and experience in private industry have been in the following capacities:

Special Assistant, Office of Secretary of Interior
Director Labor Relations, Resettlement Administration
Special Assistant to the Administrator, Resettlement Adm.
Regional Director, Resettlement Administration
Asst. Administrator, Farm Security Administration
Southeastern Regional Director, CIO Political Action Com.
Director, Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council

Dr. Mitchell was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship; is a member of the American Economics Assn., American Society of Public Administrators, Kappa Alpha, Phi Beta Kappa. He is the author of two books: The Industrial Revolution in the South (with Broadus Mitchell); Black Workers and the New Unions (with Horace Cayton).

* * *

All professional and clerical personnel are invited.

R. A. Vonderlehr

R. A. VONDERLEHR
Program Chairman

R06-535-52

SRC Pubs 22 9-le

September 10, 1952

Mr. Charles A. Shaw, President
Watchtower Life Insurance Co.
Box 2097
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

You remember we corresponded, off and on, during your illness about getting the Company to buy and distribute some copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

My first letter to you will have been dated April 14, and another went out June 6. You most kindly answered May 5 and June 12.

Getting out RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT is a useful thing to do. Our experience has been that people go to considerable lengths to get the little booklet actually into the hands of law enforcement officials that they know.

You will see the kind of work it does when I tell you of the visit of three white church ladies in a south Mississippi county to their sheriff. In reporting on the interview, the women told Mrs. Tilly: "Our sheriff said everything was really very nice, and he and his deputies were considerate of all of the Negro people arrested. But, Mrs. Tilly, could you send us another copy of that little blue book to give to the night watchman in the jail?"

We have still got a few hundred left, still at the original price of fifteen cents a piece.

Here is a list of the block purchases that have already been made.

We would greatly like it if the Watchtower Life Insurance Company would get a hundred or so out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

WATCHTOWER LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

HOME OFFICE: 618 PRAIRIE AVENUE - P. O. BOX 2097

HOUSTON, TEXAS

June 12, 1952

RECEIVED
JUN 16 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

My secretary has called my attention to the letters written me concerning distribution of the booklet "RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT".

I deeply regret my inability to give attention to your request, for the reason that at the time of receipt of your first letter, I was seriously ill, and subsequently was rushed to Mayo Clinic for a serious operation from which I have not as yet fully recovered. Upon advice of my physicians, I am giving very little time to any business matters at the present time, but when I have recovered sufficiently to return to my office, consideration will be given your request.

Very truly yours,

Chas. A. Shaw/g

Chas. A. Shaw
President

CAS/g

mde

June 6, 1952

Mr. Charles A. Shaw
Watchtower Life Insurance Co.
Box 2097
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

We wrote you back in April about the enclosed booklet, RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. Your secretary very kindly sent us word that you were only lately back from an illness, and that it would be a while before you could get around to your regular schedule.

We do hope that by now you can have looked through the booklet and can have considered means that would be helpful in getting it more widely distributed in your area.

The Texas Interracial Commission bought 260 copies and sent them out to sheriffs and police chiefs. Additionally, the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Southcentral Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church has undertaken to have committees of church women in each Texas county carry the booklet to the sheriff. It is being much used in various Southern States by the CME Church, the AME church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Committee of the South, the Anti-Defamation League, the NAACP, various State associations of Negro teachers, and so on. The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company bought a hundred copies and sent them out, I presume to its agents.

Mr. Carter Wesley will be closely in touch with what has been done about it in Texas.

The distribution already achieved is tiny, though we hope it will be influential. I am sure that if your company would lay in a supply and get them out to agents or to policy holders, that would considerably increase the proportion of people in the State, in the local communities informed and concerned on this important matter.

We've still got two or three thousand here. They go for fifteen cents apiece.

We greatly hope that the Watchtower Life Insurance Company will order a hundred or two and help in that substantial way to improve the civic life of the South.

Sincerely,

WATCHTOWER LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

HOME OFFICE: 618 PRAIRIE AVENUE - P. O. BOX 2097

HOUSTON, TEXAS

May 5, 1952

RECEIVED
MAY 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Acknowledgment is made of your letter of April 14th, addressed to Mr. Chas. A. Shaw, in which was enclosed a copy of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. Mr. Shaw has just recently returned from Mayo Clinic, and I am hastening to acknowledge receipt of your letter as it is his desire that this be done without further delay.

I am pleased to report that Mr. Shaw is rapidly recovering from his operation, however, it will be several weeks before he returns to the office to resume his regular schedule. Upon his return, I shall call his attention to your letter.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

Ida M. George

(Mrs.) Ida M. George
Secretary to Mr. Shaw

/g

SRC 1945-[illegible]

September 19, 1952

Mr. Ocie Lee Smith
1500 Bishop St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Ocie Lee:

Much instructed by the Hot Springs correspondence.

The women of the Methodist Church are banded together in something called the Woman's Society of Christian Service. It has a Southeastern Jurisdiction and a Southcentral Jurisdiction. (I regret to say, it also has a "Central Jurisdiction," which contains practically all of the local Methodist churches whose members are Negro, but I hear rudimentary machinery is in existence for changing this some.)

The Southeastern and the Southcentral Jurisdictions, WSCS, have each accepted formally a responsibility to have committees of church women take RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT to the sheriff in every county in thirteen Southern States, plus Missouri (which is in the Southcentral Jurisdiction). The women are actively totin' it to the sheriff now. We have record of fifty-odd counties in which they've done so. None as yet in Arkansas. So get hold of some white Methodist friends in Arkansas, preferably in Hot Springs, and get them to look up the fact that they have this obligation, and carry the pamphlet to the sheriff. Very useful things result from such visits.

Technically, I would not fuss at the good ladies for the problems about the Central Jurisdiction. I tell you, though, just so you will know.

I send you separately five copies of the pamphlet, for which, technically, somebody owes SRC fifty cents, but skip it if no fifty cents about.

All I did on my vacation was paint the gutters on the house.

I want to come to Arkansas sometime, and will pretty well promise to be over there before spring.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

RECEIVED
SEP 18 1952

Dear Doc;

All of this is for your reading Pleasure, Ha!

I want to get a copy of Roce & law enforcement in the hands of the proper people in Hot Springs. I don't have one for myself. And I don't know how to crack a fertile situation, for this incident could well serve as an entree into this effort, but how to do it does not yet flashed thro' my feeble mind. Can you give me a starter.

Where have you been on a vacation trying to get funds for the cause, or just looking over this befuddled world?

always
Dick See.

COPY

822 Fifth Street
Natchitoches, La.
August 27, 1952

Dear Ocie Lee:

You struck at a basic philosophy that should be inoculated into the every day thinking and living of all of our people: Humanity-humane attitudes toward all peoples, white or black, rich or poor, illiterate or intelligent - that's the real mark of culture. We must, above all other peoples, avoid practicing the very thing which we are trying to fight against now. "Cricket" beset by subconscious vengefulness for the world, manifests early signs of retribution on his fellow man.

Things done by Force and Blood remain to be undone by the same method. We must, first of all see straight in our own hearts and accomplish what we seek through law and order.

The Crickets of our race oftimes, frustrated, warped and bruised, stunted and disfigured, in our character and intellectual outlook, seize upon the first tangible thing which we often think will give us some sense of self assurance. Malformed children are born to mothers whose wombs are constricted in some way. The would-be impasse of segregation and discrimination circumscribes our natural abilities and tendencies and the Crickets become the Frankensteins and wreck vengence upon each other, ignorant of the proper way out.

"Where a man who is inhumane and inefficient uses the law as a cloak to Disguise His Cowardice": Cowarded by a sense of insecurity, Cricket sought the wrong way out. As you imply, we must not take it out cowardly upon the hapless masses of our race. We must strike at the root of the evil. First, stop the "Crickets", then lay down a constructive program to remove the CONSTRICTIONS which make of us SOCIAL FRANKENSTEINS.

I wish to congratulate you upon your specific policy of straightening out the KINKS in our misguided trends. Keep the good work up.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. J.

E. A. Johnson (M. D)
State pres. NAACP.

COPY

September 9, 1952

Mr. Ocie Lee Smith

Dear Mr. Smith:

I just thought you might like to see a little piece I dashed off when I got home, called "Arkansas Reflection". So here goes:

ARKANSAS REFLECTION

I was in Arkansas a while ago, and I learned much...
An impression is formed by warm air
And strong sunlight that makes you sweat and heat that
melts your shirt collar
By gleaming-clean buildings and shacks tumbling against
each other, sorrowing for their people...
By the hustle of downtown streets and the signs saying
"White Only"
By the dash of midday and the breeze-suspended calm of
evening
By stretching-baking fields and twisting roads
By all the sights and sounds that meet you in your
wanderings...

But a feeling of depth and meaning is formed...
By knowing the people...by the experience...
Of a warm handshake or a cold, sharp word
By the solidity of words of value and the emptiness of
words spoken in a void...
Above all ... by the joy of the fire of a friendship
lighted...
A fire to last over miles and months and events
To return to build and warm you in dark, cold times
A fire to hold and think of with pride...as you say...
"Yes, I was in Arkansas...I learned much...my visit was
successful and rewarding."

Sincerely,

/s/ Jonathan Liebowitz

Mr. Liebowitz, is a student at Cornell Univ, and lives in the Watermargin house, This house is occupied by people of all races, it is not an experiment, but a concluded fact that all people can live together. I understand that applicants are ~~#####~~ screened very closely. No one is admitted who has even a semblance of prejudice. There is even a probationery period, which helps to determine if the applicants purposes are sincere and ~~#####~~. endowed with the proper concepts regarding humanity.

It was pleasure to have Mr. Liebowitz as my guest for a half day. It happened that he was spending a while with Mr. Scott Hamilton Jr. (Who help to make Watermargin a reality) Scott Jr. is the son of the manager of the Chamber of Comme rce, Litle Rock. He has competed his work at Cornell and now works as an engineer in this city. Mr. Liebowitz's field is labor relations. He is just 20, but he is a scholar comparable to one with experience of 30 yrs. Unassuming in his manner, from him enamates a sorta cultural atmosphere you don't quite find everyday. Possiblyone of his greatest attributes maybe, " He is unrelenting in his convictions relative to equity, justice and fairplay." In him are wrapped up great possibilities for generations unborn.

COPY

1500 Bishop St.
Little Rock, Ark.
August 19, 1952

Mr. Stevenson
Pres. Negro Civic League
Hot Springs, Ark.

Dear Mr. Stevenson:

Your interest in progress for people has been related to me. Thus this letter. I regret I could not obtain your first name, so you will please pardon this exclusion

Last Monday night it was my pleasure to attend a dance at the Plantation Club in Hot Springs. I had a special, or should I say, a double interest in the outcome of this affair, because Ivory Joe Hunter, who is a first cousin of mine played for the affair. I watched with great enthusiasm the performance, decorum and everything else that would make for a night of good entertainment and merrymaking. My hopes for this blissfull evening were blasted, however, because of the conduct of a Negro policeman. It is this incident I wish to acquaint you with.

Because of Ivory Joe's popularity, plus the liberal attitude of the white manger of the club, several white couple were afforded, along with the rest of us, a very pleasurable evening without incident. This is complimentary to the management of the club and the citizenery of Hot Springs. To say a "public" dance implies a mixture of all types of people, so this one was no exception. There was evidence of some of the patrons having imbibed too heavily, or freely. (this isn't unusual.) Two fellows appropiately dressed were appearently a little tipsy and entered into an altercation just outside of the pavillion. I stood there and watched a Negro policeman, who I was told is called "Crickett", beat one of the men unmercifully. This demonstration frustrated the other pleasure seekers and gave Mr. Crickett an air of indifference. He got around among people as respectable as he could hope to be like a raving mad head-beater. His eyes danced like faries, and the least little congregating of harmless people brought him into the midst swinging his blackjack.

In Hot Springs as well as in anyother Southern town Negroes have been placed on the police force because of two reasons; 1-The fight made by small groups(you noduubt have been a party) for Negro participation in civic activities. 2- to appease.

Assuming that I am right in my allegation it is incumbent upon Negroes who are appointed to represent the intelligent element in the Negro race. We do not need blackjack-happy cowardly guys like Crickett. Negroes have been beat over their heads enough. We need men who have more sense in their heads than you find in the head of their blackjack. And if they exhibit this, then their heads will be respected rather than their black jacks.

My efforts are very feeble, Mr. Stevenson (But a constant drop of water will wear away a stone). One of the task I have assigned myself is to do whatever I can to try to see ultimately the proper administration of the law a reality, where Negro policemen and all others must comply with eligibility requirements, be compelled to complete a prescribed course in law enforcement and administration. Thsi should include the County Constable in the smallest hamlet. For the Peace Officer(the term I like) can either be the perpetrator of racial antipathy, or the builder of good relations in all realms of life. Negroes should set themselves apart in this effort, for here we have an opportunity to set the pace for something that should have been in existance a half century. We cannot afford to perpetuate a system of which we have been victums. Police brutality to me, is the greatest sin and infraction of the law there is(supposedly within the law) Where a man who is inhumane and inefficient uses the law as a cloak to disguise his cowardice, thus brutalizing human beings. One of the White fellows noticed how humilated I was and came over near the band stand to say, "He is very boastful, he says he will arrest his brother". I replied, " I cannot figure a pronouncement like that a mark that reflects intelligence or efficiency. It takes the tome of a dare-devil."

I am concerned about the progress and treatment of people in Hot Springs as I am about people in Little Rick, or Mississippi, if you please. I hold an even greater interest, or concern for the wine drinkers and crap shooters. Society has a responsibility to these people. They can become assets to our race and total society rather then liabilities, if we are interested and humane enough to properly and patiently consel with and direct them. But we will never do it Mr. Crickett's way. They are immune to that kind of treatment anyway. That may account for them being as they are.

Well, I did n't intend writing a book. I thank you for your indulgence, and I hope you will use the weight of your influence in seeing that the Negro appendage to the police force in Hot Springs be one that is chracterized by culture, refinement, understanding and efficiency.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Ocie Lee Smith

SRC pulse - role

September 23, 1952

Dean Martin L. Harvey
Southern University
Southern Branch Post Office
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Dean Harvey:

You will remember writing me on June 12 about RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT and possible plans for getting student organizations to get it out.

Now that the new year begins, do let me know what can be worked out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
SOUTHERN BRANCH POST OFFICE
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

RECEIVED
JUN 16 1952
Southern Regional Council

June 12, 1952

DEAN OF STUDENT'S OFFICE

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please forgive me for delaying so long about answering your request that we encourage our student organizations about buying and distributing "Race and Law Enforcement".

What happened was that all of our groups had allocated their funds for the year and we were not able to do an efficient job. However, I have asked each group to include it in their budget next year.

Plea se keep in touch with me about anything we can encourage our students to do.

Sincerely yours,

Martin L. Harvey
Dean of Students

MLH/m

SRC Pub. 22-6

September 24, 1952

Mr. Philip Ogilvie
Catholic Committee of the South
Box 895
Rock Hill, S. C.

Dear Phil:

We shipped out the 500 copies in four bundles (new regulation, you know) yesterday afternoon. Postage was $2.44. Pamphlets $50. Total bill herewith.

Many thanks.

I called Father Vince. His phone number in St. Paul, Cedar 6133. Another number, possibly his residence, Garfield 3447. He says the people out there are mighty nice to him. He is now unpacked. Also had glad news for us of a considerable sum he had on its way to us.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SRC Pubs = 4-5-3

February 11, 1953

Mr. Joe Azbell
THE MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Mr. Azbell:

Our people put you on a pretty difficult spot yesterday, and I thought you handled yourself as helpfully as could be.

Here is a copy of our little booklet of two years ago.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

SRC Pubs. file

June 5, 1953

Mr. Coy Gibbs
RFD 2
Attalla, Ala.

Dear

I've been remembering that you will be the sheriff for Etowah County. Here is a booklet my Council put out a year or so ago. It has been widely useful in Southern police forces, and I would like for you to read it, if you will.

Good luck in these last months of running your railroad!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

SRC Pub — R&LE

Dear Mrs S. + S.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, of the Southern Regional Council, has sent me an SOS, about the sheriffs in our District being visited by church women and given a copy of "Race & Law Enforcement". This has not been done in Dalton District.

Mrs. Tilley has to make a report on what North Georgia church women are doing about this. She goes to Jacksonville to a United Church Women meeting before the middle of October to give this information in one of the Workshops.

She is mailing a packet of material to the local Sec. of Christian Social Relations tomorrow, so you will have all information and instructions that you will need. I am also writing (names of 2 others in society) so will you please get together and visit your sheriff to give him the pamphlet and talk with him. Then mail your report to Mrs. Tilley -- do this so she gets report not later than October 9th. Also, write us card so we'll know you have done this.

We hope you will read the article in World Outlook this month on "Know your courts as you know your schools".

With love,

Olivia Gaines (Mrs. J. E.)
District President

Mary Ellen Berry (Mrs. Carl)
District Sec. C.S.R.

Copy of letters sent to local pres., sec. CSR, + one other member —

SRC / RoLE

BLOCK ORDERS FOR RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

National Council of Churches, Southeastern Office	100
Southern Baptist Convention, Social Service Commission	25
Protestant Episcopal Church, Department of Christian Social Relations of National Council	200
Congregational Christian Churches, American Missionary Association	10
Unitarians at Southeastern (Thomas Jefferson) Conference, Blue Ridge, N.C.	23
Catholic Committee of the South	1,000
American Friends Service Committee	80
Virginia Council of Churches, Department of Interracial Cooperation	320
United Christian Youth Movement, Southeastern Section, King's Mountain Conference	10
National Baptist Convention	100
Methodist Church, Central Jurisdiction (Bishop J.W.E. Bowen), Atlanta	100
African Methodist Episcopal Church (Bishop F. M. Reid), Columbia, S. C.	100
" " " " (Bishop S. L. Greene), Atlanta	175
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (Bishop W. Y. Bell), Washington, D.C.	500
" " " " (Bishop J. Arthur Hamlett), Kansas City, Kansas	600
Wheat Street Baptist Church (Rev. W. H. Borders), Atlanta	200
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith	667
YWCA National Board, Atlanta	160
The Bookshop (YWCA Publications), New York	10
The Jewish Federation & Council of Greater Kansas City, Mo.	10
Jewish Community Relations Council, St. Louis	15
Board of Community Relations, Buffalo, N. Y.	15
Commission on Human Relations, Denver	25
Division Against Discrimination, New Jersey Department of Education	100
Urban League of Anderson, Indiana	10
Urban League of Kansas City, Mo.	12
NAACP, South Carolina Conference Branches	100
NAACP, District of Columbia Branch	15
Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, Tuscaloosa, Ala.	47
National Council of Negro Women, Region IV	70
South Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Clubs	100
Women's Council of Richland County, S. C.	50
The Lincoln Foundation, Louisville	200
American Nurses' Association	60
Southern Police Institute, Louisville	75
Cooperative Farms, Inc., Cruger, Miss.	10
Texas Commission on Race Relations	260
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation	167
North Carolina Division, Southern Regional Council	200
South Carolina Division	100
Mississippi Division	300
Alabama Division	500
Louisiana Division	200
Kentucky Division	150
Arkansas Division	300
Tennessee Division	150
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.	100

2--Block orders for Race & Law Enforcement

Palmetto State Teachers Association	100
Florida State Teachers Association	160
Alabama State Teachers Association	150
Georgia Teachers & Education Association	500
Students at Morehouse College	100
" " Tuskegee Institute	200
" " Alabama State Teachers College	150
" " Tougaloo (Mississippi) College	20
" " Bethune-Cookman College	75
" " State College, Orangeburg, S. C.	55
" " University of Miami Institute of Human Relations	10
" " New York University " " " "	21
" " Fisk University	32
Fisk University Race Relations Institute	180
United Auto Workers-C.I.O., Atlanta	200
C.I.O. Department of Research & Education	500
Rev. George J. Flanigen, Chattanooga	32
Rev. R. A. Daly, Montgomery, Ala.	20
Rev. O. R. Flournoy, Montgomery	15
Mr. A. T. Butler, Columbia, S. C.	20
Mr. W. S. Devall, Sr., Baton Rouge	100
Bert Cannon, Buckley, Washington	50
Total block sales as of September 11, 1952	10,411
NAACP, Southeast Regional Office	15
Catholic Committee of the South (second order)	500
Total block sales as of September 26, 1952	10,926